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Wm. Rogers



*Dr. Williams*



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PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
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"THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE IN THE AMERICAN  
REVOLUTION."<sup>1</sup>

BY CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

There are few men who have been so differently judged as La Fayette. In this country, ever since he, as a boy of nineteen years, offered himself to Mr. Deane, in 1776, to serve "the United States with all possible zeal, without any pension or particular allowance," down through a most stormy career to the period when, fifty years later, he made, as the nation's guest, a triumphal progress through the country, his career built up a reputation as bright and unsullied as that of any man in our history. He is to us the typical leader of the new era in human progress which was then dawning on the world as opposed to the *ancien régime*. Americans have never lost their faith in him, and feel more and more that, owing to his peculiar position, he

<sup>1</sup> "The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution: with Some Account of the Attitude of France toward the War of Independence." By Charlemagne Tower, Jr., LL.D. In two volumes. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1895.



was one of the great heroes of the struggle for independence whom we should delight to honor. The history of the last half of this century is filled with the names of revolutionary leaders, men like Kossuth or Garibaldi, and the like, whose highest aim was to rescue their own country from oppression; but, so far as we know, it tells us of no one who freely exposed his life and property in defence of the great cause of human freedom itself, while he was a perfect stranger to those in whose cause he fought. We have always felt in this country, therefore, a special pride in the career of this man, the smallest portion of whose life, after all, was passed here, for we have felt that the inspiration which made his career so illustrious in Europe was derived from his fellowship with our own countrymen, and especially from following the advice and counsel of his great friend, Washington.

But when we reflect upon his career we are sometimes apt to forget the discipline of the struggle through which he passed here before he went back capable, in the opinion of the best judges, of leading in any movement which might be undertaken for the regeneration of France. He came to us a mere boy, of a vivacious temperament, ready to command and willing to outrank veterans who had grown up in the service of their country, and yet the cool, keen insight of Washington saw in him from the beginning the making of a general. He was not merely a stranger with an imperfect knowledge of our language, but he was a Frenchman and a Catholic at a time when no more disqualifying stigma could be affixed to any man who offered his services as a military officer; but he had not long served in our army before he became in the eyes of the sternest Puritan and the most peace-loving Quaker not so much a great military hero as a man imbued with virtues which do not usually characterize military heroes. He seemed to our fathers throughout the war of the Revolution to be a man pre-eminently endowed with those qualities which are conspicuous in heroes of a very different kind. He was always regarded here as the type of self-sac-

rifice, with an intense earnestness of desire to aid the cause which he had espoused, and with a readiness to undertake any duty, however arduous, to which he might be assigned by the General-in-Chief. He was recognized on all hands not merely as a Marquis, although his social position in France had not been forgotten, but as a man fighting for "an idea," as the modern phrase is; restrained, however, at all times by the sober wisdom of Washington from that extravagance of opinion and obtrusiveness of manner which was then thought characteristic of a young man and a Frenchman. While he felt that a revolution was necessary here to insure certain fundamental rights, he knew perfectly well that such a revolution must be a very different proceeding from that which might be needed in such a country as feudal France. It is mainly for this reason that La Fayette's career in this country becomes so interesting. We desire to know why and how a man of his peculiar temperament came to help us, how he seemed to inspire all those who surrounded him with the fullest confidence, and how and why, before he left us, he was recognized not only as one of the most devoted patriots in our ranks, but one of our most distinguished generals.

The same sympathy which his character and actions excited here has not been felt by historical writers in his own country. In the French Revolution he was as much of a leader,—more so, indeed, than he had been here. In the early days of that great convulsion he was the commander of the National Guard,—that military force which he had created,—which delayed, at least, the fearful excesses which took place when La Fayette was removed. He was the author of that celebrated constitutional law, the basis of all reorganization of government on a liberal basis on the continent of Europe in modern times, a sort of French Bill of Rights called "*Droits de l'homme et du citoyen.*" In short, he may be called almost the absolute ruler of France from the day on which the King and Queen were dragged from Versailles to Paris in October, 1789, to the day on which the mob assailed and murdered their guard at the Tuileries

in August, 1792. He was not merely the leader of those who desired to abolish the oppression of feudal rule in France, but he was the head of a powerful party—at least in the early days of the Revolution—which sought to achieve its purpose by peaceable and constitutional means rather than by violent revolutionary force. He was in no sense an extremist; and, as the mass of the population were disposed to accomplish their ends by violent measures, if necessary, he was hated by extremists on both sides, and hence his reputation suffered both among those who defended the old order and those who strove to establish the new. He was no friend to the King, it was said, for he did not rescue him from the mob when he was in its power. He was still less a friend of the ultra-revolutionary party, for he abandoned his country when it had fallen into their hands. La Fayette in France tried to assume the impossible rôle of a moderate when all around him were roused by revolutionary fury to the wildest excesses. Of course we cannot look to French critics for the same admiring sympathy which is freely bestowed by our own countrymen on the character and career of this young knight. His reputation has indeed always been at all times at the mercy of party champions. According to one set of critics he was, as I have said, a betrayer of his King, a perfect hypocrite, the merest trimmer in his political opinions and acts, and so fond of hearing his own praises that he found a certain consolation in breaking his leg, because it enabled him to talk freely of himself to every one. To another set of writers, and those claiming to be his friends, he was a mere sentimentalist, incapable of leading a revolution, not fit for its rough work, and too timid to grasp at the fruitful results of the principles he avowed as guiding his political conduct.

To them he becomes a politician rather than a hero. To Americans who are jealous of the glory of La Fayette, and who feel certain that he was a star of the first magnitude when he shone in our firmament, some trustworthy account of his career in this country—not in defence, but in the way of commemoration and illustration of his career here—seems



very desirable. So to some there may be needed an explanation of certain acts in his later life which seem of doubtful expediency, and to all something of the genesis of a great man whom our Revolution first made conspicuous. We would like to know how a boy of nineteen had sufficiently mastered the problem of constitutional liberty as to be willing to give up all in its defence; how he shunned with great care the propagation of the unhistoric theories of government which were then fashionable in France, but to us *monstrum horrendum*; how it happened that he became, from the time he first met Washington, his life-long friend; how it was that, when confined in the dungeon at Olmütz, he never hesitated to preach the doctrine of self-government, even when the power was in the hands of the Jacobins. We want to know whether what were intended to be the kind words of Charles X., spoken in 1829 of La Fayette, had any true foundation. "Of all the men," said the King, "I have ever known during a long life, myself and La Fayette are the only persons who have never changed their political opinions."

For these reasons we look upon a new account of the life of La Fayette, derived from authentic sources, and especially of that portion of it which was passed in the service of this country, with great interest. We need a clear statement as to how far that service was aided or discouraged by the French government, and for what reasons. Of late the reputation of La Fayette in France, now that he has lain in his grave sixty years, has approached more nearly to what we suppose it always has been here. We have now, thanks to the desire of France to claim her due share in the success of the war of independence, an opportunity of giving to La Fayette some of the credit which is due to his illustrious career; we have now access to a full presentation of the case taken from the government archives,—a source quite free, we may suppose, from the bias of any party animosities. It was a happy thought of the French authorities, as one of the means of celebrating the centennial anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, to

publish five enormous folios which contain all the correspondence, *mémoires*, drafts of treaties, and documents to be found in the government collection concerning the part taken by France in achieving our independence. It was one of the great features in the celebration of that important event. This work is called "*Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États Unis d'Amérique.*" It was arranged and edited by M. Henri Doniol, Correspondant de l'Institut, "Directeur de l'imprimerie nationale." It may well be said of M. Doniol that he has rendered an "international service to France and America by the publication of this admirable work." Some of these documents have been in former days copied for the use and under the direction of Messrs. Sparks and Bancroft, but to future historical students this unfolding of the nature of the participation of France in our struggle, by which the whole story of her connection with the Revolution is told, gives us a knowledge of the history of that time for which we look in vain elsewhere, and which may well force us to change our views on many points heretofore supposed to have been irrevocably settled.

This monumental work, which is, we doubt not, to be the great storehouse of facts on the subjects upon which it treats, was very properly given to the world on the centennial anniversary, as we have said, of the capture of the Bastille, July 14, 1789. It was intended as a trophy of what France had done for liberty in the history of the world. The day of the anniversary was of course the occasion of a great national festival (like the secular games of Rome), and thoughtful men in that country were never more proud of her national reputation than when she could prove by such a publication, without vain boasting, that she had done so much work in bringing into being one of the great powers of the world.

This book is undoubtedly the great authority for the facts which go to make up our knowledge of our relations with France during the Revolution, and the documents it presents us with should be regarded as conclusive in the

statements they make. It is a most fortunate circumstance that it has already been brought into most useful service by Mr. Tower in his life of La Fayette while he was in the American service. It helps to explain his career as no documentary evidence has yet done. His motives, so far as they can be understood by written documents, and, in short, the nature of the acts and motives of France in this business, and especially the history of her co-operation with La Fayette, throw a light upon a very dark chapter in our history. Mr. Tower has some peculiar qualifications for work of this kind. An early fondness for and study of American history, stimulated by the investigation of the original sources abroad, where for a number of years he was completing his education, his familiarity with modern languages, and his opportunity of constant intercourse with literary men have no doubt made him feel that this great gift of the French government should be made use of to show that we have not forgotten what France did for us in the day of trial, and how the interests of France and the liberty and independence of America became welded together in the fiery furnace of the Revolution. Mr. Tower has not neglected other sources of information, of course, when it was necessary to fill out the portrait of La Fayette; but, after all, his chief reliance is upon that of M. Doniol, and the consequence is that in all cases where he seeks for evidence in the "Participation," nothing can be fuller, more complete, and in every way more satisfactory than the conclusions which he arrives at. Indeed, one cannot go far in reading his book without coming to the conclusion that Mr. Tower is eminently of a judicial temper, a quality perhaps never more necessary than when he has to do with enthusiasts who kept up the popular feeling in France, most of whom were disciples of Rousseau and the Encyclopædists, of whom La Fayette was never one. There can be no doubt that had he answered to the popular idea of a Frenchman he would have met with no success in his expedition, and nothing is more remarkable than the manner in which he adapted his conduct to the simple purpose, not of gaining any new liberties



for the Americans, but of preserving those that had been their inheritance as Englishmen. He gained the good will and co-operation of his fellow-soldiers because he advocated no theories which were not in harmony with their ideas of self-government. It is true that La Fayette was not one of those officers who burned to avenge France and himself because an ignominious treaty had been forced upon his country by England in 1763, still less that he came to gain distinction as a military adventurer in this country. His great wish was to serve near the person of Washington. He knew America, young as he was, better than the Comte de Broglie did, and had no desire to establish here a Stadtholderate for himself and to supersede Washington in command.

Mr. Tower, with all his painstaking and conscientious labor and his great familiarity with the history of the era, in France especially, does not throw much light upon the long-vexed question, What was the overpowering motive which induced La Fayette to leave his country at the time he did to come over and help us? La Fayette, in acknowledging the commission of major-general, tells Congress that he considered the cause of the United States that of honor, virtue, and universal happiness. There is no difficulty in discovering the nature of the errand of the French officers who were the companions of La Fayette in his ship which brought them here in June, 1777, for the history of the time is full of their complaints about rank and pay and the non-observance of the contract made with them by Mr. Deane in Paris on behalf of Congress. But it is very clear that La Fayette was not, like these gentlemen, a military adventurer; indeed, it is quite certain that he, of all the Frenchmen who entered our service, could say at its expiration, as he had done when he made the agreement with Deane in 1776, that he proposed to serve "the United States with all possible zeal, without any pension or particular allowance." The commissioners, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, in a letter to Congress of 25th May, 1777, speak of him as "a young nobleman of great family connexions here

and of great wealth, who has gone to America in his own ship to serve in our armies." They say nothing of his patriotic ardor and love of the human race, so commonly regarded by French writers as essential to a great hero. In the absence of any other motive assigned for leaving his young wife and the other members of his family, his disobedience to the order of the King, and his abandoning all hope of military promotion at home, we are inclined to think, judging from his subsequent history, that the motive which he assigned for his conduct was the grand and noble, yet simple and prosaic, one of devotion to public duty. He landed, as is well known, after a long voyage, on the coast of Carolina, and from thence he pursued his long and toilsome way by land to Philadelphia. On his arrival, he and his companions were much surprised and discouraged by the reception they met with. Mr. Deane, the officers were told, had gone far beyond his instructions in making contracts with those who desired to enter the American service, especially by attempting to provide commissions in our army for them. The position of Congress was one of great delicacy and difficulty. It was embarrassed by Mr. Deane's promises, not merely because no new officers were needed, but also because their appointment in accordance with the promise made by Deane would make them outrank the American officers, who from the beginning had borne the burden and heat of the day, and who were in most cases quite as competent for their work as those who sought to supersede them. Besides, although La Fayette professed his disinterestedness, yet Congress could not shut its eyes to the fact that he was, after all, only a runaway French officer, whose appointment in our army might produce at the Court of France a most unfavorable impression at a time when we were negotiating for a close alliance with that power. Then, in addition to all this, it was not the practice to make men major-generals who were but nineteen years old, and who, of course, had had no military experience. We were then, it must be remembered, absolutely dependent for our military supplies

upon France, and they had been purchased in that country for us by Mr. Deane. Deane was not only our purchasing agent, but he assumed to be to a large number of French officers who desired to enter into our service authorized to issue military commissions to them. As he had received no such instructions from our government and no authority from France to confer these commissions in that country, his heedless conduct had to be disavowed. We had probably discovered how small a matter might derange all our calculations at that time. Vergennes, who had always been our friend, had in the summer of 1776 gone so far as to induce Spain, under the obligations of the Bourbon family compact, openly to join in an alliance with France to aid us by declaring war with Great Britain, and even to contribute a million of livres towards helping us; but the news arriving of the loss of the battle of Long Island, the whole scheme collapsed, and the next document which we find in regard to the relations of France and Spain to Great Britain shows by what a slender thread we were bound to them. It is at the same time, perhaps, one of the most curious specimens of diplomatic lying in history. It is a note from Vergennes to the British ambassador in Paris.

SIR,—I am deeply touched by the attention of your Excellency in permitting me to share with you the joy you feel at the happy news of the successes of the British arms in Connecticut and in New York. I beg your Excellency to accept my thanks for this proof of friendship, and my sincere congratulations upon an event so likely to contribute towards the re-establishment of peace in that quarter of the globe.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am, &c.,  
DE VERGENNES.

Under circumstances such as these Congress may well have been embarrassed, and the members who tried to speak French with La Fayette's companions were certainly not cordial; but it seemed that there was no alternative, and the extraordinary step was taken, July 31, 1777, of making a boy of nineteen years of age a major-general, in



"consideration," as the resolution stated, "of his zeal, illustrious family, and connections." It is true that in order to save appearances the appointment was called an honorary one. Kalb and his other friends at first sought commissions in vain, but within a short time, probably at the earnest request of La Fayette himself, Kalb was made a major-general, his commission bearing the same date as that of La Fayette. There seems to have been a certain fascination about La Fayette at this time which carried beyond the bounds of prudence in this matter the members of the Continental Congress. Even Washington himself does not seem to have escaped the contagion of that sympathy which everywhere surrounded him. The first time he saw him he treated him as his own son, and begged that he would make the quarters of the Commander-in-Chief his home. Nothing is more curious and interesting about this book of Mr. Tower than the new light which his account of the relations between Washington and La Fayette throws upon the characteristics of the former. To him Washington does not appear as the cold, reserved, dignified personage whom he is justly represented to be in his intercourse with others. In every letter which he writes to La Fayette the gentle, affectionate, and tender side of his nature is most conspicuous, and La Fayette received it all with a loving, filial reverence which showed how he valued the absolute confidence which the great chief reposed in him. All his letters breathe the same spirit. Indeed, the affectionate relations between Washington and La Fayette, continuing without a break for nearly a quarter of a century, seem unparalleled in the history of the former's life.

At this time (August, 1777) Washington was about to begin at Brandywine the campaign which ended at Monmouth. It was on his way to the battle of Brandywine that Washington first saw him, and he served there as a volunteer, but without any command. In an attempt to rally the fugitives from that field he was wounded in the leg. The incident is principally remarkable for the tender care with which Washington caused him to be looked after

at Bethlehem, whither he had been transferred, and where his convalescence was tedious.

It is impossible to give here a detailed account of all the acts of gallantry by which he gained distinction during this campaign. One result followed which gratified the young man's ambition. By reason of his conspicuous good conduct his command was exchanged from a nominal to a real one. His services are thus spoken of in a letter from Washington to Franklin, introducing him on his return, on furlough, to Paris. "The generous motives," he says, "which first induced him to cross the Atlantic, the tribute which he paid to gallantry at Brandywine, his success in Jersey before he had recovered from his wounds, in an affair where he commanded militia against British grenadiers (Gloucester), the brilliant retreat by which he eluded a combined manœuvre of the whole British force in the last campaign (Barren Hill), his services in the enterprise against Rhode Island, are such proofs of his zeal, military ardor, and talents as have endeared him to America and must greatly recommend him to his Prince." In all these actions there is to be observed a growing attachment to the cause of the United States and an increasing capacity and desire to serve them. The period during this campaign in which he was able to show his zeal in their service was hardly more than a year; and the man who did this work of which Washington speaks had not reached his twenty-first year. Our army at that time had many officers of high rank who were of foreign birth; but what a contrast there is between the arrogant pretensions and scarcely concealed treason of such men as Gates, Charles Lee, Conway, and other conspirators, and La Fayette! He was subjected to the greatest degree of discomfort during the campaign, and, what was far worse, to the insulting conduct of Sullivan towards the French auxiliaries under D'Estaing; but nothing cooled his enthusiasm or swerved him from the plain path of duty.

At the end of the campaign of 1778, La Fayette obtained leave of absence, and returned to France with the double purpose of seeking pardon for the offence he had committed in

quitting the kingdom against the orders of the King, and of striving to help forward the cause of the colonies. Although the Congress and the army were loath to part with him, there was a strong conviction that he could induce the French government to lend us money and help us with supplies, although, strange to say, no re-enforcements of troops were asked for. It is strange that while every one felt the greatest confidence in La Fayette, the conduct of the French troops brought by D'Estaing had not been such as to lead us to desire that any more auxiliaries of that kind should be sent us.

We are inclined to look upon La Fayette in the year 1779 as quite as much of an American minister in France as was Dr. Franklin; and that implies what may appear a somewhat extravagant estimate of his services. He was, of course, received in his own country as a national hero, not merely by the liberal party, but by all who were distinguished by rank or power in the kingdom. It was necessary that he should be forgiven by the King for his disobedience in going to America before appearing at Court; but the *douce réprimande* which he received was in ludicrous contrast with the enthusiasm which his presence and his account of the American war everywhere excited. He soon became the chosen adviser of De Vergennes as to the mode of carrying on the war, and to him we owe perhaps more than any one else that measure which sent to our aid, under Rochambeau, a second body of nearly five thousand troops adequately supported by a large fleet.

One of the many excellent qualities in Mr. Tower's book is the orderly manner in which he arranges in due course of time the services of La Fayette. We have seen what he did for us on the battle-fields of 1777-78, and we now come to what may be properly called his diplomatic work in France during the year 1779,—a work which in the end resulted in gaining us the all-powerful aid of France and practically terminated the war. We are not to forget that the same qualities in La Fayette which inspired confidence



in Washington—his honesty, truthfulness, earnestness, and courage—were precisely those which won over De Vergennes to the great scheme which he had in contemplation when he sent out the expedition of Rochambeau to our assistance. La Fayette reached France in February, 1779, and he lost no time nor any opportunity of urging the claims of the Americans in the proper quarters to so great a degree that we observe that Mr. Tower is of opinion "that during this year his enthusiasm and his ceaseless representations" in our behalf before the Cabinet and the King kept the cause of the American Revolution alive in France. He brought together and set in "operation all the forces that could be exerted in our favor; he filled men's minds with his own enthusiasm; he intensified the hatred of his countrymen against England; he invoked the glory of France; he appealed to the most effective impulses of his people, always with one object in view,—to send help to America." He was soon appointed, through the influence of the Queen, to the command of a regiment in the King's service, and for several months he was in constant association with De Vergennes, aiding him in making arrangements for the second expedition. It would seem that La Fayette had some expectation that he would be appointed to the command of this army; but his youth, as well as his comparatively low rank in the French army, did not permit the authorities to place him, according to French military traditions, in such a position. Rochambeau was a veteran and a thorough disciplinarian, and the result of the campaign fully justified his selection. This was only one of the many occasions on which La Fayette took an active part in the effort to weaken the power of England, although it cost him constant self-denial and the sacrifice of his pretensions as a soldier. During the year 1779 an attempt was made by the French authorities to foment a rebellion in Ireland as well as to organize on a grand scale a scheme for the invasion of England. For this latter purpose a large army had been collected in Normandy, which was to be conveyed to England, a formidable combined fleet of France and Spain

serving as an escort to the expedition. Both of these schemes (in which La Fayette acted as *aide maréchal-général des logis*, or quartermaster-general) came to naught, and then the important expedition of Rochambeau was made ready for embarkation. The suggestion that this army should be sent came from Vergennes, although Congress had not asked for a re-enforcement of French troops, for reasons which have been already given.

The instructions given to the Count de Rochambeau for the conduct of this expedition, and especially for his constant co-operation with the troops of Washington, were prepared by La Fayette. If the re-enforcement which the French sent us at that time was of any real service in the campaign which culminated in the successful siege of Yorktown, if the commander particularly showed special wisdom in following the instructions which directed him to put his forces under the immediate command of Washington, the credit is chiefly, we should never forget, due to La Fayette, whose influence was based on the knowledge of the Americans which he had acquired during his residence in this country and to his determination to avoid the causes of irritation which had made D’Estaing’s effort to help us a failure. But he was not satisfied with warning Rochambeau of the possibility of being embarrassed in his operations by the absence of sympathy on the part of the Americans. On this point the French general was made fully aware of the obstacles he had to encounter. La Fayette determined to return to America and to use to the utmost his influence for the success of the expedition; to employ not only all his zeal, but all the skill which he had acquired by experience, for disabusing the Americans of the prejudices which they would certainly feel when called to act in co-operation with the French. He reached Boston in April, 1780, and at once sought the General-in-Chief, who was then encamped at Morristown. The character of the re-enforcements soon to arrive, and the determination of the French government to place them completely under the control of Washington (the suggestion of La Fayette), as



well as the general disposition of the King and the ministry in regard to the aid they were to give us, must have been particularly grateful to Washington at that gloomy time, when our domestic resources seemed so badly managed that we had nearly reached the point of exhaustion. At that time, as La Fayette said in a letter to President Reed, of Pennsylvania, "An army reduced to nothing, that wants provisions, that has not one of the necessary means to make war! Such is the situation wherein I found our troops, and however prepared I might be for this unhappy sight by our past distresses, I confess that I had no idea of such an extremity." La Fayette was sent by Washington, as a most confidential agent and interpreter of his wishes, to Rochambeau and the Chevalier de Ternay, with instructions that the fleet should leave Newport at once and endeavor, in co-operation with his own forces, to reduce New York. But he found the French fleet blockaded by Admiral Graves at Newport, and of course the French commander was unable to follow these instructions. The English having abandoned their plan of reconquering Rhode Island, however, an effort was made to secure the co-operation of the French in an attack on New York. The result was that, notwithstanding all the efforts of La Fayette to accomplish this object, it was found impossible to secure the aid of the French squadron and troops, and hence it was found necessary for the time to abandon the project.

All this disappointment, as the only result so far of the intervention of France, it was hard for both La Fayette and Washington to bear patiently, but they were men neither of whom ever permitted himself to despair of the republic. La Fayette was soon appointed to the command of a body of choice troops, who were sent to the tide-water rivers of Virginia in order to capture Arnold, who had been sent there on what was apparently a simple marauding expedition, and whose capture appears at all times to have been the most burning desire of Washington's heart. While this expedition was in preparation, La Fayette, never inactive, was urging Vergennes to send the Americans the

money of which they were so sorely in need, and commending John Laurens, the agent of Congress, to the favorable reception of the French cabinet. He at last embarked his troops at the Head of Elk; but here again the jealousy or inactivity of the French squadron under Des Touches defeated his plans. He was so long in reaching the entrance of Chesapeake Bay that he was unable to succor La Fayette's expedition against Arnold. A serious engagement between the fleets had so much injured both that neither could much aid the land forces until they were repaired. La Fayette was then directed again to march into Virginia, this time not merely to protect that State against the *raids* made by the enemy, but also to succor General Greene, who was then retiring before Cornwallis. It was utterly impossible for his small army to take the field until the men were properly clothed; but such was the penury of the treasury, and such the disinterested patriotism of La Fayette, that he borrowed in Baltimore for the public service two thousand guineas, giving his private obligation to return the money. At this very time of extreme distress it may be said that Louis XVI. had agreed to advance to the United States six millions of *livres tournois*, and to direct the Comte de Grasse, in command of the French squadron in the West Indies, to cruise off the coast of America during the next autumn. It was hoped that this fleet, co-operating with the other forces in that region, would interrupt the communication between the British forces in Virginia and their squadron at New York. Little could La Fayette or any friend of independence feel that when he was setting out on his Virginia expedition he was entering upon the beginning of the end of the American war.

One of the most valuable portions of Mr. Tower's book is his description of this campaign in Virginia. It is impossible here to follow him into all the details of La Fayette's operations, but this minute and accurate account of his wearisome marches with a very inadequate force, his main object being rather to defeat the plundering schemes of the enemy than to bring him into action, proves, if any

proof was needed, how competent La Fayette was at that time to be placed in charge of an independent command. His movements, delineated upon clear and admirable maps, can be traced in Mr. Tower's book from day to day without difficulty. At no time, even after he was joined by Wayne with his eight hundred Pennsylvanians, did his force exceed a greater number than two thousand effectives; yet with this little army he succeeded in driving Cornwallis to Yorktown, where the French army and the French fleet, at last in co-operation with our forces, cut him off from all succor and forced him to surrender.

The details of these marches and countermarches through the swamps and forests of Virginia are extremely well described. It is true that La Fayette failed in his efforts to prevent the junction of Cornwallis and Arnold at Petersburg; that he was obliged to evacuate Richmond, which soon afterwards was burned by the enemy; that he found it impossible to collect for his assistance any large body of Virginia militia; still, he persisted in actively pursuing the predatory bands of the enemy and harassing the small parties of his troops which were sent on expeditions to destroy the military stores. His letters are full of his desire that he should be soon joined by Wayne, and his firm conviction evidently was that with their united force they could soon bring to a close the partisan warfare waged by Cornwallis in Virginia. He little knew that at this very time Wayne was striving to gather together at York, Pennsylvania, the regiments with which he was ordered to help him, in the face of difficulties almost insuperable; that he was surrounded by mutinous soldiers incensed beyond endurance because neither the pay nor the clothing which had been promised them on their enlistment had been provided, and that before he could reduce his soldiers to discipline he had been forced to hang several of the mutineers. In the mean time, of course, disaster overtook the troops of La Fayette; but what else was to be expected when the enemy outnumbered him so greatly? Wayne finally joined him on the south side of the Rappahannock, on the 10th of June, with three Pennsylvania



regiments and a detachment of artillery consisting of six field-pieces. As soon as he was joined by Wayne's troops he marched to the south and put an end to the kind of warfare in which the enemy had been engaged. As Mr. Tower says, "It was the presence of La Fayette with his little band which interrupted the destruction of public stores and disappointed Cornwallis in the results of his expedition. It was the presence of La Fayette, with his cautious movements, his never-failing watchfulness, his soldierly conduct, and his skill in manœuvring in the face of his antagonist, which prevented the complete subjugation of the country." As soon as he was joined by Wayne, Cornwallis seemed to have changed places with him, evacuating Richmond, and keeping down the Peninsula towards Williamsburg, followed closely by the Americans. The skirmishes along this route were frequent, and, if they did nothing else, they made vain the boast of Cornwallis that he had conquered Virginia. Wayne's men, and particularly Butler's regiment, seem to have had their full share of the glory reaped on these occasions. The battle of Green Spring, fought on the 6th of July, was the most formidable engagement between Cornwallis and La Fayette during the campaign, and it shows to what perfection of discipline the Marquis had brought his Continental troops during the wearisome marches of the last few months in Virginia. La Fayette followed closely on the rear of the British force to Williamsburg, and it was soon reported that Cornwallis was about to cross the James River, or rather that a large portion of his force had already done so. Under this impression a detachment of the American army was sent forward under General Wayne to reconnoitre the position of the rear-guard, and if occasion offered to attack it. This detachment had driven in some outlying parties of cavalry next the pickets, when La Fayette, to assure himself of the nature of the force he was about to attack, reached by a circuitous route a hill, from the summit of which he discovered the whole British army arrayed in line, the force in front of Wayne constituting only a



small portion of it. He returned instantly to Wayne with this information, and found him hotly engaged with the advance-guard and the whole British force coming on to aid them. The flanks of the Americans were already turned, and they were in imminent danger. It was then that Wayne, with his gallant Pennsylvanians commanded by Butler, Harmar, and Stewart, "with the instinct of a leader and the courage of a lion," determined to advance and charge, although the enemy's troops numbered five times as many as his own. He succeeded so far as to escape the consequences of such a surprise, and retreated across the swamp, where his command joined the militia who had not been in the combat.

This charge at Green Spring has always been looked upon as, next to the assault at Stony Point, the most brilliant example of the characteristics of Wayne's military genius. He was, it must be remembered, in no way responsible for being so near the British army as it turned out that he was. While his superior officer, La Fayette, was reconnoitring, he was confronted by what all supposed to be a small force, but which proved to be the whole British army. Under the circumstances he was forced to surrender or to charge, and charge he did on his own responsibility and without orders. Certainly the glory of La Fayette rests on too solid a foundation to make it necessary to ascribe to him in any way the credit which may be due to this wonderful exploit of Wayne.

We have no room to enlarge upon the anxieties caused during this eventful summer by the fear that Cornwallis, who had reached Portsmouth in safety, might give further trouble by an attack on some point where he was least expected. Meantime the British commander, under the orders of Sir Henry Clinton at New York, had taken post at Yorktown, and La Fayette's heart was gladdened by the arrival of the fleet of the Comte de Grasse and the confidential message from Washington that he, with the army of Rochambeau, would march to Virginia, and, in co-operation with the French fleet and the troops which it had

brought and La Fayette's war-worn veterans, share in the glory of the siege of Yorktown, by which the war, it was hoped, would be brought to a close.

The plans of Washington for the co-operation of the French forces with his own proved successful, his army, accompanied by the French troops under Rochambeau, having reached the mouth of the James River, where they were met by a portion of the French fleet from Newport and the West India squadron under the Comte de Grasse, with more than three thousand troops under Saint-Simon and the troops under La Fayette. Cornwallis found himself completely entrapped at Yorktown, and, after trying to make a resistance,—hopeless from the first,—surrendered. With the surrender at Yorktown, La Fayette's military services to the United States ceased, and the first chapter of one of the most eventful lives of the past century was brought to a close. We must leave him here in all the fulness and freshness of the fame he had acquired in aiding to bring into existence the youngest and not the least powerful of the great nations of the world.

And we cannot close without congratulating all students of American history that Mr. Tower has set the example which they have long looked for with hopeless desire,—that of a man who knows how history should be written, and who does not shrink from the labor of going to the original sources of the story which he has to tell.

## WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1784-1799.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from Vol. XVIII. page 418.)

1785.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1.

At Mount Vernon: "The hounds which you were so obliging as to send, arrived safe, and are of promising appearance."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

"September 19.—Rid to the Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue run, and Muddy hole—took my French Hounds with me for the purpose of Airing them & giving them a knowledge of the grounds about the place. November 29.—Went out after Breakfast with my hounds from France. December 1.—Took the Hounds out before Sun Rise. . . . 3 or 4 of the French Hd<sup>s</sup> discovered no greater disposition for Hunting to day than they did on tuesday last. December 5.—It being a good scenting Morning I went out with the Hounds. . . . My French Hounds performed better to day."—*Washington's Diary.*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

At Mount Vernon: "September 3.—In the Evening James Madison Esq. came in. September 5.—M<sup>r</sup> Madison left this after Breakfast."—*Washington's Diary.*

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

At Mount Vernon: "September 6.—A M<sup>r</sup> Taylor Clerk to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs came here whilst we were at Dinner, sent by M<sup>r</sup> Jay, by order of Congress, to take Copies of the Report of the Commissioners who had been sent in by me to New York, to take an Acct. of the Slaves which had been sent from that place (previous to the evacuation) by the British."—*Washington's Diary.*

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9.

At Alexandria: "September 9.—Rid up to Alexandria with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington, who wanted to get some Cloathing

for little Washington Custis; and for the purpose of seeing Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald & Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpin on the business of the Poto-  
mack Company—Returned home to Dinner.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.

At Mount Vernon: “*September 10.*—Rid with Fanny Bassett, M<sup>r</sup> Taylor and M<sup>r</sup> Shaw to meet a Party from Alexandria at Johnsons Spring (on my Land where Clifton formerly lived) where we dined on a cold dinner brought from Town by water and spent the Afternoon agreeably—Returning home by Sun down or a little after it.”—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

Leaves Mount Vernon: “*September 20.*—About Noon, agreeably to an appointment I set off for the Seneca Falls—dined at Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpins and proceeded afterwards with him to M<sup>r</sup> Bryan Fairfaxes<sup>1</sup> where we lodged.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*September 21.*—The Rain continuing without intermission until 10 or 11 oclock, and no appearances of fair weather until Noon, we did not leave M<sup>r</sup> Fairfaxes 'till a little after it and then meeting much difficulty in procuring a vessel, did not get to the Works at the Seneca falls until the labourers had quit them.—we then went to our old quarters at M<sup>r</sup> Goldsboroughs were lodged—M<sup>r</sup> Fairfax accompanied us. *September 22.*—About 10 oclock we left M<sup>r</sup> Goldsboroughs & in a boat passed down the Seneca falls to the place where the workmen were blowing Rocks. . . . After viewing the works we crossed to the Virginia side and proceeded to the Great Falls where by appointment we were to have met Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald—and Vessels to take us by Water to the little Falls in order to review the River between the two.—The latter we found, but not the first, & parting with M<sup>r</sup> Fairfax here, and sending our Horses by Land to M<sup>r</sup> Hipkins's at the Falls Warehouse we embarked about 3 oclock; Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpin myself & one hand in one Canoe, and two other people in another Canoe, and proceeded down the River to the place where it is proposed to let the Water again into a Canal to avoid the little Falls. . . . Lodged this Night at M<sup>r</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Bryan Fairfax resided at “Towlston,” about three miles from the Great Falls of the Potomac. In the latter years of his life he lived at “Mount Eagle,” between Alexandria and Mount Vernon, where he died in 1802.



Hipkins's at the Falls warehouse where we arrived at Dark. *September 23.*—After taking an Early breakfast at M<sup>r</sup> Hipkins's I set out and reached home about 11 o'clock."—*Washington's Diary.*

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 26.

At Alexandria: "*September 26.*—Went up to Alexandria to meet Colonels Gilpin & Fitzgerald on business of the Potomack Comp<sup>y</sup>. Dined at the New Tavern, kept by M<sup>r</sup> Lyle."—*Washington's Diary.*

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 2.

At Mount Vernon: "*October 2.*—Went with Fanny Bassett, Burwell Bassett, Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuart, G. A. Washington, M<sup>r</sup> Shaw & Nelly Custis to Pohick Church; to hear a M<sup>r</sup> Thompson preach, who returned home with us to Dinner, where I found the Rev. M<sup>r</sup> Jones,<sup>1</sup> formerly a Chaplin in one of the Pennsylvania Regiments.—After we were in Bed (about Eleven o'clock in the Evening) M<sup>r</sup> Houdon, sent from Paris by Doct<sup>r</sup> Franklin and M<sup>r</sup> Jefferson to take My Bust, in behalf of the State of Virginia, with three young men assistants, introduced by a M<sup>r</sup> Perin a French Gentleman of Alexandria arrived here by Water from the latter place. *October 7.*—Sat this day, as I had done yesterday for M<sup>r</sup> Houdon to form my Bust."—*Washington's Diary.*

The General Assembly of Virginia having passed a resolution (June 22, 1784) that "The Executive be requested to take measures for procuring a statue of General Washington, to be of the finest marble and best workmanship," Governor Harrison directed Thomas Jefferson, then in Paris, to engage the services of a suitable person for the purpose. Mr. Jefferson thereupon contracted with the celebrated statuary, Jean Antoine Houdon, to undertake the work. Mr. Houdon was unwilling to do so without seeing Washington, and accordingly arrangements were made for his visiting the United States. He remained at Mount Vernon until October 19, during which time he made a cast of the face, from which a bust was modeled, and took minute measurements of the figure of Washington. The statue was completed in 1788, but was not put in position in the Capitol at Richmond until May 14, 1796. The figure has been pronounced by Lafayette "a facsimile of Washington's person," while the bust is held as the acknowledged likeness of the great American.

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<sup>1</sup> David Jones, of Chester County, Pennsylvania, chaplain of General Anthony Wayne in the Revolutionary war and the Indian war of 1794-95.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 10.

At Mount Vernon: "October 10.—A M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Lone, on his way to Bishop Seabury for ordination, called & dined here—could not give him more than a general certificate founded on information, respecting his character—having no acquaintance with him, nor any desire to open a Correspondence with the *new* ordained Bishop."—*Washington's Diary*.

Dr. Samuel Seabury was elected Bishop of Connecticut, by the Church of England clergy of that State, at Woodbury, March 25, 1783, and finally consecrated November 14, 1784, at Aberdeen, Scotland, by Bishops Kilgour, Petrie, and Skinner, representing the episcopate of the Scottish Church. He was the first Bishop of the American Church.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 12.

At Mount Vernon: "October 12.—M<sup>r</sup> Livingston son of Peter Vanbrugh Livingston of New York came to Dinner & stayed all Night—and in the Evening M<sup>r</sup> Madison arrived."—*Washington's Diary*.

"October 13.—M<sup>r</sup> Livingston, notwithstanding the Rain, returned to Alexandria after dinner. October 14.—M<sup>r</sup> Madison went away after Breakfast."—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15.

At Mount Vernon: "October 15.—The Reverend M<sup>r</sup> [Spence] Grayson, and Doct<sup>r</sup> [David] Griffith; Lund Washington, his wife, & Miss Stuart came to Dinner—all of whom remained the Evening except L. W.—After the Candles were lighted George Aug<sup>o</sup> Washington and Frances Bassett were married by M<sup>r</sup> Grayson."—*Washington's Diary*.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "October 17.—Set out to meet the Directors of the Potomack Navigation at George Town, —where having all assembled, we proceeded towards the Great Falls, and dispersing for the convenience of obtaining Quarters, Gov<sup>r</sup> Johnson & I went to M<sup>r</sup> Bryan Fairfax."—*Washington's Diary*.

"October 18.—After an early breakfast at M<sup>r</sup> Fairfax's Gov<sup>r</sup> Johnson & I set out for the Falls (accompanied by M<sup>r</sup> Fairfax) where we met the other

Directors—and Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpin in the operation of levelling the ground for the proposed cut or Canal from the place where it is proposed to take the Water out to the other where it will be let into the River again. . . . After dark I returned to M<sup>r</sup> Fairfax's. *October 19.*—Immediately after breakfast I set out for my return home—at which I arrived a little after Noon.—And found my Brother J<sup>n</sup> [Augustine] his Wife; Daughter Milly, & Sons Bushrod & Corbin, & the Wife of the first.—M<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Washington & his Wife & 4 Children.”—*Washington's Diary.*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21.

At Alexandria: “*October 21.*—My Brother [and] M<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Washington and his Wife went up with me to this days Races at Alexandria—We dined at Col<sup>o</sup> [Dennis] Ramsays & returned in the Evening. *October 22.*—Went up again to day, with my Brother and the rest of the Gentlemen to the Race & dined at M<sup>r</sup> [William] Herberts.”—*Washington's Diary.*

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29.

At Mount Vernon: Declines, in a letter to Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, to accept fifty shares in the Potomac Company and one hundred shares in the James River Company, voted to him by the General Assembly of the State, January 5; “it being their wish in particular, that those great works of improvement, which, both as springing from the liberty which he has been so instrumental in establishing, and as encouraged by his patronage, will be durable monuments of his glory, may be made monuments also of the gratitude of his country.”

In this letter, after referring to his fixed determination of refusing every pecuniary recompense for his services to his country, Washington wrote, “But if it should please the General Assembly to permit me to turn the destination of the fund vested in me, from my private emolument, to objects of a public nature, it will be my study in selecting these to prove the sincerity of my gratitude for the honor conferred on me, by preferring such as may appear most subservient to the enlightened and patriotic views of the legislature.” This proposition the Assembly acceded to, such disposition to be made either during his lifetime or by testamentary writing.

By his last will and testament Washington bequeathed the one hundred shares in the James River Company to the “Liberty Hall Academy in the County of Rockbridge, in the Commonwealth of Virga,” now the Washington and Lee University of Lexington; and the fifty shares of the



Potomac Company "towards the endowment of a University to be established within the limits of the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the General Government." The national university, however, was never established.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31.

At Mount Vernon: "October 31.—A Captain [Richard] Fullerton came here to Dinner on business of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania; for whom I signed 250 Diplomas as President.—went away after."—*Washington's Diary*.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4.

At Mount Vernon: "November 4.—In the Evening a Mr Jn<sup>o</sup> Fitch came in, to propose a draft & Model of a Machine for promoting Navigation, by means of a Steam."—*Washington's Diary*.

John Fitch, who in April, 1785, first conceived the idea of steam as a motive-power for vessels, and had a few months later (September) submitted a model for his steamboat before the American Philosophical Society, visited Virginia at this time, in order to petition the Legislature for assistance to complete his invention.

Washington does not seem to have taken any interest in the object of his visit, and even when at Philadelphia in 1787, in attendance on the Constitutional Convention, was not present at the successful attempt made by Fitch (August 22) to propel a boat of some size on the Delaware, although a number of the members of the Convention seem to have witnessed it.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

At Mount Vernon: "November 5.—Mr Robert Washington of Chotanck—Mr Lund Washington & Mr Lawrence Washington dined here as did Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpin and Mr Noah Webster—the 4 first went away afterwards—the last stayed all Night."—*Washington's Diary*.

Noah Webster, LL.D., the author of the "American Dictionary of the English Language," first published in 1828, had previously visited Mount Vernon (May 20). His journey to the Southern States was for the purpose of petitioning their Legislatures to enact a copyright law. It is stated that when at Mount Vernon, Dr. Webster presented Washington with a copy of his pamphlet entitled "Sketches of American Policy," published in 1784, in which he argued that a new system of government was necessary for the



country, in which the people and Congress should act without the constant intervention of the States. This is believed to have been the first movement toward a national constitution.

#### TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8.

At Mount Vernon: "*November 8.*—A Capt<sup>a</sup> Lewis Littlepage came here to Dinner. . . . This Capt<sup>a</sup> Littlepage has been Aid de Camp to the Duke de Crillon—was at the Sieges of Fort St. Phillip (on the Island of Minorca) and Gibraltar; and is an extraordinary character."—*Washington's Diary*.

Lewis Littlepage, son of Colonel James Littlepage, was born in Hanover County, Virginia, December 19, 1762. He was graduated at William and Mary College in 1778, and being a relative of John Jay, then minister to Madrid, he joined him in the winter of 1779–80. He volunteered in the expedition of the Duc de Crillon against Minorca in 1782, and at the attack on Gibraltar was blown up from one of the floating batteries, but saved. He subsequently made the tour of Europe, established himself at Warsaw, and went to St. Petersburg as ambassador from Poland. He died at Fredericksburg, Virginia, July 19, 1802.

#### THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10.

At Alexandria: "*November 10.*—Went up to Alexandria to meet the Directors of the Potomack Company.—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Fendalls (who was from home) and returned in the Evening with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

At Mount Vernon: "*November 16.*—Richard Henry Lee, lately President of Congress;<sup>1</sup> his son Ludwell, Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald, and a M<sup>r</sup> [John] Hunter (Merch<sup>t</sup>) of London came to Dinner & stayed all Night."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*November 16.*—We arrived at Mount Vernon by one o'clock—so-called by the General's eldest brother, who lived there before him, after the Admiral of that name. When Colonel Fitzgerald introduced me to the General I was struck with his noble and venerable appearance. It immediately brought to my mind the great part he had acted in the late war. The General is about six feet high, perfectly straight and well made; rather inclined to be lusty. His eyes are full and blue and seem to express an air

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Henry Lee was President of Congress from November 30, 1784, to November 23, 1785.

of gravity. His nose inclines to the aquiline; his mouth is small; his teeth are yet good and his cheeks indicate perfect health. His forehead is a noble one and he wears his hair turned back, without curls and quite in the officer's style, and tyed in a long queue behind. Altogether he makes a most noble, respectable appearance, and I really think him the first man in the world. . . . When I was first introduced to him he was neatly dressed in a plain blue coat, white cassimir waistcoat, and black breeches and Boots, as he came from his farm. After having sat with us some time he retired and sent in his lady, a most agreeable woman about 50, and Major Washington his nephew, married about three weeks ago to a Miss Bassett: She is Mrs. Washington's niece and a most charming young woman. She is about 19. After chatting with them for half an hour, the General came in again, with his hair neatly powdered, a clean shirt on, a new plain drab coat, white waistcoat and white silk stockings. At three, dinner was on the table, and we were shewn by the General into another room, where everything was set off with a peculiar taste, and at the same time very neat and plain. The General sent the bottle about pretty freely after dinner, and gave success to the navigation of the Potomac for his toasts, which he has very much at heart, and when finished will I suppose be the first river in the world. . . .

"After tea General Washington retired to his study and left us with the President [Mr. Lee], his lady and the rest of the Company. If he had not been anxious to hear the news of Congress from Mr. Lee, most probably he would not have returned to supper, but gone to bed at his usual hour, nine o'clock, for he seldom makes any ceremony. We had a very elegant supper about that time. The General with a few glasses of champagne got quite merry, and being with his intimate friends laughed and talked a good deal. Before strangers he is generally very reserved, and seldom says a word."—*Diary of John Hunter*, PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XVII. p. 76.

#### THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17.

At Mount Vernon: "*November 17.*—Col<sup>o</sup> Lee & all the Company [including Mr. Hunter] went away after Breakfast."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*November 17.*—I rose early and took a walk about the General's grounds—which are really beautifully laid out. He has about 4000 acres well cultivated and superintends the whole himself. Indeed his greatest pride now is, to be thought the first farmer in America. He is quite a Cincinnatus, and often works with his men himself—strips off his coat and labors like a common man. The General has a great turn for mechanics. It's astonishing with what niceness he directs everything in the building way, condescending even to measure the things himself, that all may be perfectly uniform. The style of his house is very elegant, something like the Prince de Condé's at Chantille, near Paris, only not quite so large; but it's a pity he did not build a new one at once, as it has cost him nearly as much repairing his old one. His improvements I'm told are very great

within the last year. . . . It's astonishing what a number of small houses the General has upon his Estate for his different Workmen and Negroes to live in. He has everything within himself—Carpenters, Bricklayers, Brewers, Blacksmiths, Bakers, etc., etc., and even has a well assorted Store for the use of his family and servants. . . . The General has some hundreds of Negroes on his plantations. He chiefly grows Indian corn, wheat and tobacco. . . . The situation of Mount Vernon is by nature one of the sweetest in the world, and what makes it still more pleasing is the amazing number of sloops that are constantly sailing up and down the River.”—*Diary of John Hunter*.

#### MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

At Alexandria: “*November 21.*—I went up to Alexandria with G. Washington to meet the Directors of the Potomack Com<sup>a</sup> and to a Turtle feast (the Turtle given by myself to the Gentlemen of Alex<sup>a</sup>). Returned in the Evening and found the Count Doradour, recommended by & related to the Marq<sup>e</sup> de la Fayette here.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 25.

At Gunston Hall: “*November 25.*—Set out after breakfast, accompanied by M<sup>r</sup> G. Washington, to make M<sup>r</sup> Mason at Colchester a visit, but hearing on the Road that he had removed from thence I turned into Gunston Hall where we dined and returned in the Evening & found Col<sup>o</sup> Henry Lee & his Lady here.”—*Washington's Diary*.

Gunston Hall, on the Potomac, near the mouth of the Occoquan River, below Mount Vernon, was the residence of George Mason, author of “The Virginia Bill of Rights.” The house, erected by Mr. Mason about the year 1758, is still standing, although no longer in possession of the Mason family.

#### FRIDAY, DECEMBER 2.

At Mount Vernon: “*December 2.*—Col<sup>o</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> [Daniel] Macarty came here to Dinner—as did Colonels Fitzgerald and Gilpin—and M<sup>r</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Lee & Doct<sup>r</sup> Baker.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, DECEMBER 4.

At Mount Vernon: “*December 4.*—Last Night Jn<sup>o</sup> Alton, an Overseer of mine in the Neck—an old & faithful Servant



who had lived with me 30 odd years died—and this evening the wife of Tho<sup>s</sup> Bishop, another old Servant who had lived with me an equal number of years also died.”—*Washington's Diary*.

John Alton, a Welshman by birth, attended Washington in the Braddock campaign of 1755. Thomas Bishop (the death of whose wife is noted in the diary) came to America in 1755, as a military servant to General Braddock, and at the battle of the Monongahela (July 9) was detailed by that commander to wait upon Washington, who had barely recovered from a severe attack of illness. After the death of Braddock he took service with the young Virginia colonel, and was in attendance upon him the day of his first interview with the widow Custis. Bishop was deemed too old for active service in the Revolution, and remained at Mount Vernon. He died in January, 1795, aged eighty years.

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8.

At Mount Vernon: “*December 8.*—Capt<sup>n</sup> Fairley [James Fairlie] of New York came here in the Afternoon.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*December 12.*—Maj<sup>r</sup> Farlie went away before breakfast, with 251 Diplomas which I had signed for the Members of the Cincinnati of the State of New York, at the request of General McDougall Presedent of that Society.—

“After an early breakfast George Washington M<sup>r</sup> Shaw & Myself went into the Woods back of Muddy hole Plantation a hunting and were joined by M<sup>r</sup> Lund Washington and M<sup>r</sup> William Peake.—About half after ten Oclock (being first plagued with the Dogs running Hogs) we found a fox near Col<sup>o</sup> Masons Plantation on little Hunting Creek (West fork) having followed on his Drag more than half a Mile; and run him with Eight Dogs (the other 4 getting, as was supposed after a Second Fox) close and well for an hour—When the Dogs came to a fault and to cold Hunting until 20 Minutes after 12 When being joined by the missing Dogs they put him up a fresh and in about 50 Minutes killed up in an open field of Col<sup>o</sup> Mason's—every Rider & every Dog being present at the Death.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17.

At Alexandria: “*December 17.*—Went to Alexandria to meet the Trustees of the Academy in that place—and offered to vest in the hands of the said Trustees, when they are permanently established by Charter, the Sum of One thousand pounds, the Interest of which only, to be applied



towards the establishment of a charity School for the education of Orphan and other poor Children—which offer was accepted—returned again in the Evening.”—*Washington's Diary*.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 19.

At Mount Vernon: “My homage is due to his Catholic Majesty for the honor of his present. The value of it is intrinsically great; but it is rendered inestimable by the manner, and the hand it is derived from. Let me entreat you, therefore, Sir, to lay before the King my thanks for the jackasses, with which he has been graciously pleased to compliment me.”—*Washington to Count de Florida Blanca*, Spanish Minister of State.

The King of Spain, hearing that General Washington was endeavoring to procure in Europe asses of the best breed, for the purpose of rearing mules on his estates, made him a present of three, a jack and two jennies, and sent over with them a person who was acquainted with the habits of these animals and the mode of treating them. He arrived at Mount Vernon early in December, and after his instructions were taken down in writing by Washington, left on the 20th. The jack, called the *Royal Gift*, was about fifteen hands high.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 22.

At Mount Vernon: “*December 22.*—Went a Fox hunting with the Gentlemen who came here yesterday [Daniel Dulany, Jr., Benjamin Dulany, Samuel Hanson, Thomas Hanson, Philip Alexander, and a Mr. Mounsher], together with Ferdinando Washington<sup>1</sup> and M<sup>r</sup> Shaw, after a very early breakfast—found a Fox just back of Muddy hole Plantation and after a Chase of an hour and a quarter with my Dogs, & eight couple of Doctor Smiths (brought by M<sup>r</sup> Phil Alexander) we put him into a hollow tree, in which we fastned him, and in the Pincushion put up another Fox which, in an hour & 13 Minutes was killed—We then after allowing the Fox in the hole half an hour put the Dogs upon his Trail & in half a Mile he took to another hollow tree and was again put out of it but he did not go 600 yards before

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<sup>1</sup> A nephew of General Washington, son of his brother Samuel.

he had recourse to the same shift—finding therefore that he was a conquered Fox we took the Dogs off, and came home to Dinner.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“Breakfast was served, on hunting mornings, at candle-light, the general always breaking his fast with an Indian-corn cake and a bowl of milk; and, ere the cock had ‘done salutation to the morn,’ the whole cavalcade would often have left the house, and the fox be frequently unkennelled before sunrise. Those who have seen *Washington on horseback* will admit that he was one of the most accomplished of cavaliers in the true sense and perfection of the character. He rode, as he did everything else, with ease, elegance, and with power. The vicious propensities of horses were of no moment to this skilful and daring rider! He always said that he required but one good quality in a horse, *to go along*, and ridiculed the idea of its being even possible that he should be unhorsed, provided the animal kept on his legs. Indeed the perfect and sinewy frame of the admirable man gave him such a surpassing grip with his knees, that a horse might as soon disencumber itself of the saddle as of such a rider.

“The general usually rode in the chase a horse called *Blueskin*, of a dark iron-gray color, approaching to blue. This was a fine but fiery animal, and of great endurance in a long run. . . . There were roads cut through the woods in various directions, by which aged and timid hunters and ladies could enjoy the exhilarating cry, without risk of life or limb; but Washington rode gaily up to his dogs, through all the difficulties and dangers of the ground on which he hunted, nor spared his generous steed, as the distended nostrils of *Blueskin* often would show. He was always in at the death, and yielded to no man the honor of the brush.”—*George Washington Parke Custis*, “Recollections of Washington.”

#### SUNDAY, DECEMBER 25.

At Mount Vernon: “*December 25.*—Count Castiglioni came here to dinner. *December 29.*—Count Castiglioni went away after breakfast, on his tour to the Southward.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29.

At Mount Vernon: “*December 29.*—I went [after breakfast] to my Dogue run Plantation to measure, with a view to New Model, the Fields at that place—did not return until dark nor finish my Surveys.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*December 30.*—Went to Dogue Run again to compleat my Surveys of the Fields which I did about 2 o'clock.”—*Washington's Diary*.

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MONDAY, JANUARY 2.

At Mount Vernon: "*January 2.*—Immediately after an early breakfast I went out with the Hounds but returned as soon as it began to Rain, without touching upon the drag of a fox."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*January 4.*—After breakfast I rid by the places where my Muddy hole & Ferry people were clearing—thence to the Mill and Dogue Run Plantations—and having the Hounds with me in passing from the latter towards Muddy hole Plantation I found a Fox which after dragging him some distance and running him hard for near an hour was killed by the cross road in front of the House. *January 10.*—Rid to my Plantation in the Neck and took the hounds with me—about 11 O'clock found a fox in the Pocoson<sup>1</sup> at Sheridan's point and after running it very indifferently and treeing it once caught it about one O'clock. *January 14.*—Went out with the Hounds & run a fox from 11 o'clock untill near 3 o'clock when I came home and left the Dogs at fault after which they recovered the Fox & its supposed killed it."—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21.

At Mount Vernon: "*January 21.*—Rid to my Plantations at Muddy hole and Dogue run—from thence to the Mill."—*Washington's Diary*.

The Mount Vernon estate proper comprised nearly forty-five hundred acres of land. For the purpose of systematic arrangement it was divided into the Mansion-House Farm and four plantations, known as the Union Farm, the Dogue Run Farm, the Muddy Hole Farm, and the River Farm, the latter of which, separated from the others by Little Hunting Creek, included several plantations in what was known as the Neck. The four plantations contained thirty-two hundred and sixty acres of arable land, and the Mansion-House Farm about four hundred and fifty acres with large bounds of woodland. Each one of the plantations had its own overseer and its independent outfit and plant. A map of the Washington farms at Mount Vernon, reduced from a drawing made by himself, will be found in Volume XII. p. 316 of Sparks's "*Writings of George Washington*."

Washington, when at home, visited these farms almost every day, mounting his horse after breakfast and returning shortly before three o'clock, when he dressed for dinner. The tour of the farms might average ten to fifteen miles per day. The afternoon was usually devoted to the library

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<sup>1</sup> A word used in Virginia and other Southern States, signifying a *reclaimed marsh*. Both Webster and Worcester cite Washington as authority.

and the evening to his family and friends; at nine o'clock he retired for the night, as he was an early riser.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28.

At Mount Vernon: "*January 28.*—Went out after breakfast with my hounds—found a Fox on the Branch within Mr Thomson Masons Field and run him some times hard and sometimes at cold hunting from 11 oclock till near two when I came home and left the huntsman with them who followed in the same manner two hours or more longer, and then took the Dogs off without killing."—*Washington's Diary.*

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "*February 1.*—Not being able to leave here yesterday (as I intended) for the appointed meeting of the Directors of the Potomack Navigation at the Great Falls this day, I set out this Morning at the first dawning of day for this purpose, and after as disagreeable a ride as I ever had for the distance, arrived, at the Falls at half after 11 oclock where I found Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpin (who had been there since Sunday Night) levelling &c—and Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald who got there just before me.

"Spent the remainder of this day in viewing the different grounds along which it was supposed the Canal might be carried and after dining at the Huts went in the evening accompanied by Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald & Mr Potts [clerk to the board of managers] to a Mr Wheelers in the Neighbourhood (ab<sup>t</sup> 1½ Miles off) to lodge."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*February 2.*—Spent this day in examining the ground more attentively, and levelling the different ways we had discovered yesterday. . . . Dined again at the Hutts. . . . After 7 Oclock at Night Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald Mr Potts & myself left the Hutts, & came to Mr William Scotts about 6 Miles on this side of the Falls where we lodged. *February 3.*—After an early breakfast we left Mr Scotts; and about noon I reached home."—*Washington's Diary.*

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "*February 28.*—Set out, by appointment, to attend a meeting of the Board of Directors of



the Potomack Company at the Great Falls—Dined and lodged at Abingdon, to which place M<sup>rs</sup> Washington and all the Children accompanied me.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*March 1.*—After a very early breakfast at Abingdon I set off for the meeting at the Great Falls & passing near the little falls arrived at the former about 10 O'clock; where in a little time, assembled Gov<sup>r</sup> Johnston Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald, and Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpin. Little or no business done to day. . . . I went to M<sup>r</sup> Fairfax's (about 3 Miles off) where I lodged. *March 2.*—Accompanied by M<sup>r</sup> Fairfax I repaired again to the Falls where we arrived about 8 o'clock . . . the day was so stormy, that we could neither level, nor Survey the different tracks talked of for the Canal. . . . Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald & M<sup>r</sup> Potts accompanied M<sup>r</sup> Fairfax & myself to Towlston. *March 3.*—The Snow which fell yesterday & last Night covered the ground at least a foot deep; and continuing snowing a little all day, & blowing hard from the N<sup>o</sup> West, we were obliged tho' we assembled at y<sup>e</sup> huts again to relinquish all hopes of levelling & Surveying the ground this trip. . . . I again returned (first dining at the Hutts) with Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald to Towlston, in a very severe evening. *March 4.*—After breakfast Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald and myself set off on our return home & parted at 4 Mile run.—about half after four I got to Mount Vernon, where M<sup>rs</sup> Washington, Nelly and little Washington had just arrived.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, MARCH 5.

At Mount Vernon: “*March 5.*—M<sup>r</sup> Rich<sup>d</sup> Bland Lee came here to dinner and stayed all Night. *March 6.*—M<sup>r</sup> Lee went away about 10 O'clock and M<sup>r</sup> Thornton Washington [son of Samuel Washington] came in after we had dined and stayed all night.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, MARCH 12.

At Mount Vernon: “*March 12.*—About dusk M<sup>r</sup> William Harrison (a delegate to Congress from the State of Maryland) and his Son came in on their way to New York. *March 13.*—M<sup>r</sup> Harrison and son went away after breakfast.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, MARCH 19.

At Mount Vernon: “*March 19.*—A Gentleman calling himself the Count de Cheiza D'arteignan officer of the French Guards came here to dinner; but bringing no letters of introduction, nor any authentic testimonials of his

being either; I was at a loss how to receive or treat him—he stayed dinner and the evening.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*March 21.*—The Count de Cheiza D'artingnon (so calling himself) was sent, with my horses, to day, at his own request, to Alexandria.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, MARCH 25.

At Mount Vernon: “I feel very sensibly the honor conferred on me by the ‘South Carolina Society for promoting and improving Agriculture and other Rural Concerns,’ by unanimously electing me the first honorary member of that body.”—*Washington to William Drayton*.

In communicating to General Washington, under date of Charleston, November 23, 1785, the above intelligence, Mr. Drayton added, “This mark of their respect, the Society thought, was with peculiar propriety due to the man, who, by his gallantry and conduct as a soldier, contributed so eminently to stamp a value on the labors of every American farmer; and who, by his skill and industry in the cultivation of his fields, has likewise distinguished himself as a farmer.”

FRIDAY, APRIL 7.

At Mount Vernon: “*April 7.*—Mr George [Augustine] Washington went to Alexandria and engaged 100,000 Herrings to Smith & Douglas (if caught) at 5/ p<sup>r</sup> thousand.”—*Washington's Diary*.

It will be seen from the above that the fisheries at Mount Vernon formed no unimportant part of the domestic economy of the proprietor. They were quite valuable and extensive, and Washington, in describing his estate to Arthur Young, in 1793, wrote, “The river which encompasses the land, is well supplied with various kinds of fish at all seasons of the year; and, in the spring, with the greatest profusion of shad, herring, bass, carp, perch, sturgeon, &c. Several valuable fisheries appertain to the estate; the whole shore, in short, is one entire fishery.”

TUESDAY, APRIL 11.

At Mount Vernon: “*April 11.*—Rid to the Fishing Landing, where 30 odd Shad had just been caught at a haul,—not more than 2 or 3 had been taken at one time before this Spring.”—*Washington's Diary*.

## SATURDAY, APRIL 15.

At Alexandria: "*April 15.*—Rid to Alexandria to a Meeting of the Directors of the Potomack Company, who had advertised their intention of Contracting on this day with whomsoever should bid lowest for the Supplying the Company's Servants with Rations for one year. . . . Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Lyle's tavern and returned in the Evening."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*April 17.*—Went up to Alexandria to an election of Delegates to represent this County; when the suffrages of the people fell upon Col<sup>o</sup> Mason and Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuart. . . . Returned home in the evening."—*Washington's Diary*.

## THURSDAY, APRIL 20.

At Mount Vernon: "*April 20.*—The Shad began to Run to day, having caught 100, 200 & 300 at a draught."—*Washington's Diary*.

## SUNDAY, APRIL 23.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "*April 23.*—Set off after breakfast, on a journey to Richmond—to acknowledge in the General Court some Deeds for Land sold by me as Attorney for Col<sup>o</sup> George Mercer which it seems, could not be executed without. Dined at Dumfries and lodged at Stafford Court House."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*April 24.*—A good deal of Rain having fallen in the Night and it continuing to do so till after 6 ocl<sup>k</sup> I was detained till near seven—when I set out, dined at my Mothers in Fredericksburg & proceeded afterwards to, and lodged at General Spotswoods. *April 25.*—Set out from General Spotswoods about Sun Rising and breakfasted at the Bowling green. . . . Dined at Rawlins and lodged at Hanover Court House. *April 26.*—Left Hanover Court H<sup>o</sup> about Sun Rise—breakfasted at Norvals tavern—and reached Richmond about Noon,—put up at Formicalo's Tavern, where by invitation, I dined with the Judges of the General Court."—*Washington's Diary*.

## THURSDAY, APRIL 27.

At Richmond, Virginia: "*April 27.*—Acknowledged in the General Court a Deed to James Mercer Esq<sup>r</sup> for the Lotts he and I bought at the Sale of his deceased Brother

Col<sup>o</sup> George Mercer—and received a reconveyance from him of my part thereof.

“Road with the Lieu<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> [Beverley] Randolph, the Attorney General [Edmund Randolph] and M<sup>r</sup> George Webb to view the cut which, had commenced between Westham and Richmond for the improvement of the Navigation of James River. . . . Dined and spent the evening at the Attorneys—lodged again at Formicalo’s.”—*Washington’s Diary*.

“April 28.—Left Richmond about 6 oclock—breakfasted at Norvals—Dined at Rawlins—and lodged at the Bowling. April 29.—Set out from Bowling green a little after Sun rising—breakfasted at General Spotswoods—Dined at my Sister’s in Fredericksburgh—and spent the evening at M<sup>r</sup> [William] Fitzhughs of Chatham. April 30.—Set off about Sun rising from M<sup>r</sup> Fitzhughs—breakfasted at Dumfries—and reached home to a late Dinner.”—*Washington’s Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, MAY 4.<sup>1</sup>

At Abingdon: “May 4.—After Dinner I set out for Abingdon in order (to morrow) to Survey my 4 Miles Run Tract; on which I had cause to apprehend trespasses had been committed.”—*Washington’s Diary*.

The tract on Four Mile Run, which empties into the Potomac River three miles above Alexandria, contained about twelve hundred acres. Washington made several surveys of this land, the final one on April 29 and 30, 1799, and by his last will and testament devised it to George Washington Parke Custis, his adopted son.

#### FRIDAY, MAY 5.

At Four Mile Run: “May 5.—Set out early from Abingdon, and beginning at the upper corner of my Land (on 4 Miles Run) a little below an old Mill; I ran the Tract agreeably to the courses & distances of a Plat made thereof by John Hough, in the year 1766 (Nov<sup>r</sup>) in presence of Col<sup>o</sup> Carlyle & M<sup>r</sup> James Mercer.—Not hav<sup>g</sup> Hough’s field Notes & no Corner trees being noted in His Plat, I did not attempt

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<sup>1</sup> “May 4.—Sent Maj<sup>r</sup> Washington to town [Alexandria] on Business where he and M<sup>r</sup> Lund Washington engaged to M<sup>r</sup> Watson 100 Barr<sup>ls</sup> of my Flour to be delivered next week at 32/9 p<sup>r</sup> Barr<sup>l</sup>.”—*Washington’s Diary*.



to look for lines; but allowing one degree for the variation of Compass since the Survey, above mentioned, was made, I run the courses and distances only. . . . Returned at Night to Abingdon, being attended in the labours of the day, by Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuart.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“May 6.—After an early breakfast I set out on my Return home & taking Muddy hole [plantation] in my way, returned about 10 O'clock.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### WEDNESDAY, MAY 10.

At Mount Vernon: “A measure in which this State [Virginia] has taken the lead at its last session, will, it is to be hoped, give efficient powers to that body [Congress] for all commercial purposes. This is a nomination of some of its first characters to meet other commissioners from the several States, in order to consider and decide upon such powers, as shall be necessary for the sovereign authority of them to act under.”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

This convention met at Annapolis, Maryland, September 11, 1786, to take into consideration the trade and commerce of the United States, and to provide for a uniform system in their commercial intercourse and regulations. Five States only—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia—were represented, and when the commissioners came together they found themselves invested with such limited powers as not to enable them to act for the general purposes of the meeting. They did little else than to draw up a report, to be presented to the several States, urging the necessity of a revision of the confederated system of government, and recommending a convention of delegates with larger powers to be held at Philadelphia on the second Monday of May following.

#### THURSDAY, MAY 18.

At Mount Vernon: “That it is necessary to revise and amend the articles of confederation, I entertain no doubt; but what may be the consequences of such an attempt is doubtful. Yet something must be done, or the fabric must fall, for it is certainly tottering.”—*Washington to John Jay*.

The letter from which the above extract is made was in answer to one from Mr. Jay, dated March 16, in which he said, “Experience has pointed out errors in our national government which call for correction, and which

threaten to blast the fruit we expected from our tree of liberty. The convention proposed by Virginia [for commercial purposes] may do some good, and would perhaps do more if it comprehended more objects. An opinion begins to prevail that a general Convention for revising the articles of confederation would be expedient. Whether the people are yet ripe for such a measure, or whether the system proposed to be attained by it is only to be expected from calamity and commotion, is difficult to ascertain. I think we are in a delicate situation, and a variety of considerations and circumstances give me uneasiness."

MONDAY, MAY 22.

At Mount Vernon: "May 22.—Began to take up the pavement of the Piazza."—*Washington's Diary*.

"May 23.—This day began to lay the Flags in my Piazza. May 27.—Finished laying 28 courses of the pavement in the Piazza."—*Washington's Diary*.

MONDAY, MAY 29.

At Mount Vernon: "May 29.—About 9 O'clock Mr Tobias Lear, who had been previously engaged on a Salary of 200 dollars, to live with me as a private Secretary & preceptor for Washington Custis a year came here from New Hampshire, at which place his friends reside."—*Washington's Diary*.

Tobias Lear, who remained with Washington, first as a secretary and afterward as superintendent of his private affairs, until the close of his first term as President, was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, September 19, 1762, and died in Washington, D.C., October 11, 1816. At the desire of Washington he resumed his duties as secretary in the summer of 1798, and was present at his death, of which he drew up a circumstantial account. (Sparks, Vol. I. p. 555.)

Mr. Lear, whose relations with Washington were of the most confidential nature, has left us the following testimonial to his private character, which, brief as it is, reveals more of the truth and consistency of his manhood than could be conveyed by the most labored eulogy: "General Washington is, I believe, almost the only man of an exalted character who does not lose some part of his respectability by an intimate acquaintance. I have never found a single thing that could lessen my respect for him. A complete knowledge of his honesty, uprightness, and candour in all his private transactions, has sometimes led me to think him more than a man."

SUNDAY, JUNE 4.

At Mount Vernon: "June 4.—Received from on board the Brig Ann, from Ireland, two Servant Men for whom I

had agreed yesterday—viz.—Thomas Ryan a shoemaker, and Caven Bon—a Taylor Redemptioners for 3 years Service by Indenture if they could not pay, each, the sum of £12 Ster<sup>s</sup> which sums I agreed to pay.”—*Washington's Diary*.

The demand for labor of a better character than that obtained from negro slaves gave rise, at an early period in the history of the colonies, to the custom of importing white men for a specified time of service. These *covenant servants* were regularly indentured under a voluntary agreement, and upon their arrival in this country were disposed of on terms seldom exceeding seven years, except in the case of very young persons. In later years the price paid to the shipper was but little in excess of the passage-money and expenses attending the importation. At the end of the term agreed upon the “redemptioners,” as they came to be called, merged into the mass of the white population without any special taint of servitude. Many of them were skilled mechanics, who in the end became valuable citizens.

#### WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14.

At Potomac Falls: “*June 14.*—After an early breakfast in Company with Col<sup>o</sup> Serf, I set out for our Works at the great falls; where we arrived about 11 O'clock and after viewing them set out on our Return & reached Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpins where we lodged.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*June 15.*—Took Alexandria—My Mill dam Meadow at Dogue Run and the Plantation there—as also the Ferry Plantation in my way home.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SATURDAY, JUNE 17.

At Mount Vernon: “*June 17.*—M<sup>r</sup> Hough, Butcher in Alexandria, came here this afternoon & purchased from me three fatted Beeves (2 in the Neck & 1 at Dogue run) for which he is to pay next week £42—also the picking of 12 Weathers from my flock at 34/ p<sup>r</sup> head—if upon consulting my Farmer & they could be spared, he was to have 20.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, JUNE 19.

At Mount Vernon: “*June 19.*—A Mons<sup>r</sup> Andri Michaux a Botanest sent by the Court of France to America (after having been only 6 Weeks returned from India) came in a

little before dinner with letters of Introduction & recommendation from the Duke de Lauzen, & Marq<sup>e</sup> de la Fayette to me—he dined and returned afterwards to Alexand<sup>r</sup> on his way to New York, from whence he had come; and where he was about to establish a Botanical garden.”—*Washington's Diary*.

In pursuance of his commission from the French government, André Michaux established nurseries for the cultivation of trees and shrubs, to be naturalized in France, at Bergen County, New Jersey, and near Charleston, South Carolina. From the former he made one shipment, but the Revolution prevented remittances, and the work was discontinued. He, however, in prosecution of his studies, travelled extensively in America, and did not return to his native land until 1796.

His son, François André, also a distinguished botanist, was sent by the French government in 1802 to study the forests of America, which had been explored by his father. This resulted in the production of his work entitled “*Histoire des Arbres Forestiers de l'Amérique*,” four vols., 1810–13, which laid the foundation of his reputation as a botanist. He was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, April 21, 1809, and by his will bequeathed to it the sum of ninety-two thousand francs, invested in French three-per-cent. rentes, the interest of which is used by the Society for the advancement of botany.

#### SUNDAY, JUNE 25.

At Mount Vernon: “No person, who shall come with your passport, will be an unwelcome guest. . . . My manner of living is plain. I do not mean to be put out of it. A glass of wine and a bit of mutton are always ready; and such as will be content to partake of them are always welcome. Those, who expect more will be disappointed.”—*Washington to George William Fairfax*.

#### SUNDAY, JULY 2.

Leaves Mount Vernon: “*July 2.*—About Noon I set out for the intended meeting (to be held to morrow) at the Seneca falls—Dined at Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpins; where meeting with Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald we proceeded all three of us to M<sup>r</sup> Bryan Fairfax's and lodged.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*July 3.*—After a very early breakfast (about Sun rise) we left M<sup>r</sup> Fairfax's and arriving at the head of the Seneca falls (where a Vessel was to have met us) was detained till near ten o'clock before one arrived to put us



over to our place of rendezvous at M<sup>r</sup> Goldsboroughs. *July 4.*—The Directors determined to prosecute their first plan for opening the Navigation of the River in the bed of it. . . . These matters being settled Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpin and myself resolved to send our horses to the Great falls and go by water to that place ourselves. . . . After dining with M<sup>r</sup> Rumsey at the Great falls Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpin and myself set out in order to reach our respective homes, but a gust of wind & rain, with much lightning, compelled me to take shelter, about dark at his house, where I was detained all night. *July 5.*—I set out about sun rising, & taking my harvest fields at Muddy hole & the ferry in my way, got home to breakfast.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, JULY 24.

At Mount Vernon: “*July 24.*—After breakfast I accompanied Col<sup>o</sup> [Theodoric] Bland to M<sup>r</sup> Lund Washingtons; where he entered the stage on his return home.—Rid from hence to the Plantations at Dogue Run & Muddy hole. . . . On my return home, found Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys here.”—*Washington's Diary*.

Colonel Humphreys remained at Mount Vernon until August 23. He had just returned from France, and, according to Lossing, brought with him, at the request of Louis XVI., an impression of the king's full-length portrait, engraved by Bervic after the painting by Callet. This engraving, which was elegantly framed, was one of the well-known ornaments of the mansion at Mount Vernon; but as it was not executed until 1790, the statement by Lossing is incorrect. It must have been presented to Washington *after* that date.

#### MONDAY, JULY 31.

At Mount Vernon: “General Greene lately died at Savannah in Georgia. The public as well as his family and friends, has met with a severe loss. He was a great and good man indeed.”—*Washington to Count de Rochambeau*.

Nathanael Greene, of whom Alexander Hamilton said, “that his qualifications for statesmanship were not less remarkable than his military ability, which was of the highest order,” died on the 19th of July, 1786, at the age of forty-four. His death, caused by a sunstroke, occurred at “Mulberry Grove,” on the Savannah River, an estate presented to him by the State of Georgia. He was *indeed* “a great and good man.”

#### TUESDAY, AUGUST 1.

At Mount Vernon: “I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation without having lodged somewhere a power,

which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State governments extends over the several States.”—*Washington to John Jay*.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 5.

At Alexandria: “August 5.—Went to Alexandria to a meeting of the Directors of the Potomac Comp<sup>y</sup> in order to prepare the Acct<sup>s</sup> and a report for the Gen<sup>l</sup> Meeting of the C<sup>o</sup> on Monday next.—Neither of the Maryland Gent<sup>n</sup> attended—Dined at Wises Tav<sup>n</sup>.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“August 7.—Went to Alexandria to the Gen<sup>l</sup> Meeting of the Potomack C<sup>o</sup>—Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys accompanied me—A sufficient number of shares being present to constitute the Meeting the Acct<sup>s</sup> of the Directors were exhibited and a Gen<sup>l</sup> Report made—but for want of the Secretarys Books which were locked up, and he absent the Orders and other proceedings referred to in that Report could not be exhibited.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 19.

At Alexandria: “August 19.—After breakfast I accompanied Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys by water to Alexandria and dined with him at Cap<sup>t</sup> [Richard] Conways to whom he had been previously engaged.”—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 29.

At Mount Vernon: “August 29.—Taken with an Ague about 7 oclock this morning which being succeeded by a smart fever confined me to the House till evening—Had a slight fit of both on Sunday last but was not confined by them.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“August 31.—Siezed with an ague before 6 oclock this morning after having laboured under a fever all night—Sent for Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik who arrived just as we were setting down to dinner; who, when he thought my fever sufficiently abated gave me a cathartick and directed the Bark to be applied in the Morning. September 2.—Kept close to the House to day, being my fit day in course least any exposure might bring it on,—happily missed it. September 14.—At home all day repeating dozes of Bark of which I took 4 with an interval of 2 hours between.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9.

At Mount Vernon: “I never mean, unless some particular circumstances should compel me to it, to possess another

slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted, by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law.”—*Washington to John F. Mercer.*

#### SUNDAY, OCTOBER 1.

Leaves Mount Vernon : “*October 1.*—The day clear and warm.—Took an early Dinner and set out for Abingdon on my way to the Great Falls to meet the Directors of the Potomack C<sup>o</sup>.”—*Washington's Diary.*

“*October 2.*—Set out [from Abingdon] before Six oclock, & arrived at the Great Falls ab<sup>t</sup> half after nine.—found Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpin there & soon after Gov<sup>r</sup> Johnson & Lee, and Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald & M<sup>r</sup> Potts arrived when the board proceeded to enquire into the charges exhibited by M<sup>r</sup> James Rumsey the late against M<sup>r</sup> Richardson Stuart the present Manager of the Companys business—the examination of the Witnesses employed the board until dark when the Members dispersed for Lodgings—I went to M<sup>r</sup> Fairfaxs.  
*October 3.*—Returned to the Falls by appointment at 7 oclock to Breakfast : we proceeded immediately afterwards to a consideration of the evidence . . . the whole appeared (the charges) malignant, envious & trifling.—After this the board settled many acc<sup>ts</sup> and adjourned till 8 oclock next Morning.  
*October 4.*—The Board having agreed to a Petition to be offered to the Assemblies of Virg<sup>a</sup> and Maryland for prolonging the time allowed by Law for improving the Navigation of the River above the Great Falls, broke up about three oclock—When in company of Col<sup>os</sup> Fitzgerald & Gilpin & M<sup>r</sup> Potts I set off home.—With much difficulty on acc<sup>t</sup> of the Rising of the Water by the Rain of last Night we crossed Difficult run and through a constant Rain till I had reached Cameron<sup>1</sup> I got home a little before 8 o'clock where I found my Brother Jn<sup>o</sup> Aug<sup>o</sup> Washington.”—*Washington's Diary.*

#### MONDAY, OCTOBER 9.

At Mount Vernon : “*October 9.*—Allowed all my People to go to the Races in Alexandria on one of three days as best comported with their respective businesses—leaving careful persons on the Plantations.”—*Washington's Diary.*

#### TUESDAY, OCTOBER 10.

At Alexandria : “*October 10.*—In company with Major [George Augustine] Washington and M<sup>r</sup> Lear went up to Alexandria to see the Jockey Club purse run for (which

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<sup>1</sup> An estate situate two miles south of the old road from Alexandria to Mount Vernon, and about eight miles from the latter place.

was won by Mr Snickers) dined by invitation with the Members of it and returned home in the evening.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 15.

At Pohick Church: “October 15.—Accompanied by Maj<sup>r</sup> Washington his wife—Mr Lear & the two child<sup>n</sup> Nelly & Washington Custis—went to Pohick Church & returned to Dinner.”—*Washington's Diary*.

Pohick Church is situated on Pohick Creek, about five miles southwest from Mount Vernon. The first building (of frame) was erected on the south side of the creek in 1782. The present structure (of brick) was put up in 1772, on the north side, two miles farther up the stream, for which Washington drew the plans, and also served on the building committee. He was chosen a vestryman in 1765, and was kept in that office for several years. His pew was No. 28, north side, next to the communion table; it was marked with his initials.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 22.

At Mount Vernon: “October 22.—The Hon<sup>ble</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Drayton and Mr Walter Izard came here to dinner and stayed all Night.”—*Washington's Diary*.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 23.

At Mount Vernon: “October 23.—I remained at home all day in the evening Col<sup>o</sup> [James] Monroe & his Lady and Mr Maddison came in.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“October 23.—Mr. Drayton, Mr. Izard here all day. After dinner General Washington was, in the course of conversation, led to speak of Arnold's treachery, when he gave an account of it.”<sup>1</sup>—*Diary of Tobias Lear*.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24.

At Mount Vernon: “October 24.—Mr Drayton and Mr Izard set out after breakfast on their Rout to South Carolina. October 25.—Mr Maddison and Col<sup>o</sup> Monroe and his Lady set out after breakfast for Fredericksburg.”—*Washington's Diary*.

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<sup>1</sup> For this interesting statement see “Washington in Domestic Life,” by Richard Rush, Philadelphia, 1857.



## SUNDAY, OCTOBER 29.

At Charles County, Maryland: "October 29.—I crossed the River [Potomac] with intention to view & survey my land [600 acres] in Charles County Maryland—Went to and lodged at Gov<sup>r</sup> [William] Smallwoods about 14 Miles from the Ferry."—*Washington's Diary*.

"October 30.—About One o'clock,—accompanied by the Governor, I set out to take a view of my land which lay 12 Miles from his House.—After doing which and finding it rather better than I expected we returned to the Govern<sup>r</sup> having from the badness of the Weather & wetness of the ground given over the idea of surveying. October 31.—After breakfast I left Gov<sup>r</sup> Smallwoods & got home to dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.

## TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31.

At Mount Vernon: "You talk, my good Sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found, or, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. *Influence is not government.* Let us have a government by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once."—*Washington to Henry Lee*.

The popular movement in Western Massachusetts in opposition to the constituted authorities, referred to in the above letter, was of a most singular character. It began as early as 1782 and increased as popular discontent, incident on the unsettled condition of affairs at the close of the Revolution, became greater. Conventions were held and lists of grievances drawn up, the complaints being of the most irrational nature. The uprising known in history as the "Shays Rebellion," taking its name from Daniel Shays, one of the principal leaders, finally culminated in an attempt (January, 1787) to capture the arsenal at Springfield by a body of eleven hundred men under Shays, which was dispersed by a force of four thousand militia commanded by General Lincoln. Shays, after living in Vermont about a year, was pardoned and removed to Sparta, New York, where he died September 29, 1825.

## MONDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

At Mount Vernon: "November 6.—On my return home [from riding to the plantations], found Col<sup>o</sup> Lewis Morris, and his Brother Major Jacob Morris here, who dined and

returned to Alexandria afterwards where M<sup>rs</sup> Lewis Morris & her Mother M<sup>rs</sup> Elliot were on their way to Charleston.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“November 10.—With M<sup>rs</sup> Washington and all the family, I went to Alexandria and dined with Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik—returned in the Evening.”—*Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

At Mount Vernon: “November 16.—On my Return home [from riding to the plantations], found Mons Crampoint sent by the Marq<sup>e</sup> de La Fayette with the Jack and two she Asses which he had procured for me in the Island of Malta and which had arrived at Baltimore with the Chinese Pheasants &c had with my Overseer &c got there before me—these Asses are in good order and appear to be very fine—The Jack is two years old and the She Asses one three & the other two.”—*Washington's Diary*.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

At Mount Vernon: “November 27.—The Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Keith, and the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Morse dined here & returned to Alexandria in the Evening.”—*Washington's Diary*.

Jedidiah Morse, D.D., whose visit to Mount Vernon is recorded in the diary, was the author of the first American geography, published at New Haven, Connecticut, 1784. From a sketch of Washington, written by Dr. Morse for an edition of the geography issued at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, 1789, we transcribe his description of the personal habits and daily life of the *Farmer of Mount Vernon*:

“He rises, in winter as well as summer, at the dawn of day; and generally reads or writes some time before breakfast. He breakfasts about seven O'clock, on three small indian hoe-cakes and as many dishes of tea. He rides immediately to his different farms, and remains with his labourers until a little past two o'clock, when he returns and dresses. At three he dines, commonly on a single dish, and drinks from half a pint to a pint of Madeira wine. This, with one small glass of punch, a draught of beer, and two dishes of tea (which he takes half an hour before sun-setting) constitutes his whole sustenance until the next day. Whether there be company or not, the table is always prepared by its elegance and exuberance for their reception; and the General remains at it for an hour after dinner, in familiar conversation and convivial hilarity. It is then that every one present is called upon to give some absent friend as a toast; the name not

unfrequently awakens a pleasant remembrance of past events, and gives a new turn to the animated colloquy. General Washington is more chearful than he was in the army. Although his temper is rather of a serious cast and his countenance commonly carries the impression of thoughtfulness, yet he perfectly relishes a pleasant story, an unaffected sally of wit, or a burlesque description which surprises by its suddenness and incongruity with the ordinary appearance of the object described. After this sociable and innocent relaxation, he applies himself to business; and about nine o'clock retires to rest. This is the *rotine*, and this the hour he observes, when no one but his family is present; at other times he attends politely upon his company until they wish to withdraw."

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30.

At Mount Vernon: "*November 30.*—Surveying my New purchase of Manley's and Frenchs Land, in order to lay the whole of into proper inclosures."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*December 1.*—Employed as yesterday, Running round the Lands of Manley and French. *December 2.*—Finished running round the Fields of Manleys and French's and rid afterwards to Dogue run and Muddy hole plantations."—*Washington's Diary*.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 11.

At Mount Vernon: "*December 11.*—In the Afternoon a Mr Anstey (Commissioner from England for ascertaining the claims of the Refugees) with a Mr Woodorf (supposed to be his Secretary) came in and stayed all Night."—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At Mount Vernon: "*December 30.*—Staked out the fields at the Ferry Plantation to day, according to the late modification of them—visited the Ditchers and rid to Dogue run."—*Washington's Diary*.

(To be continued).



*W. W. W.*





EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT  
JOHN BELL TILDEN, SECOND PENNSYLVANIA  
LINE, 1781-1782.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN BELL TILDEN PHELPS.

[John Bell Tilden, whose ancestors were the Tyldens, of Kent, England, was born in Philadelphia, December 9, 1761. In his eighteenth year he left Princeton College and joined the Continental army, being commissioned, May 28, 1779, ensign in the Second Regiment Pennsylvania Line, commanded by Colonel Walter Stewart. He was subsequently promoted to second lieutenant, his commission to date from July 25, 1780. At the close of the war he was honorably mustered out of the service, and became a member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. In 1784 he married Jane, daughter of Joseph and Martha Chambers, of York, Pennsylvania, and settled in Frederick County, Virginia, where he practised medicine until the close of his life. Some time prior to 1824 he was ordained to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and during the agitation of the question of lay representation, he advocated the equal rights of the laity with the clergy in the legislative department of the Church, for which he and other prominent members were expelled for so-called heresy. In 1872 the Church admitted its error by adopting lay representation into its polity. Long before the subject of African slavery took a political shape, Dr. Tilden manumitted his slaves and sent them to Liberia with one year's outfit. He died July 31, 1838, at New Town (now Stephen City), Virginia.]

*August 1, 1781.*—Remained in camp all day. The country adjoining the most fertile I have seen in Virginia, and the county famed for its patriotic ladies.

*August 2.*—This day we marched to Nomozin river, to near Davis's Ordinary.

*August 3.*—Marched to the right about to the north (Dunwiddie county), fording the Appomatox; much fatigued.

*August 4.*—Marched at day break for James river.

*August 5.*—Crossed James River and took post on the height of Westham.

*August 6.*—Remained on this ground the whole day, which the enemy had occupied before us.

*August 7.*—This day I went to see the curious work of Mr. Ballertine—he had made a canal one mile in length, and about twenty feet wide, alongside of James River; in the centre of which he had built a curious fish basket, and at the end of the canal was a grist mill, with four pair of stones. Bordering on which was a Blumery, Boring mill, furnace and elegant manor houses, which were destroyed by that develish rascal Arnold.

*August 8.*—Marched at one o'clock A.M.; passed through Richmond at day light, where I met a number of Virginia officers who were exchanged and paroled (being made prisoners to the southward). We encamped two miles from Richmond, on our old ground, Gillisee Creek.

*August 9.*—Took up the line of march at one o'clock A.M., arrived at Savage's farm, where we encamped near Bottom Bridge. This day our heavy baggage arrived from Cox's mill, which we long wished for. A very hot day, a little rain in the morning. We once more entered a very Piney country.

*August 10-11.*—Remained in camp, hot, cloudy and rainy.

*August 12.*—A soldier of the Virginia eighteen months' men was hanged for shooting an officer (Kirkpatrick) in ye head. . . . He was certainly justified.

*August 14.*—Capt. Steel's trial finished, he was acquitted. Afternoon went to a horse race; won a half Johannie and a bottle of wine.

*August 15.*—Pleasant day; spent it in making out the accounts of the company.

*August 16.*—Employed the day in reading Lady Mary Montague's letters.

*August 17.*—The General (a signal for the tents to be struck), beat at two o'clock; the troops marched at three oclock. Encamped near new capital of Hanover county.

*August 18.*—Mounted guard this morning at the usual hour. A rainy afternoon. Remain on our ground; the preparations and necessary clearing of brush indicate some stay.

*August 19.*—Not relieved until half after twelve o'clock on account of our inspection and review of the troops, after which to a preaching by Dr Jones. Invited to dine with Genl Wayne; an excellent dinner and some of the fattest lamb I ever saw; some fine watermellons, made palatable with excellent wine.

*August 20.*—Dined with my friend Feltman, and afterwards walked in the country, chatted awhile with a couple of Virginia girls, one of them as big as a horse (almost), who, if among a parcel of negroes could not be distinguished by her speaking, and hardly be known from a mulatto.

*August 22.*—Orders this day for the General to beat tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock—the Assembly at half after and the troops at 9 o'clock to take up line of march.

*August 23.*—Take up the line of march accordingly for near our old ground at Bottom Bridge, Savage farm.

*August 24.*—The troops take up the line of march at 4 o'clock, proceed towards Westover, and encamp on the farm of the late Colonel Byrd, at Westover on the banks of the James river. There is here an elegant mansion house, delightfully situated.

*August 25.*—Mount the front camp guard near Mrs. Byrd's house; am invited to breakfast. Receive an invitation from her agreeable daughter Maria to make my home there while the troops remain here. Dine there in great elegance, drink tea in the afternoon, and was delighted with the grandeur of the apartments and the situation, which I think the most beautiful I ever saw. Family very kind.

*August 26.*—Breakfasted with Mrs. Byrd and the young ladies—a lively chat and smart repartee about Dr Jones. A sermon at 10 o'clock by Dr Jones, which detains me on guard three hours longer than usual. Escort the ladies to the place of worship, in company with Cols. Butler and Stewart. Am relieved at eleven, take a plan of Mrs. Byrd's mansion.

*August 27.*—Spend the best part of the day in reading. At 12 o'clock cross the James river in company with a number of our officers. No particular occurrences, except



meeting with a drinker of grog. At 6 o'clock drank tea at Mrs. Byrd's; a numerous company and much entertainment, with the agreeable performance of Miss Maria Byrd on the harpsichord and Mr. Victor on the violin. Take my leave at 10 o'clock, and on my arrival at my tent, am surprised to find the officers of the next tent sitting up, walk to their door, when I am detained to drink grog. An odd adventure happens about midnight.

*August 28.*—Orders for marching this morning—the General beats at 8 o'clock the Assembly at half after, the troops take up the line of march at 9 o'clock. March 9 miles to Malvern hills; encamp there on a fine plain. Captains Wilkin and Irwin arrested in consequence of last nights adventure, on our arrival here.

*August 29.*—In consequence of an express from the Marquis [La Fayette], we receive orders to march at 3 o'clock P.M.; arrive at Westover about sunset. Am honoured with an invitation to sup with Mrs. Byrd, accept it. Sup in great elegance and spend the evening more agreeable than ever. At 11 o'clock take my leave, warmly pressed by the young ladies to breakfast with them in the morning. The night is employed in crossing the artillery and siege batteries.

*August 30.*—Cross the river with the company and conduct them to the encampment. Return, intending to breakfast with the ladies—After recrossing the river an affair happens, by which I am deprived of the supreme happiness of breakfasting as before mentioned. Return to camp, pitch my tent, sup on whip-poor-will soup.

*August 31.*—Orders this day for marching at 3 o'clock. The troops take up the line of march, and I move on in front with the sick. Arrive at Eber's Point at 7 o'clock, pitch our tents, eat a fine watermellon and retire to rest.

*September 1.*—I am congratulated on the arrival of twenty eight French vessels of the line and — troops. Our troops take up the line of march at 11 o'clock, encamp at Surry Court House, and have ye pleasure to mortify Colonel S[tewar]t.

*September 2.*—The General beat at sunrise; the troops proceed by the left to Cobhams opposite Jamestown and arrive at our ground of encampment at 9 o'clock, where we have the pleasure of beholding 3000 of our allies, who came up in boats, a twenty gun frigate and a twelve accompanying them. Also the Sandwich, a British vessel, taken by the French, on board of which is Lord Rodney. A number of our light horse arrive.

*September 3.*—About 9 o'clock A.M. we begin to cross James river leaving our tents standing. Visit my friend Stevenson who is ill with the ague. Gen. Wayne wounded in the thigh by a sentinel of the Marquis de Lafayette's last evening. The French troops on James Island, commanded by Count de St. Simon. We march in the afternoon to Green Springs, (over the ground we had the action on) through a heavy rain, where we remain all night. I have the command of the camp rear guard.

*September 4.*—The Line marched at 6 o'clock A.M. down to Williamsburg, where numbers of the officers were used very politely by some of the inhabitants. Self and four other officers are invited by Dr Nicholson to take a repast and drink wine, which we politely accept. Quarter our men this night in the College.

*September 5.*—We retire one mile from town to a mill-dam, in order that our men may wash and cleanse themselves, where we remain all night. An officer, sergeant and six privates of Tarleton's mounted infantry were taken this night (six miles below Williamsburg) by a militia officer and eleven men.

*September 6.*—Take up the line of march near 12 o'clock, march five miles (three below Williamsburg) to Burwell's Mills, and tarry there all night.

*September 7.*—This morning, immediately after the parade was dismissed from roll call, we were alarmed by the firing of three pistols, which was followed by that of a platoon (in our front); we immediately stand to arms. One of the officers who had rode in front returned, informing us it was a party of Tarleton's horse, who after chasing in a couple of

Moylan's videttes and the two advanced sentinels of our picket and receiving a volley from part of the guard had retired, leaving a pistol, sword and cloak. Remain here all night (as usual) without any kind of bedding; very watchful, expecting the enemy.

*September 8.*—The troops parade at reveille, expecting the enemy from yesterdays intelligence, but no appearance of them we retire to our bush huts. At 8 o'clock we march and form a junction with our allies, and the Marquis's troops, the infantry on the right, we in the centre, and the French on the left. We build bush huts in regular manner, on very dusty and uneven ground.

*September 9.*—We were alarmed last night by the French and had our men on the parade instantly, (on account of the French receiving a false alarm). Mount the camp guard. The troops were reviewed at 5 o'clock P.M. by the French general, after which the officers are introduced to Gen. St. Simon. Our tents and baggage arrive this day.

*September 10.*—Relieved of guard at the usual hour; nothing particular of the enemy.

*September 11.*—A sergeant and two men of our dragoons taken this day, and five of theirs [British] were taken in return.

*September 12.*—Col. Gouvion arrived here from his Excellency Gen. Washington's army consisting of the French troops, two regiments of Light Infantry, one of artillery, two Jersey regiments, New York Brigade, New Hampshire brigade, and part of the Pennsylvania Line, the whole amounting to 8000 men. A heavy rain this evening which much relieved us from the disagreeable attendant dust. No bread yet.

*September 13.*—Capt. Wilkin's trial commenced after many low equivocations with his highness [Colonel Stewart]. No bread this day.

*September 14.*—General Muhlenberg with the troops on the lines reconnoiter within half a mile of the town, saw a small battery and a few of their horse, who indicated no desire to meet him. His Excellency Gen. Washington



arrived here this afternoon, a circumstance which was obviously pleasing to every person. He was saluted by all our troops here and twenty one cannon fired (the royal salute). He passed our line attended with a very numerous retinue, after which he was entertained with music at Gen. St. Simon. The northern troops are not yet arrived. A heavy rain last night overflowed the bottom of my tent. This morning we drew Indian meal, which was excellent.

*September 15.*—A very rainy day which frustrated our intention of waiting on his Excellency. Deserters come daily from the enemy, and small parties are taken by our horse.

*September 16.*—Mount guard this morning. His Excellency goes a reconnoitering on the lines. The officers of the Infantry and Pennsylvania Line wait on the General, at 2 o'clock P.M., who received them very politely and shook each officer by the hand. The French Huzzars are mounted.

*September 17.*—Relieved of guard. His Excellency's Life Guard arrives. Gen. Wayne arrives in camp, having nearly recovered from his wound.

*September 18.*—A number of French troops arrive in camp from the Rhode Island fleet (of nine sail of the line), who took four British frigates on their way. Visit Capt. Stevenson at Jamestown, who comes to camp in the afternoon, and has his baggage sent on.

*September 19.*—Nothing particular today. Visit the French camp and watch their troops manœuver. Capt. Wilkin is still in arrest, although his trial is finished.

*September 20.*—Every officer complains of the cold weather, which we feel the more from the sudden change.

*September 22.*—Mount guard at the usual hour. His Excellency Gen. Washington returned from the fleet, and part of our northern troops arrived at Burwell's ferry.

*September 23.*—Spend the day in my tent, with a number of gentlemen of my acquaintance, two of them from Westover. Invited by S[tewart] to wait on Gen. Rochambeau, but decline on account of the pique between us.

*September 25.*—This day the proceedings of the General



Court martial published. Capt. Wilkin is relieved from his arrest and acquitted of the charges exhibited against him by Col. Stewart. The Continental troops in Virginia, brigaded as follows: Col. Vose, Lieut. Col. Barber, and Lieut. Col. Jamott's [Gimat] Battalions of Infantry, commanded by Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg; Col. Scammels Reg't., Lieut. Col. Hamilton's battalion of Infantry and Hazen's regiment, a brigade by Brig. Gen. Hazen; Col. Gaskin's Virginia regt. and two Pennsylvania battalions, Brig. Gen. Wayne; two Jersey battalions and Rhode Island reg't., a brigade commanded by Col. Dayton; Third and Fourth Maryland regts. commanded by Brig. Gen. Gist; First and Second New York regts., by Brig. Gen. Clinton.

*September 26.*—General orders—the First Light Infantry Brigade, General Wayne's Brigade and Third Maryland regiment to move tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock to y<sup>e</sup> encampment below the city; four days provisions to be drawn.

*September 27.*—Take up the line of march agreeably to orders. Encamped about one mile and a half below Williamsburg, where we formed the alignment of the army. Rolls called at 8 o'clock P.M.

*September 28.*—The whole army took up the line of march this morning at 5 o'clock and formed — miles below Williamsburg, where we remained all night, within one mile and a little better from Yorktown. The French fired a few cannon at Tarleton's horse, which made them retreat. Each officer lay with his platoon all night.

*September 29.*—This morning the army took up the line of march and formed in the rear of a morass, in the enemys front, half a mile from their outworks. The two brigades of infantry crossed the morass and were saluted with a few cannon shot from the enemy. One of our soldiers unfortunately lost his leg. A twelve and a four pound ball paid us a visit in our camp, but did no damage.

*September 30.*—This morning about 8 o'clock, upon strict examination, we found the enemy had evacuated their outworks, which we immediately took possession of. After a

severe cannonade, the French took one of their redoubts with a number of prisoners. Col. Scammel was wounded and taken prisoner this morning. A flag from the town this afternoon informing us of his captivity and desiring his servant and baggage be sent to Williamsburg. Mount picket at sunset in front of a redoubt building by our troops—the picket consisted of two Captains, four Lieutenants and one hundred men, with non-commissioned officers in proportion. Receive orders from the Baron [Steuben] who was general of the day, that the subaltern officers of the guard should patrol by themselves as near the enemy as possible, without exposing themselves too much. Myself and another officer, at different times were fired at by the British sentinels. Discovered nothing of any consequence—heard a confused noise of tearing down buildings, for to make fortifications.

*October 1.*—Move the position of our picket under the brow of a small hill, to the left of the redoubt, when the enemy immediately after commenced a cannonade at the redoubt, which they continued all day. Killed a militiaman who was at work there, and one of the Maryland officer's waiters, who was straggling about their old encampment. The enemy fired two eight inch shells, one burst over our heads, the pieces of which flew among us but did no harm, the other struck the ground and burst fifty yards in our rear. Relieved of picket at dark, when our brigade moved up as a covering party to the workmen at the redoubt. The enemy continued firing all night with but three pieces of artillery. Capt Duffy's trial begins.

*October 2.*—The enemy continues to fire all this day, but I heard of no persons being hurt. Firing was continued all night; four men were killed towards morning, (at the redoubt in our centre), of Col. Hazen's regiment.

*October 3.*—The enemy are very slack in their fire. Go on fatigue this evening, at the left hand redoubt, and remain until 1 o'clock next day.

*October 4.*—Relieved of fatigue. Extract from y<sup>e</sup> General orders:

The General congratulates the army on the brilliant success of y<sup>e</sup> allied Troops near Gloucester. He requests the Duke de Lauzun to accept his particular thanks for the judicious disposition and the decisive vigor with which he charged the enemy, and to communicate his warmest acknowledgments to the gallant officers and men by whom he was so admirably seconded. He feels particular satisfaction at the inconsiderable loss on our part, that no ill effects are to be apprehended from the honourable wounds which have been received in this affair and that at so small an expense. The enemy amounting to 600 horse and foot, were completely repulsed and conducted to their very lines. The corps of the allied army were the Duke de Lauzun's Legion and the Militia Grenadiers of Mirur. The following is the list of our killed and wounded and as far as we can learn of the enemy—Duke de Lauzun's Legion three Huzzars killed; Capt. Dillon and Debster [?] with eleven Huzzars wounded, the officers very slightly; three horses killed, and four wounded. The enemy's loss killed and wounded exceeds fifty, including the commanding officer of infantry killed and Col. Tarleton badly wounded. A Maryland soldier killed today by their shot.

*October 5.*—Mount guard this morning in front of the brigade. A corporal of our Line killed this afternoon by a cannon shot and one of Capt. Stevenson's company wounded. Two French ships of the line hove in sight of the enemy.

*October 6.*—His Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington congratulates the army on our success to ye southward; Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene took 500 prisoners, including the wounded, the enemy lost on the field, and their loss exclusive of this in killed and wounded to be not less than 600. His own loss in killed and wounded near 500. This evening about 8 o'clock, we began to form the first parallel line—rainy and dark, yet the enemy kept up a heavy fire.

*October 7.*—The first division did an amazing deal of work in the trenches and lost not one man—the French it is said, lost four or five. Took a walk to the Park and Laboratory, where I found many persons busily employed.



*October 8.*—Col. Scammell died of his wound at Williamsburg the 6th. At eleven o'clock our division work at the trenches; lost one soldier of our line and one or two of the Maryland wounded. The Relief and Relieved march in and out of the trenches with drums beating and colors flying.

*October 9.*—Finish our batteries on the left and begin to mount a few twenty fours. Receive a very cordial shake by the hand from Col. Lamb. Relieved from the lines at 1 o'clock P.M. Open our batteries this afternoon.

*October 10.*—Silence the enemies cannon by battering down their batteries. Secretary Nelson came out of York with a flag, inform us of a number of the enemies officers and men being killed by our shells, which we throw in very plentifully and with infinite judgment. The division on fatigue at 1 o'clock making facines gabions &c. After roll call walk over to Capt. Irwin's Commissary staff, and spend the evening with him and Mr. Elvey. Two of the British vessels of great burden burnt tonight.

*October 11.*—In the trenches at 11 o'clock, keep up a continued fire until relieved. The enemy throw a few shell very badly tonight; one of our Line wounded and two of the Maryland.

Extract from General Orders: At a General Court Martial of the Line held before York October 2, Capt. Duffy 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment Artillery charged with scandalous and infamous behaviour unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, on the night of y<sup>e</sup> 23 and morning of y<sup>e</sup> 24, such as drawing his sword on Capt. Ballard and attempting to stab him and firing a pistol at him when unarmed, also for most disgraceful breach of friendship in seizing from Lieut. Blewer a loaded pistol and snapping it at him, when attempting at Capt. Duffy's own request, an amicable settlement of his (Capt. Duffys) quarrel with Capt. Ballard; also charged by Lieut. Col. Jno. Stewart, 1, being drunk; 2, Rioting in the street; 3, Abusing a French soldier; 4, Violation of good discipline, in having in a seditious and disorderly manner threatened to take a French guard, sta-



tioned at a hospital to take care of the sick; was tried, found guilty and discharged the service.

Draw a second parallel on the enemies left, near half way between the French batteries and York—the enemy fired a number of shells and cannon with little execution. Two militia men killed and two wounded by our own shot.

*October 12.*—Relieved from the trenches at 12 o'clock, drums beating and flags flying. The enemy fire more today than any since we opened our batteries.

*October 13.*—On fatigue as usual, making facines and other necessary preparations for fortifications. Two or three of the militia killed and some few wounded at our fort on the second parallel.

*October 14.*—Mount the trenches this morning. We keep up a very heavy cannonade all day. In the evening our batteries ceased firing when our infantry and the French troops attack two of the enemies redoubts separately, and carried them with y<sup>e</sup> loss of y<sup>e</sup> infantry of 7 killed and — wounded: Col. Barber, Major Rosber and Capt. Oney wounded, and also Co<sup>l</sup> Jamott [Gimat].

Our line at the commencement of ye attack marched up as a covering party through a very heavy fire. The enemy lost a Major Campbell, two captains, two subalterns and upwards of a hundred men killed, wounded and prisoners. The same night drew a parallel from the river to the batteries in ye second line, including ye two redoubts taken from ye enemy. In the morning about 9 o'clock we i.e. Penna. Line lay a foundation for a ten gun battery on our line, between the two redoubts in front of ye enemy five gun battery, ye distance not two hundred yards. The enemy threw a number of shells among us but fortunately did no damage.

*October 15.*—The enemy threw a number of shells. We fire but little, our second line having no batteries erected on it as yet, tho' a number will be in two days time.

*October 16.*—This morning at daylight the enemy sallied out, with what force we cannot learn; they drove our working parties from their work, took possession of a battery

and spiked a few cannon with the points of their bayonets. Our troops, formed in the rear of the banquet, and received orders to advance, which they did with spirit and obliged them to retire with considerable loss on their side. Eight of 'em were found dead on the spot; we had four or five wounded. Our division on fatigue making facines and gabions. Very little firing.

*October 17.*—Our division at 11 o'clock went to the trenches. British send out for terms of capitulation; flags pass and repass all day. Attend ye Baron Steuben as his aid this day.

*October 18.*—Flags still passing and repassing this day. Lay on our arms all night. Very cold. Gen<sup>l</sup> St. Clair arrives with his detachment.

*October 19.*—At 1 o'clock the terms for surrendering the garrisons of York and Gloucester were agreed on, when Major Hamilton with a detachment marched into town and took possession of their works. I attend the Baron [Steuben] in town; nothing worthy of notice in it, except the earth much torn up by our shells.

The British army march out of town and ground their arms. Our army was drawn up on each side of the road. Americans on the right, French on the left. The prisoners return to town again, and we march to our tents.

*October 20.*—The prisoners remain in town. Purchased some corduroy in town, £1. 5. 1.

(To be continued.)

## COLONIAL MAYORS OF PHILADELPHIA.

SAMUEL RHOADS, 1774.

BY HENRY D. BIDDLE.

JOHN RHOADS (ROADS or ROADES, as the name was frequently written), the grandfather of Samuel Rhoads, emigrated towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, accompanied by two sons, from Winegreaves, County Derbyshire, England, to Pennsylvania, where he purchased lands, and lived in Darby. Two other sons had preceded him in coming to America. He had become a member of the Society of Friends before his departure from his native country, and had suffered persecution on account of his change of faith. He died in Darby, October 27, 1701. All of his four sons had large families, and there are at present in this country numerous descendants of his, most of whom adhere to the Friendly or Quaker proclivities of their progenitor.

The Rhoads family was one of note in England, and of great antiquity, having flourished for several centuries in the counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, York, and Derby, successively.

John Rhoads, the second son of John the emigrant, married in Philadelphia, September 10, 1692, Hannah Willcox, and Samuel Rhoads, the subject of this sketch, was their fifth son and child, and was born in Philadelphia in 1711. He became a carpenter and builder, though he did not confine his attention exclusively to this business, but appears to have branched out into mercantile adventures, speculations in real estate, etc. He was an early member (elected prior to 1736) of The Carpenter's Company of Philadelphia, and from 1780 until his decease was its president (or master, as it was termed) and treasurer, the two offices

being then combined. William Rawle, in his biography of Thomas Mifflin, alludes to him as a "merchant of Philadelphia," was personally acquainted with him, and was the attorney employed by the family in the settlement of his estate after his decease. We have in our possession letters addressed to him from correspondents in Barbadoes and Antigua, of the year 1764, showing that he had business relations with those islands at that time. He was also employed by the city of Philadelphia in 1755, in company with William Parsons, surveyor, to locate and lay out some of the streets, and one of their field-books is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

On the 6th of October, 1741, he was elected a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia, together with Robert Strettle, William Parsons, Andrew Hamilton, and Thomas Hopkinson. At that early period the mayors and aldermen of the city were elected by the Councilmen annually in the month of October, and it may be of interest, as showing the methods of these city Solons in transacting the public business, to produce some extracts from their minutes on one of these occasions of electing the mayor. At that time the holder of the office served without compensation, and perhaps this was one reason why sometimes, as will be seen from what follows, "the office sought the man," but failed to find him.

On the 6th of October, 1747, Alderman Morris was by them chosen mayor. He not being present, Charles Willing and Samuel Rhoads were appointed a committee to wait upon him to inform him that the Board had chosen him for that office for the ensuing year. The two members appointed reported

"that they had been to his house, and were told by his daughter that he had gone out of town. The Board being under some difficulty from want of knowing whether the Mayor elect would serve in the sd Office, concluded to meet again in the afternoon, to consider what was proper to be done on this Occasion."

They accordingly met in the afternoon, and



"The Recorder informed the Board that he had consulted the Attorney General, and it was his Opinion that a written Notice should be sent to Alderman Morris's House, signifying he was so elected as aforesaid; and likewise that a Messenger should be despatched into the Country where it was said he was gone, with a like Notice, and endeavour to procure his answer whether he would serve in the sd Office or not. In which Opinion a majority of the Board concurr'd."

Accordingly two notices were prepared and the city seal affixed, one of which was delivered to Charles Stow, to be left with Alderman Morris's wife, and the other was delivered to James Whitehead, to go up into Bucks County and endeavor to find the alderman himself.

Charles Stow reported that he

"had been to his Dwelling House, and read the Notice he was sent with to his Wife, and would have deliver'd it to her, but she refused to receive it."

James Whitehead reported that he

"had gone up into Bucks County, and at Trenton, where it was said Alderman Morris was gone, and tho' he had used his utmost Endeavours, that he had not been able to find him."

Under these adverse circumstances, the Board decided that they must proceed to a new choice, and William Atwood was elected mayor.

In the month of July, 1751, an act was passed by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, founding the Pennsylvania Hospital, and providing that all persons who should contribute ten pounds or more towards its erection should be qualified to vote for managers thereof. At the first election, in this year, Samuel Rhoads was elected a manager, and was annually re-elected until the year 1781, when he resigned, having been a manager for thirty successive years.

On the 6th of October, 1761, he was elected an alderman for the city, and in the same year a member of the Assembly of the Province, serving from 1762 to October, 1764, with Benjamin Franklin as his colleague. A close and familiar intimacy was formed with Franklin, and was continued and maintained by correspondence while he was in Europe.

The minutes of the Assembly for those years throw but little light upon the part which Samuel Rhoads or any other member took in public affairs, notwithstanding the intense popular excitement which existed in the Province. The Indian war on the western frontier; the controversy with Governor John Penn, in 1764, about raising men and money for the defence of the Province, while the proprietary estates escaped taxation; and the endeavor by petition to the King to change the government from proprietary to royal, were all subjects of the greatest popular interest, but no record is given of debates upon them.

It has been said that one of the surest tests of the estimation in which a member of a legislative body is held by his colleagues is to ascertain upon what committees he has served. Judging by this rule, we infer that Samuel Rhoads was an influential member, since he was frequently appointed upon the most important committees, such as those on correspondence with Great Britain, on drafting replies to the governor, on revision of the laws, on raising revenue, etc.

An interesting side-light is thrown on his character by a passage in the diary of Samuel Foulke, who was a member of the Assembly from 1761 to 1768. In giving an account of a debate on a bill for compensating masters whose apprentices had enlisted in the French and Indian wars, he says that on the 1st of February, 1763,

“a very close & tedious Debate arose, by reason of the Obstinate & interested bias of Some of the Members, of whom Sam<sup>l</sup> Rhoads and George Ashbridge were ye most unreasonable, who seem’d determined to Shut out Conviction & pay no regard to reason, untill at last Benj. Franklin Engaged (who by ye way is never forward to Engage), and managed the Dispute so wisely, with so much Clearness & Strength of reasoning as left them not a word more to say in Opposition.”<sup>1</sup>

All that the printed minutes of the Assembly have to say of this bill is simply the following: “After a considerable debate, the bill was recommitted.”

Samuel Rhoads was chosen by the Assembly, on the 9th of August, 1762, a commissioner to attend a conference with

<sup>1</sup> PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. V. p. 64.

the Western Indians at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and proceeded to that city, accompanied by Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton and other delegates, where the conference lasted about a week.

He was again elected a member of the Assembly for the years 1771, 1772, 1773, and 1774. In the month of July, 1774, he was chosen by the Assembly, in connection with Joseph Galloway, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphries, Edward Biddle, and George Ross, a delegate to the First Continental Congress, which assembled in Philadelphia, September 4, 1774. William Rawle, in describing the delegates, says of Samuel Rhoads that "he was a respectable merchant of Philadelphia, belonging to the Society of Friends—without the talent of speaking in public, he possessed much acuteness of mind, his judgment was sound, and his practical information extensive."

On the 4th of October of this year (1774) he was chosen mayor of Philadelphia by the Council, the duties of which office prevented his serving in Congress; and it is noted in the minutes of the Assembly, under date of December 15, 1774, that his holding that office was the reason of their omitting him in the delegation to the Second Continental Congress, which was held May 10, 1775.

When the American Philosophical Society was founded, or rather reorganized, in 1743, Benjamin Franklin, in a letter to Cadwallader Colden, dated New York, April 5, 1744, stated that the Society went into full operation that year, and gave a list of the officers, among whom was Samuel Rhoads, who is designated as "Mechanician," which we understand to mean one versed in the science of mechanics and the construction of machines. He served for several years as one of the vice-presidents of the Society. He was for years a director of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

He was associated with Franklin in many projects or undertakings for the benefit and advancement of Philadelphia; an interesting instance of this is furnished in the following correspondence between them:



FROM SAMUEL RHOADS TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.<sup>1</sup>

"PHILADELPHIA 3 May, 1771.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I received thy kind favor of February 10<sup>th</sup>, and am much obliged by the several useful papers, pamphlets, and samples contained therein. Thy friend Wooler has taken much pains in explaining the method of making our houses secure from fire, which I hope will be of great service. We are much obliged to him. I have given several little bits of the limestone to some of my acquaintances in the country, in hopes it may be found here. I am told they make lime in Berks County that will harden under water. I have sent for a sample of it, and will try it. We certainly have plenty of stone very like this in appearance, and I hope of the same quality. I am the more concerned for this discovery, as we are told it was very useful in the works under water of the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, and we expect shortly to be canal-mad, and may want it in such works also.

"The growing trade of Baltimore Town in Maryland, drawn principally from our province west of the Susquehanna, begins to alarm us with serious apprehensions of such a rival, as may reduce us to the situation of Burlington and Newcastle on the Delaware; and we can devise no means of saving ourselves but by a canal from the Susquehanna to the Schuylkill, and amending the navigation of all our rivers, so far as they lead towards our capital city. A great number of thy friends are very anxious for promoting this work, particularly the canal, if it is practicable, through the heart of the country. And as thou wast kind enough formerly to send me several papers relating to the navigation of Calder river, I request the favor of adding thereto the last accounts and instructions respecting canals, the construction of their floodgates, waste-gates, &c. The Assembly have ordered the Speaker to procure the remainder of the statutes to complete their set in the State House library, by which, I suppose, we shall have those relating to canals; but, if they are to be had singly, please to send one or two, which are the most instructive in the rates, terms, conditions of carriage, and passing the grounds, and the cost shall be paid.

"I congratulate thee on the prospect we have of the sum of money lodged in the bank for the Pennsylvania Hospital being now paid, and of thy pleasure in receiving it for that charity, which thou hadst so great a share in establishing. We last night executed a power of attorney to thee, Dr. Fothergill, and David Barclay to apply to the Court of Chancery in order to receive it; and, lest our Hospital seal should not be sufficient evidence of our act and deed, we called three witnesses, who may be examined by your people on oath respecting the due executing the powers of attorney. If any difficulty should occur, you will not fail of acquainting us with it by the first opportunity. My wife, children,

<sup>1</sup>"Franklin's Works," by Jared Sparks, Vol. VII. pp. 518, 519.



and thy old friend Ann Paschal, desire to be kindly remembered to thee.  
Thy sincere and affectionate friend,

"SAMUEL RHOADS."

FROM SAMUEL RHOADS TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.<sup>1</sup>

"PHILADELPHIA May 30, 1772.

"DEAR FRIEND,—The several papers and pamphlets on canals came safe to hand, and I hope they will be useful, as I find the reports of the great Engineers, Smeaton and Brindley, concerning the Scotch canal, contain a great deal of instruction for us inexperienced Americans. I confess myself much obliged to them, and find, by thy sending these papers, and so far adopting the project, that canalling grows more into credit among us. At first it was looked upon as a wild, chimerical project, which all the strength of America could never execute. Now it is hoped for, in time to come. I should have made this acknowledgment by Falconer, but was then out of town with the ingenious David Rittenhouse, on an examination of the ground, in order to judge of the practicability of a canal between the Schuylkill and Susquehanna, to save our western trade from total loss. As he was taken sick on the road, and I was not very well, our discoveries are yet too imperfect to communicate to thee; except that, on levelling the waters of the Schuylkill, we find that river to ascend, or the bed of it to rise, near sixty feet in less than twenty miles, and I suppose it to continue the same ascent to Reading.

"Thy sincere and affectionate friend

"SAMUEL RHOADS."

FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO SAMUEL RHOADS.<sup>2</sup>

"LONDON Augt. 22, 1772.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I think I before acknowledg'd your Favour of Feb. 29. I have since received that of May 30. I am glad my Canal Papers were agreeable to you. I fancy work of that kind is set on foot in America. I think it would be saving Money to engage by a handsome Salary an Engineer from home who has been accustomed to such Business. The many Canals on foot here under different great Masters are daily raising a number of Pupils in the Art, some of whom may want Employment hereafter, and a single Mistake thro' Inexperience, in such important Works, may cost much more than the Expense of Salary to an ingenious young Man already well acquainted with both Principles and Practice. This the Irish have learnt at a dear rate in the first Attempt of their great Canal, and are now endeavoring to get Smeaton

<sup>1</sup> "Franklin's Works," by Jared Sparks, Vol. VII. pp. 518, 519.

<sup>2</sup> The original of this letter is in the possession of Mr. John Tobias Wagner, of Phoenixville, Pennsylvania. Some other letters of Franklin to Samuel Rhoads will be found in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XV. p. 35.

to come and rectify their Errors. With regard to your Question, whether it is best to make the Skuylkill a part of the Navigation to the back Country, or whether the Difficulty of that River, subject to all the Inconveniences of Floods, Ice, &c. will not be greater than the Expense of Digging, Locks, &c., I can only say, that here they look on the constant practicability of a Navigation, allowing Boats to pass and repass at all Times and Seasons, without Hindrance, to be a point of the greatest Importance, and therefore they seldom or ever use a River where it can be avoided. Locks in Rivers are subject to many more Accidents than those in still water Canals; and the Carrying away a few Locks by Freshes or Ice, not only creates a great Expense, but interrupts Business for a long time till Repairs are made; which may soon be destroyed again, and thus the Carrying on a Course of Business by such a Navigation be discouraged, as subject to frequent Interruptions. The Toll, too, must be higher to pay for such Repairs. Rivers are ungovernable things, especially in Hilly Countries. Canals are quiet and very manageable. Therefore they are often carried on here by the Sides of Rivers, only on Ground above the Reach of Floods, no other Use being made of the Rivers than to supply occasionally the waste of water in the Canals.

"I warmly wish Success to every Attempt for Improvement of our dear Country; and am with sincere Esteem,

"Yours, most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN.

"I congratulate you on the Change of our American Minister. The present has more favorable Disposition towards us than his predecessor.

"To SAMUEL RHOADS, ESQ., PHILADELPHIA."

Samuel Rhoads married, May 12, 1737, Elizabeth Chandler. He died April 7, 1784, leaving what was then considered a large estate. They had three children, viz. :

1. Mary, who married, in 1764, Thomas Franklin, of New York. She died in 1779, before her father. Their descendants include Major-General William Buel Franklin, of Hartford, Connecticut; Rear-Admiral Samuel Rhoads Franklin, of Washington, D.C.; and the Atlee family, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

2. Samuel, Jr., who married, in 1765, Sarah, daughter of Israel Pemberton. Of their children, Elizabeth, who married Samuel W. Fisher, is the only one who has descendants now living, these being the children of Rhoads Fisher, in Texas, and of Coleman Fisher, in Philadelphia.

3. Hannah, who died unmarried in 1797.

## DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

(Continued from Vol. XVIII. page 495.)

*Journal.*

"Novem. 5<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>. The Enemy's boats continue to go up the River with the Tide every night—they seem to direct their course towards the mouth of the Schuylkill. I believe it would be possible to intercept this communication, but our Cannon would be of no service in it—& to fire by guess is throwing away Ammunition.

"The Enemy seem determined to Winter in Province Island if they can't take Fort Mifflin. They are raising a 4<sup>th</sup> work between the two bank batteries, and half way to Gayers house, where their great work is situated on an eminence. I believe it would be possible to interrupt or even to ruin their works. If His Excellency would form some Enterprise on their Rear, I believe we might make a useful diversion—as I know the Island I offer to serve as Guide to any party that shall be order'd there, in concert with Col. Smith I intend this night to reconnoitre in an arm'd boat the position of their Sentinels, and the safest Landing places, of which I shall make a Report.

"7<sup>th</sup>. The Enemy appear desirous of fortifying themselves in province Island to maintain the Communication with their Fleet at Billingsport—they are raising Redouts from 5 to 600 yds from the Bank, and the Fort on the rising ground advances rapidly towards Perfection.

"8<sup>th</sup>. The Enemy have enlarged the upper Battery opposite the Fort, we this morning discover 5 Embrasures, masked as yet with Fascines—it is probable they will all open at

once—their project seems to be, to knock down our palisades, and storm our west front between the two block houses. To cover our palisades on this side we have apply'd to Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum to furnish us with fascines, which we shall place on the Summit of the bank to serve instead of Earth, which is not to be had—I don't know whether we shall be able to procure the Fascines.”<sup>1</sup>

CAPTAIN CRAIG TO WASHINGTON.

“FRANKFORD, 8<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR

“By every Acc<sup>t</sup> from the City the enemy intend to Attackt the Fort tomorrow. The Hessians are to stand Guard, the Highlanders, Grannattier and Light Infantry to make the Attackt. One of their Floating Batteries that was lanced [launched] Yesterday is sunk to the bottom. My Guard was reinforced Last Night. I hope I shall have it in my power to prevent the Enemy a Comming into the Country as much as the[y] have done. I am with much Truth &c.

“C. CRAIG.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER TO WASHINGTON.

“I Receved your excelancys favour of yesterday leat last evining, ocasioned by my being leat on the enemys lins, there is nothing perticuler that I see in my power to do heare, could I Belive that my Troops were fit to storm Brestworks I wold have actacted the Island before this time. But Common prudance considring who I command has forbid it—altho I flater myself I have not the worst of men. I have sent all my Bagage six miles Back of where I am encamped and there unloaded all my waggins and ordered carridges to be maid for the waggons to move the stones from the Brandewine Mills and sent off one Hundred men for that purpose. at present the men under my command are mutch scattred on difrent Commands as the lines I have

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.



ocuquayed are from Vanderings on the Schuylkill to Grubs on the Dalawer. I Keep a Piquit at Brooms Dam of one Cap<sup>tn</sup> 2 sub<sup>s</sup> 3 sajants, 50 men one at the Brest Works of 12 men one at Grays ferrey of 30 men one at the middle ferrey of 100 men one at the uper ferrey 25 men up by Vanderings a Reconoitring party under Major Miller. all these parties has a shutable number of officers I have all ways a number of other partys on difrent Command I mount a guard in and about Camp of 100 men and Officers to command them as soon as it is in my power to collect in these men I will order as maney as is over six Hundred privats to join the Camp at Head Quarters agreeable to your orders. There is one Batt<sup>n</sup> times out yesterday and two more tomorrow and when there times is out they will go the Militia under Col. Crawford Came to me at Night and went off in the morning. I Requested that the[y] might assist in Moving the mill stons, Col. Crawford thought the[y] wold not and we did not ask them, as for Breaking the Banks there is Enuf of that sort of works dun alredey the[y] have found out an easer way of Bringing there provision the[y] unload at Joneses warff about 100 yarrds from Eagle Creek and careys it up the Creek to Giers warff, thence to Mingas Creek and into the Schulkill at Everleys the floting Batt<sup>n</sup> the[y] Bult at Everleys sunk in the lancing the enemy has Carried down a Great number of fagats to the point whether for the purpose of Defence or for to make Bridges I cant say, when I send the Troops away I must draw back, and work on a smaller scale. I am &c.

“JA<sup>s</sup> POTTER.

“P.S.—James Gray, son of M<sup>r</sup> George Gray came out of Town yesterday who says it is Reported in town that a Bot load of Hessens was latly sunk amounting to 60 men ocasioned by a Cannon Ball going throo the Boat, there was a number more drowned on Provance Island in the flud.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The endorsement shows the date of the letter to have been November 8.

COUNCIL OF WAR.

“ At a Council of War &c. 8<sup>th</sup> Novem. 1777

“ Present

|                           |                    |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| “ Major Generals Sullivan | Brigadiers Maxwell |
| “ Greene                  | Knox               |
| “ Marquis La Fayette      | Wayne              |
| “ McDougall               | Weedon             |
|                           | “ Woodford         |
|                           | “ Scott            |
|                           | “ Conway           |
|                           | “ Huntington       |
|                           | “ Irvin            |

“ His Excellency having informed the Council of the Reinforcements that were expected from Peekskill and that among them was 1600 Militia from Massachusetts under Gen<sup>l</sup> Warren, whose times would expire the last of November.

“ His Excellency informed the Council, that from a variety of circumstances he was of opinion that the Enemy mean a formidable attack upon Fort Mifflin very soon, and desired their opinion whether under our present circumstances as to Numbers, &c., we could afford further assistance to the Forts than has been hitherto given without endangering the Safety of this army.

“ The following Question was put: Whether, in case the Enemy should make an attack upon the Forts upon Delaware, it would be proper with our present Force to fall down and attack the Enemy in their Lines near Philad<sup>a</sup>?

“ Ans<sup>d</sup> in the Negative unanimously.”

WASHINGTON TO FRANCIS HOPKINSON AND JOHN WHARTON.

“ HEAD QUARTERS, WHITEMARSH, 9 November, 1777

“ GENTLEMEN :

“ I yesterday rec<sup>d</sup> a letter from Congress informing me that they had received a Report from your Board with your opinion upon the most probable means of securing the Frigates. Whereupon they came to the following Resolution on the 4<sup>th</sup> ins<sup>t</sup>:

“ ‘Ordered, that a Copy of the said report be sent to Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington for his approbation and if he approve the same that a detachment of troops be sent to assist in the Construction and Management of the Batteries aforesaid.’<sup>1</sup>

“ Upon the Rec<sup>t</sup> of this I took the opinion of the General Officers who unanimously agreed that, as we had not any men to spare to construct and defend the works recommended by you, there were no other possible means of effectually securing the Frigates but by scuttling them. You will therefore be pleased to have it done in such manner as will render the weighing of them most easy in future, and in such depth of Water as will secure them from being damaged by the floating Ice in the Winter. All the other Vessels capable of being converted into armed ships should be scuttled also. This should be done as speedily as possible, and as secretly, for should the Enemy get notice of your intentions, I should not at all wonder at their sending up a force purposely to destroy them or bring them down. You will dispose of the men that were on Board of them as directed in my former. I am &c<sup>2</sup>

“ G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“ WOODBERRY 9th Nov.  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 Ev., 1777

“ SIR :

“ Previous to the Rec<sup>t</sup> of your Commands of yesterday, I had sent an additional Reinforcement of a Cap<sup>t</sup> two Subs, three Serjeants and fifty Rank & File into Fort Mifflin. I have been at Fort Mifflin to day ; The Enemy are prepared to open a Batery of five Guns, I take them to be Eighteens or Twenty fours, this Night or to morrow Morning ; In Conjunction with their two Howitzers, besides two small Batteries, w<sup>h</sup> they have heretofore fired from. They have been

<sup>1</sup> See *Journals of Congress*, November 4, 1777.

<sup>2</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman. It will be remembered that it was on this day that Washington received from Lord Stirling the sentence from Brigadier-General Conway's letter to Gates which gave him the first definite intimation of the cabal against him.

very busy this Day in Crossing the Mouth of the Schuylkill with Waggon, Fascines &c.—Two double Deckers more have pass'd thro' the lower Frize. There are Eight in the whole upon this upper Station, but all of them are below my two Gun Battery. Thirsday last one Floating Battery was launched in Schylkil. it sunk with its Guns w<sup>h</sup> were bro't from the Eagle; Two more upon the stocks, one to have been launch'd this day. They are very busy in building two Bridges across Schuylkill, all their Force seems to be in that Quarter, w<sup>h</sup> is destined to the Attack of Fort Mifflin. Their Boats are moved from Delaware; This is Intelligence gained from a Ferryman opposite Cooper's Ferry, who came from Philadelphia this Day—Our Guard Boats keep the Enemy from transporting Provisions &c., the usual Way, but they pass unmolested over Tinnicum Island, by the Way of Derby Creek, a Rout that lays out of our Power—They enemy will make Fort Mifflin very warm. I shall relieve them from Time to Time to my utmost. I think they will Open their Batteries with great Activity: Soon after w<sup>h</sup>, it is probable they will bring down their Water Craft from Schylkill, which will make a Line of Fire intersecting that from their Principal Battery on Province Island, at an Angle of about thirty Degrees.—The Commodore seems determined to meet them with Spirit, adhering to the same Dispositions, w<sup>h</sup> I had the Honor of mentioning in my Letter of Yesterday—The two Mischiefs the Enemy will Effect by their cannonade, will be making of Breeches in the mud walls, and knocking down the Pallisades. To remedy w<sup>h</sup>, as much as possible, I am sending numbers of Pallisades, into the Fort, & great Quantities of Fascines.—I hope to God, our mutual Efforts here may be pleasing to your Excellency; I am certain they arise from Good Intentions.—I ardently wish to see Gen<sup>l</sup> Foreman! I cannot yet hear from him. Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb has, he tells me, about five hundred Militia here.—They are principally without Ammunition.—They are good Men, & have many good Officers with them. It is a Pity they cannot be properly furnished. The Old Gentleman, like Imlach of old, is anx-



ious to do all the good he can, But, unfortunately the Motions of the Stars are not committed to Superintendence. I am like a body without a soul, for the want of light Horse. I have not been able to procure any.

"I am out of patience with the commissaries. No Provisions of any consequence in the Garrisons—I have strip'd this Post today, & sent to Fort Mifflin—I will continue sending in Supplies as fast as I can.—If these Gentlemen do not act with a little more Sincerity, I will lessen their Number.

"The Baron is really unfit to be in this Neighbourhood. He will not be fit for Duty for a long Time, if ever.—I hope he may obtain Permission to retire.—His letter is inclos'd.

"Be pleas'd to accept of my sincerest Thanks for your Excellency's repeated Informations, and the paternal Care you exercise towards this little part of your Family.

"I am, in due Submission, &c.

"J. M. VARNUM.

"N.B.—In Justice to Col<sup>o</sup> Frink I must mention, he delivered your letter of yesterday, at Nine, last Evening.

"P.S.— $\frac{1}{4}$  past Seven. W<sup>m</sup> Ward is bro't in by my Scouts, a Prisoner from Camilla, who was this afternoon taken. 'He come ashore with the Captain to dine at Billingsport; —He says the Ships are in Readiness to move up upon a Signal, w<sup>h</sup> is to be given from Province Island, w<sup>h</sup> will be an English Jack hoisted. They are to attack Red Bank, saying that if they should take fort Mifflin, red Bank would cover the Garrison. Says the Shipping have orders to move, some to New York, some to one Place, & some to another, in a Fortnight, should they not take the Forts.—Says the Ships have not more than a Third of their Complement, & are very sickly.'

"Whether their Preparations against Mifflin are real or a Feint, I cannot say; but believe the former; however shall attend to both Circumstances."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Endorsed: "This goes by Quartermaster Wheatly, who is permitted to pass all Guards, and others, unmolested."

COLONEL SMITH TO WASHINGTON.

"FORT MIFFLIN, 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1777

"SIR :

"About the 20<sup>th</sup> Instant if we are not attacked sooner, I am of Opinion we shall have put this Fort in a good posture of defence, at which time the Officers of the Virginia Regiments and my party hope your Excellency will relieve them and their men. Your Excellency will see the propriety of this request when I assure you that out of 200 Men compleatly Officer'd which my Party consisted of, there are not now in Garrison more than 4 Officers and 65 Privates. the 6<sup>th</sup> Virginia Reg<sup>t</sup> brought 120 rank and file, and this morning returned only 46 fit for duty, the first nearly in proportion, and the party from Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum have already sent off 4 officers and 16 privates besides Convalescents. for some time past there has not been one night without one two or three Alarms—one half of the Garrison are constantly on fatigue and guard. these reasons I hope will induce your Excellency to send the Relief they request.

"As the Business and Duty Incumbent on the Commanding Officer of this Garrison has been of a very difficult nature and attended with much fatigue, I shall be oblig'd if your Excellency will also relieve me. I shall expect to stay several days after the Relief arrives to shew the officers the Advantages and weak parts of this place. This Garrison will require 500 Rank and file during the winter besides 80 Artillery Men, they will perhaps not be so sickly as we have been, as the fatigue will be chiefly finished, and the sickly season over. A Large stock of Salted Provision ought immediately to be laid in, for in the Winter they will not always be able to cross for Provisions &c. a want of Rum has occasion'd our late very extraordinary sickness. A quantity sufficient for a Gill each man p<sup>r</sup> Day ought to be provided for Winter. I have the Honor &c

"SAM. SMITH."

COLONEL SMITH TO WASHINGTON.

" FORT MIFFLIN 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1777.

" SIR :

"I receiv'd your Excellency's favour of the 4<sup>th</sup>. I presume you must have mistook Major Fleury's meaning, he has since he arrived acted fully in his department of Engineer, when I proposed anything he has generally been so polite to approve it. he writes and I presume will acknowledge that his Ideas have been adopted as far as the strength of the garrison would permit.

"The enemy since I wrote you last have been fortifying their Island for an advanced post and for a pass to the City, they have strengthened the first work which they made on the height with Pickquets and Abbatées, and yesterday threw up a breast work or Redoubt, a quarter of a mile below that, I Immagine to defend some narrow part of the Creek where you might pass to repossess the Island. Within these two nights they have thrown up a long Breast work to the left of their first Bomb Battery. it is not yet opened, but we can distinguish 5 Embrasures and Ship Carriages for their Cannon. I am of opinion their Intentions now must be to knock down our pallisades on that side, destroy our Block houses & storm us. We had your Excellency's notice last night and prepared accordingly, but I conceive they will not attempt any thing until they make a breach.

"The Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Congress have done me too much Honor; perhaps the enemy may give us an Opp<sup>ty</sup> to merit the high approbation they are pleased to express of my conduct and the Officers under me. I have the Honor &c

" SAM SMITH."

CONTINUATION OF MAJOR FLEURY'S JOURNAL.

" 9<sup>th</sup> at night. The Enemy appearing ready to open their batteries, we raised the bank which covers our Palisades on the west Front, against which the whole Fire of the Enemy is directed, and which will be the point of attack in case of

their storming the Fort. I have some fascines making at Red-bank, but shall want a great number.

“10—The 24 and 18 pound shot from the Batteries No. 16 and 17 broke some of our Palisades this morning, but this does not make us uneasy—they save us the trouble of cutting them to the height of a man—which we should do, as the fire of loop-holes [is] in itself not very dangerous, and our loop-holes in particular are so badly contrived as to leave two-thirds of the Glacis unrak’d.

“It is probable that the Enemy will undertake to carry this place by storm, and I should not fear them if we could fix the floating Chain described in the Figure; it would cover the Front which is likely to be attacked, and by delivering us from our uneasiness for this side, would enable us to post the men destined for its defence, at the Wall of Masonry which is ten feet high and is not out of the reach of an Escalade, notwithstanding the Ditches, Pits and Stakes &c<sup>a</sup> with which we have endeavour’d to surround it.

“The Commodore, Master of the *incomparable* Chain in question, proposes to stretch it by means of Buoys, between our Island and Province Island. I believe this obstacle to the communication between the Enemy’s Fleet and Army will be of little consequence, and if he would spare us the Chain, the Enemy would pay dear for their Hardiness if they dared attack us. Colonel Smith wrote this morning to ask this favour, but I am afraid that public Interest will suffer by private misunderstandings. I am interrupted by the Bombs and Balls which fall thick.

“10 at noon. The Firing increases but not the effect—our barracks alone suffer.

“At 2 o’clock. The Direction of the fire is changed—our Palisades suffer—a dozen of them are broke down—one of our Cannon is damaged near the Muzzle—I am afraid it will not fire straight.

“11 at night. The Enemy keep up a firing of Cannon every half hour—Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum promised us Fascines and Palisades, but they are not arrived—and they are absolutely necessary.



“The Commodore has promised the Chain—Our Garrison diminishes, our soldiers are overwhelmed with Fatigue—they spend nights in watching and Labour without doing much on account of their weakness.”<sup>1</sup>

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 10<sup>th</sup> November, 1777

“D<sup>r</sup> SIR :

“I am pleased to find by yours of the 8<sup>th</sup> that proper dispositions were formed for the reception of the Enemy at Forts Mercer & Mifflin and that the Garrisons were so full of confidence. We already hear a firing which we suppose a prelude to something more serious. I sincerely wish you success; but let the event be fortunate or otherwise, pray let me have the speediest intelligence. I am &c

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“P.S.—Your Detachments are on their march from Fishkill to join you.”

CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD TO WASHINGTON.

“CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

“BORDEN TOWN 10<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1777

“SIR :

“In Answer to your Letter of yesterday, we would inform your Excellency that when we first fixt the Navy Board at this Place & got our Frigates up, we had formed a Plan for defending them by a small Battery; of which among many other Things we gave Notice to the Marine Committee of Congress. We had no Answer to our Letter from that Committee till the Day before yesterday, when they sent us the Resolve of Congress referred to in your Letter. In the mean Time, however, we had the Honour of a Correspondence with your Excellency on this Subject; in which you fully declared your Judgment of the Matter and explicitly told us what you would have done. We have the satisfaction of assuring your Excellency that your Orders were immediately complied with, & as punctually

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.

executed as our Situation would admit of. The Frigates have been long since sunk, and now lie fast aground in a Place where they can receive no Damage from the Ice & cannot possibly be got off by the Enemy unless they knew the particular Parts where they have been bored, & of which we have a secret Gage that will enable us to raise them with Ease when a suitable Time shall offer. We gave you our Words that your Desire should be complied with & we have fulfill'd our Engagement so far as respected the Frigates; the men indeed have not been discharged owing to the following Accident: In sinking one of the Ships she unfortunately lay against a steep Bank, which on the Tide's falling, caused her to heel outwards from the Shoar. As this is an uneasy Situation & may injure the Ship we have been obliged to retain all the Hands & even hire more to get her up-right again. We have not yet been able to Effect this Purpose, but hope to do it in a few Days with the Purchases & Powers we are preparing to apply. All other Vessels great & small (one only excepted) we have with great Labour crouded up Crosswick's Creek, where most of them lye aground at high water, nor can any be got down but by means of an extraordinary Tide, or Fresh, nor then, but with the utmost Skill & Patience. Not trusting wholly to this, however, our Determination is to sink a Vessel at the Mouth of the Creek, which must effectually secure them from the Enemy. The Ship excepted above, is a large Vessel belonging to Mr. Robert Morris, having on Board a valuable Cargoe of Tobacco, part Continental & part his private Property. This ship cannot possibly be got up the Creek with her Cargoe, we are therefore unloading her into Shallops & when empty shall get her also up the Creek, or sink her, which ever may be most suitable. We request your Excellency would be perfectly easy as to the Shipping at this Place. The Enemy may possibly send up & burn them,—this we cannot help—but you may depend upon it none of them shall fall into their Hands, so as to become an Annoyance to your military Operations.

“It gives us great Concern to think your Excellency

should for a Moment suppose us capable of neglecting your earnest Instructions after having so solemnly assured you we would strictly obey them. We confess, however, the Resolve of Congress in Consequence of our former Representation, gave you sufficient Reason to suppose we had applied to that Body, instead of following your Advice. But the mystery will unfold when you consider that our Application to Congress was prior to the Letters we received from you on this Subject. We did indeed write to Congress a second Time, enclosing a Copy of your Instructions to us, and declaring our Determination of complying with them. But Congress, anxious, as we suppose to save the Frigates, & not so apprehensive of Danger from the Enemy, framed their Resolve parallel to our first Scheme; which on further Consideration appears to be ineffectual.

“We shall be happy in hearing from your Excellency that the above Representation is satisfactory; & that our Conduct in this Affair meets with your Approbation. If anything is amiss, or you would wish anything further to be done in our Department, you may depend on our earnest Endeavours to comply with your Desire.

“We request your Excellency would be so good as to forward the enclosed Packet to York Town by the first Opportunity. We have therein informed Congress of what we have done & our Reasons for so doing.

“With the utmost Esteem & sincere Prayers for your Health & Success, we have the Honor to be &c.

“FRAS<sup>ES</sup> HOPKINSON.

“JOHN WHARTON.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“WOODBERRY, 7 o'clock Ev. 10<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR:

“The Enemy this Morning opened against us with five Batteries. At two this afternoon, no Man was killed or wounded. The Cannonade and Bombardment have continued feebly since that Hour. I suppose the Rain has prevented their being more brisk—They have thrown some



Shot among our Shipping: Theirs remain below us. They have made but little Impression upon the Works or Pallisades.—I have just desired Col<sup>o</sup>. Smith to put his Men into their Barracks, thinking that it is better to have a few killed or wounded, than to have the whole suffer, expos'd to the Inclemency of the weather, upon near Mud.

“I have reason to expect the Attack will be more severe tomorrow as Cannon have been observed to pass over Schylkill this Day—Happy might it be for Troops to attack Province Island upon the rear of the Batteries—Should Heaven continue the Rain, so as to overflow the Meadows, we shall attack it upon this Side.

“It would be serviceable either to furnish the Militia here, with Ammunition, or discharge them. The important Moments are swiftly rolling on, in w<sup>h</sup> they can assist us. It is with your Excellency only to supply them.

“Fort Mifflin will soon be in want of Cartridges for their Cannon. The supplies are very inadequate to the present Siege. I am &c.

“J. M. VARNUM.”

COLONEL SMITH TO WASHINGTON.

“FORT MIFFLIN, 10<sup>th</sup> November, 1777

“SIR:

“This morning the Enemy open'd their Battery in the Rear of our Nor' West Block House, about 500 Yards distance from it of 6 Pieces of Cannon 18 to 32 Pounders, and one Eight inch howitz, one other eight inch Howitz opposite the right of our Battery. they were so fortunate to strike one of our 18 Pounders in the two Gun Battery on the Muzzle, by which she is rendered useless; their Shott from that Battery rakes the Pallisades fronting the Meadow, and cuts down 4 or 5 at a time, they have laid open a great part of that side, and chiefly destroyed that range of Barrocks, they also keep up an incessant fire from the Hospital, they have dismounted 3 of our Block house Guns, and much injured the Block houses and the other Range of Barrocks. We cover our Men under the Wall, and have



the good fortune as yet to escape unhurt, in 5 or 6 Days (unless the Seige can be rais'd) the fort will be laid open, and every thing destroyed, if they continue to cannonade and Bombard us as they have done, of which I haven't the smallest Doubt. Our Men already half Jaded to Death with constant fatigue, will be unfit for service.

“Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum has promis'd to prepare for us new Palisades, if so, we will replace at night what is destroy'd in the day, and endeavour to keep the Fort as long as it is in our power. As the principal object I presume of your Excellency is to hinder the enemy from raising the Chevaux de frize this winter, I am of Opinion it could be done nearly as well from the other Shore as from this fort, was our Cannon there. Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum inform'd you of the two Gun Battery he erected, with which the enemy might be hindered from raising the Obstructions with the Assistance of the fleet and 2 Guns that may be placed on Bush Island. My Opinion & the Opinion of the Officers in this Garrison is, that unless the Seige can be rais'd the enemy must in a short time reduce this place. We are determined to defend it to the last extremity, but we are of Opinion that it wou'd be for the common good to destroy the whole of the works and take the Guns to the Jersey Shore, where they'll serve to guard the River, and in case we could get Possession of Billingsport to mount on it, had we that post it would secure the River Effectually. The Galleys will be much annoyed from the enemies Batteries, and when the Shiping comes up, we shall have the whole of their fire. A Saylor taken this morning says they are prepar'd to come up and act in concert with their Batteries.

“Our present Situation strikes us in the light I have described, shou'd circumstances alter our Sentiments I shall give you the earliest notice. I have the Honor &c

“SAM SMITH.

“P.S.—The enemies Boats still pass up and down the river. I presume with provision.”

(To be continued.)

"ST. JAMES'S, PERKIOMEN."

BY REV. A. J. BARROW, RECTOR.

[The following historical notes and biographical sketches have been selected from a paper read by the rector of St. James's P. E. Church at Evansburg, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, on October 28, 1894, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the consecration of the present church building.]

This parish has a history fast approaching two hundred years. The church previous to the present one stood opposite in the cemetery and was built in 1721. This was taken down and the stones and material were used in the present building. Prior to 1721 the parish was a mission under the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." It sent over a book for recording the minutes of the vestry, and not unlikely a communion service. The book was handsomely bound in vellum, having a gilt impression of the society's seal and the coat of arms of Queen Anne, its zealous patron. It is now among the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The first meeting recorded is October 2, 1737, the Rev. Mr. Harway being rector. Present: Samuel Lane and Edward Nichleson, wardens; Henry Pawling, Peter Evans, George Evans, John Newbery, William Moore, and others, vestrymen. Samuel Lane was a son of Edward Lane, of whom we shall presently speak. William Moore was a prominent man in the colony at that time. From the biographical sketches of the Hon. S. W. Pennypacker it appears that he was a son of John Moore, Collector of the Port of Philadelphia, and was born May 6, 1699. He was sent to England and educated at Oxford University. His father gave him two hundred and forty acres on the Pickering Creek, adjacent to the Schuylkill, where he built the mansion once known as "Moore Hall." He became county judge and lived a long and eventful life. He was an en-

thusiastic churchman, and at different times a vestryman of St. James's, Perkiomen, and St. David's, Radnor. He died May 30, 1783, and was buried in the Radnor graveyard.

In 1738, Jonathan Woodley and Peter Rambo appear as wardens, and vestrymen, Samuel Lane, Edward Nichleson, William Moore, Henry Pawling, Owen Evans, George Evans, John Newbery, Stephen Boyer, Thomas Bull, John Edwards, John Davis, and John Collins. The Rambo family are descendants of the Swedes who made settlements upon the Delaware and Schuylkill as early as 1638. There is a record of two hundred and fifty acres being confirmed by Penn to Peter Rambo on the Schuylkill. Thomas Bull was an ancestor of the Rev. Levi Bull, who was born here and became a zealous missionary in the diocese of Pennsylvania. The Davis family was of Welsh origin, and became widely spread. In 1739 the wardens, Jonathan Woodley and Peter Rambo, were instructed to settle with and pay Hugh Pugh his account as soon as convenient. The family of Pughs were long identified with the church. The Shannon family also go back to a very early date, and were identified all along as among the most zealous supporters of this church, having intermarried with the Lanes. The last survivor was Charles Porter Shannon, who, after serving in the vestry for twenty-five years, died January 18, 1890. The name of Bean also had a prominent place, as well as Fronefield, Coulston, and others.

In 1764 a committee was appointed to rebuild the Glebe House, belonging to the Propagation Society's missions of Radnor and Perguhoma, the original Indian name for Perkiomen. The circumstance shows that the same minister supplied both places, which must have involved many a hard and tedious ride. The church of 1721 is described as having been a quaint and curious structure, one story high, with a shed roof in front over entrance-door, sashed windows on each side, two end ones, and one high up in the gable. They had diamond-shaped panes of glass set in leaden sash imported from England. A picture of the building hangs in the vestry-room. Placed under the present



tower is an old stone inscribed "J. S. and J. P. Church Wardens 1721." The initials refer no doubt to James Shannon and John Pawling. A log church is supposed to have been the first erected.

The beginning of the parish dates from the founding of the settlement here by Edward Lane. He purchased in 1698 a tract of twenty-five hundred acres, part of five thousand originally granted to Thomas Rudyard in 1681, who came from London and became Deputy Governor of East Jersey. The transaction is recited in titles of properties still held. The conveyance to Edward Lane in 1698 was confirmed by patent in 1701. The tract stretched from the Skippack to where the toll-gate beyond Collegeville stands. Judge Pennypacker states in his manuscript pedigree that Edward Lane was great-grandfather to his great-grandmother, Mary Lane, wife of the Hon. Isaac Anderson. From the same manuscript it appears that William Lane, the father of Edward Lane, a grocer living in Bristol, England, was one of the first purchasers of land (five hundred acres) from William Penn. The family were Quakers. It was William Lane's purpose at first to come to Pennsylvania, but age prevented, and so he conveyed the above five hundred acres to his son Edward, who came over prior to the first of October, 1683, on which day two hundred and fifty acres were surveyed to him in Bristol Township, near Germantown. On this tract he built a messuage, barn, and out-houses. In April, 1688, he bought fifty acres of adjacent land. This was ten years before the purchase here. In 1704 he and James Shattick bought, jointly, five thousand additional acres.

William Penn seems to have been on friendly terms with Edward Lane, notwithstanding the latter's turning to the Church of England when the division took place among the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, brought about by the preaching of George Keith. In 1694, Edward Lane married Ann Richardson, daughter of Samuel Richardson, one of the provincial councillors of Pennsylvania. The sister of Mrs. Lane, Elizabeth Richardson, married Abra-



ham Bickley, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia. Edward Lane lived in his house in Bristol Township until the settlement here was started, in which he seems to have been much interested, and showed considerable enterprise. His early effort was to get a road leading to Philadelphia, which was the beginning of the Germantown turnpike. Judge Pennypacker states that Lane made a visit to England in 1704, and brought back with him a letter from William Penn to James Logan, dated at Bristol, England, July 7, which says, “Now meeting with Edward Lane and his Overseer bound hence by Ireland to Pennsylvania, I send this in answer to thy original of the 26th of third month. Let Edward Lane have the land laid out he has bought of the first purchasers, according to justice, and the way to Mahatany carried on in the best manner for futurity as well as present.” The way to Mahatany was the turnpike.

In 1700, Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, sent over the Rev. Evan Evans to take charge of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and outlying districts. He was a man full of missionary zeal, and visited Perkiomen, Radnor, and other places, ministering to scattered settlers. As some were Welsh, he took a still deeper interest. He made reports of his work to the “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,” and in a letter dated from Philadelphia, August 27, 1709, wrote, “On next Monday I am to preach at a new settlement called Purguoman, 24 miles, where I am to baptize a whole family of Quakers, to the number of sixteen.” He did not mention the names. The incident shows, however, that a Church of England organization had been started. The assertion was once made that a stone had been discovered in the cemetery with the date 1703, but it cannot be found now; nevertheless, there is no reason why it should not have existed.

Judging from Edward Lane’s will he appears to have been a devout man, and his first thought, no doubt, was the erecting of some altar to God, and marking out a spot for a burying-place. Edward Lane survived his purchase only a few years, and died about March, 1710, apparently only in

his prime. This family are said to have been short-lived. No stone can be discovered marking his grave, but it is likely that he was buried here, as were all his children, near where the earliest church stood. By his will, dated not long before his death, in which he speaks of the plantation at Perkiomen on which he then lived, he left the portion of his estate lying this side of the Perkiomen to his son William, and west thereof to his son Samuel. To his son James he bequeathed two hundred and fifty acres, with a grist-mill then lately built. The spot is supposed to be where Keyser's mill now stands, once known as Croll's mill, not far from the church property. There were also four daughters—Elizabeth, Christian, Eleanor, and Ann—for whom provision was made. His sons being then minors, the bequests of land were left to his wife until they should come of age. The executors were James Shattick, Abraham Bickley, and his wife Ann. He also bequeathed to James Shattick five hundred pounds for many kindnesses, and for settling up the estate, and for transactions between themselves. These included joint purchases of land elsewhere, already referred to, and which seem to have reverted to said James Shattick, who was also buried in the cemetery here. We have before referred to the other executor, Abraham Bickley, as having married a sister of Mrs. Edward Lane. Some time after the latter became a widow she married Edmund Cartledge, of Conestoga, in Lancaster County.

After inheriting the land this side of the Perkiomen, William Lane, the son of Edward, by his will, dated January 8, 1732, left forty-two acres adjoining the church for the use of successive ministers of St. James's forever, including all buildings and improvements when laid out for a settlement. The rest of the estate he bequeathed to his son Edward Lane the second. His brother Samuel and his neighbor Henry Pawling were appointed executors. Like his father, he, too, died in the prime of life, and while his son Edward was a minor. He therefore appointed as guardians for the latter, Dr. John Kearsley and James Bingham, of Philadelphia.

Samuel Lane was for many years rector's warden here, from whom Judge Pennypacker derives descent. One descendant married Professor Jebb, the noted Greek scholar of Oxford University, England; and another married a son of Charles Darwin. By a trust deed dated April 3, 1737, William Lane's executors granted and released to the warden and one vestryman of St. James's forty acres for the use of the minister, according to the will, which grant has proved of valuable service in sustaining the church. Modern surveys have called it fifty acres. The first was made by Hendrick Pennybacker, who early surveyed this turnpike and other important roads.

Henry Pawling, one of William Lane's executors, belonged to a family who came originally from England and settled in New York, where they intermarried with the Dutch. Early New York records show that John Pawling, son of Henry Pawling and Neeltji Rosa, was baptized October 2, 1681, and married the youngest daughter of Tjerk Claessen De Witt. They had a son named Henry, who was baptized November 1, 1713. It was after this date, supposed to be 1720, that Henry and John moved to this region and settled along the Schuylkill near where the Perkiomen empties into it, and where Pawling's Ford became located. From the start the family seem to have taken a foremost place in St. James's Church, and served it faithfully for many years. After the Revolution, Henry Pawling, Jr., Robert Shannon, and others, and subsequently Levi Pawling, were foremost in building up Norristown and founding St. John's Church there. Eleanor Pawling, who died January 5, 1864, in her eighty-fifth year, married the Rev. James Milnor, once rector of St. George's, New York.

Another prominent family in the early history of this parish were the Evanses, who intermarried with the Lanes. From them Evansburg took its name. Two of the surviving members are Edward Evans, warden of St. Luke's, Bustleton, and a present vestryman here, and Owen Evans, of Delaware. Another brother, William, died two or three years ago.



In 1738 the church was broken into and robbed of a pulpit cloth and cushion of plush purple fringed with black silk; also a pewter communion service and baptismal basin. A reward of five pounds was offered by the wardens, William Moore and Henry Pawling.

St. James's seems to have increased and flourished until the War of the Revolution, when, as a Church of England, it had a set-back. Ministers all over the country who were loyal to the King had to retire. The Rev. Mr. Currie then appears to have been rector here, and for forty years previously. In 1776 he wrote a touching letter of resignation to the vestry on the ground of failing health, which is recorded in the minute-book already spoken of. Edward Lane and Robert Shannon were wardens. In October of the following year, 1777, occurred the battle of Germantown, and the American soldiers passed this way in retreat, carrying their sick and wounded, and converted the church into a hospital. Over a hundred died and were buried in the graveyard.

In 1780, Henry Pawling, Jr., and Benjamin Rittenhouse were wardens, and the Rev. John Wade became officiating minister for six years. During this interval the war ended, and the Episcopal Church, as well as the nation, became *separated from* England. The vestry of St. James's lost no time in adapting itself to the new conditions. As soon as Bishop White became Bishop of Pennsylvania, James Shannon and Nathan Pawling, wardens, were appointed a committee to consult with St. David's, Radnor, and St. Peter's, Great Valley, about applying for a minister to officiate in the three churches. The Rev. Slator Clay, who had acted as lay reader, was specially petitioned for. He was accordingly ordained deacon, December 23, 1787; and priest, February 17, 1788. Besides the three churches mentioned, he also officiated at Christ Church, Swedeland, near Bridgeport.

At this time a list is recorded of subscribers and pew-holders in St. James's, comprising thirty-one names, largely descendants of the early members. In this list we find the



name of Jacob Casselberry, who is said to have emigrated from Wales, first settling in Chester County, and then, before the Revolution, at Evansburg. In 1792 he appears as a warden of the church. His son William became a vestryman, and lived to the age of eighty-seven. He had three sons and three daughters. The last of the sons was Joseph, recently laid to rest in his eighty-eighth year, having died in the same house and room in which he was born, now the residence of Morgan Casselberry. Washington once made this very room and house his headquarters when his army was encamped on both sides of the Perkiomen Creek. One daughter of William still survives. His son John was the father of D. Morgan Casselberry, the present senior warden of the church. Isaac Casselberry, deceased, son of Benjamin, was for several years a vestryman. Both branches became connected by marriage with the Evanses. In the same year, 1788, the parish was incorporated by Act of Assembly, under the title of "The Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of the Episcopal Congregation of St. James's Church, Perkiomen, in the Township of New Providence and County of Montgomery."

The Rev. Slator Clay died September 25, 1821, aged sixty-seven, and was buried in the cemetery. On his tombstone it is inscribed that he was rector for nearly thirty-five years of St. James's, Perkiomen; St. Peter's, Great Valley; and Swedes' Church, Upper Merion. He was succeeded for about ten years by his son, the Rev. John C. Clay, who then became rector, for a long period, of Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia.

In the year 1789, Robert Shannon was elected the first deputy to a convention. In 1793, Henry Pawling was deputy. The same year a stone wall was built around the cemetery. In 1799 the Rev. Slator Clay made Perkiomen his residence, when a portion of the present parsonage was built, to which additions were from time to time made. At the beginning of 1832 the Rev. John Reynolds, previously of St. John's, Norristown, became rector, who married Eleanor Evans. His monument is in the cemetery. The

Rev. George Mintzer was rector from 1841 to 1857, as inscribed upon the tablet on the wall to his memory. The Rev. Dr. Stockton had charge from 1858 to 1863, when he became rector of St. Peter's, Phoenixville, to which he also ministered while here, and from which, on account of failing health and infirmity, he has recently retired, honored and much beloved. The Rev. Peter Russel was rector from 1869 to 1873, and the Rev. John L. Heysinger from 1876 to 1884. Other clergymen have also officiated for brief periods. The present incumbent took charge May 1, 1890.

A REGISTER OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND  
DEATHS, 1772-1822.<sup>1</sup>

BY REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D.D.

Among the names of men who were noteworthy in our country in its earlier days occurs that of William Rogers. Born July 22, 1751, in Newport, Rhode Island, he was prepared for college at an early age, and in 1765 acquired some notoriety by being the first and for a time the only student of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, under the tutelage of its first President, Dr. James Manning. Graduated from that college in 1769, in its first class, he became principal of an academy at Newport. In 1772, "In consequence of an invitation," he became pastor of the first Baptist church in Philadelphia. This seems not to have been of long duration, since he wrote after his records of 1774, "A Separation having taken place between the Church & me," etc.

In April of 1776 he became chaplain to Colonel Samuel Miles's Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, which position he filled until 1778, when he was appointed a brigade chaplain in the Continental army, retiring in June of 1781. Although he had opportunities to enter upon other pastorates, he seems never to have done so, as his record of baptisms begins anew at that date and is scattering during the remainder of his life.

From 1789 to 1811 he held the professorship of Oratory and English Literature in the College of Philadelphia, and its successor, the University of Pennsylvania. Holding at different times offices in literary and religious societies, he was in 1805 chaplain to the Military Legion of Philadelphia, and in 1816-17 was sent to the Pennsylvania Legislature. He received the degree of A.M. from the University

<sup>1</sup> Copied from the original manuscript by Miss Lydia M. Cooke.

of Pennsylvania, Yale, and Princeton, and that of D.D. from the first mentioned. He was known as a writer of moral, religious, and political articles. He died in Philadelphia April 7, 1824. His family consisted of three daughters, one of whom married the late William Henry De Wolf, of Bristol, Rhode Island, and his widow resided there during the later years of her life.

The book from which these following records are copied is entitled "A Confession of Faith put forth by the Elders and Brethren of many Congregations of Christians in London and the Country." Adopted by the Baptist Association met at Philadelphia September 25, 1742. The book was printed in Philadelphia in 1773, and these records are written upon blank leaves bound with it. It is now the property of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

RECORD OF BAPTISMS AND MARRIAGES AS FOLLOWS:

In Consequence of an Invitation I W Rogers of Newport Removed to Philadelphia in y<sup>e</sup> Month of December 1771—Giving myself up as a Member of their Church y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> of May following; I was fet apart in full & Solemnly Ordain'd to y<sup>e</sup> Work of the Ministry y<sup>e</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> Day of y<sup>e</sup> same Month—viz—May 1772.

In y<sup>e</sup> Interim being only a Licensed Preacher—The Following Persons were Baptized by other Ministers. Namely,

Keziah Carlile. By Rev: Robert Kelway March 7. 1772.  
Schulkill.

|                            |   |                                  |
|----------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| George Bright              | } | By D <sup>o</sup> April 9. 1772. |
| Mary Moulder               |   |                                  |
| Elizab <sup>h</sup> Beasly |   |                                  |

|                |   |                                     |
|----------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| Elizabeth Cook | } | By Rev: Samuel Jones. May 10, 1772. |
| Rebecca Toy    |   |                                     |

*Now follows a List of Those Baptized by myself. Videlicet. . . .*

|                   |   |                                   |
|-------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Elizabeth Cobourn | } | June 9. 1772. In River Schulkill. |
| Frances Gardiner  |   |                                   |
| Mary Weed         |   |                                   |
| Jacob Burkeloe    |   |                                   |
| John Levering     |   |                                   |



|                |   |                |
|----------------|---|----------------|
| William Coates | } | June 11, 1772. |
| John Jarman    |   |                |
| John Browne    |   |                |

|               |   |               |
|---------------|---|---------------|
| Mary Hanson   | } | July 8. 1772. |
| Thomas Morgan |   |               |

Joseph Watkins, Senior, was baptiz'd by me July 28. 1772.

|                   |   |                 |
|-------------------|---|-----------------|
| Abraham Mitchell  | } | August 4. 1772. |
| Ezekiel Robins    |   |                 |
| Hannah Gardner    |   |                 |
| Thomasin Hellings |   |                 |
| Martha Burkeloe   |   |                 |
| Katherina Renford |   |                 |

|                 |   |                                                                                                            |
|-----------------|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ezekiel Merriam | } | Were Baptized by Rev : W <sup>m</sup><br>Van Horne, while I was at<br>Rhode Island on a Visit. Sept. 1772. |
| Deborah Merriam |   |                                                                                                            |
| Samuel Wright   |   |                                                                                                            |

Elenor Jones. Was baptized by me Nov : 24. 1772. In Schulkyl.

Sarah White. December 3. 1772.

|                   |   |                  |
|-------------------|---|------------------|
| Griffith Levering | } | January 5. 1773. |
| Mary Paine        |   |                  |

|                     |   |                |
|---------------------|---|----------------|
| Thomas Mackanefs    | } | March 8, 1773. |
| Elizabeth Mackanefs |   |                |

|               |   |              |
|---------------|---|--------------|
| Rachel Logan  | } | May 7. 1773. |
| Tamar Hartley |   |              |

|              |   |                |
|--------------|---|----------------|
| Martha Scott | } | July 22. 1773. |
| Ann Biddle   |   |                |

|                    |   |                  |
|--------------------|---|------------------|
| Alexander Galloway | } | October 6, 1773. |
| Jane Nicholson     |   |                  |

|               |   |                |
|---------------|---|----------------|
| Hannah Rush   | } | March 8. 1774. |
| Lydia Gilbert |   |                |

John Conneley. July 8. 1774.

|                  |   |                                                                                     |
|------------------|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Prudence Flowers | } | Septemb <sup>r</sup> 13. 1774. At Marcus<br>Hook. In y <sup>e</sup> River Delaware. |
| Christiana Dick  |   |                                                                                     |

Benjamin Thaw }  
Mary Morgan } October 4. 1774. In Schulkyl.

Abigail Fairis. November 8. 1774.

A Separation having taken place between the Church & me, the List of Persons I have Baptized as Occasion Required is nevertheless Continued and is as follows.

Mary Harris. Decem<sup>r</sup> 1. 1781.

|                   |   |                                                                                                    |
|-------------------|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Letitia Platts    | } | All at Cohansey<br>In a Mill Pond.<br>Becoming<br>Members of<br>Rev : M <sup>r</sup> Kelsay's Cch. |
| Moses Crofsly     |   |                                                                                                    |
| Kezia Sheppard    |   |                                                                                                    |
| Moses Harris      |   |                                                                                                    |
| Prudence Robinson |   |                                                                                                    |
| David Bowen       |   |                                                                                                    |
| Ruth Sheppard     |   |                                                                                                    |
| Mary Ireland      |   |                                                                                                    |
| Richard Barker    |   |                                                                                                    |
| Lydia Sheppard    |   |                                                                                                    |

|                        |   |                                               |
|------------------------|---|-----------------------------------------------|
| W <sup>m</sup> Brangan | } | March 2 <sup>d</sup><br>1782.<br>At Cohansey. |
| Millesent Sheppard     |   |                                               |
| Henry Mulford          |   |                                               |
| Lydia Gillman          |   |                                               |
| David Gillman          |   |                                               |
| Hannah Leake           |   |                                               |
| Robert Harris          |   |                                               |

|                       |   |                                         |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------------------------|
| John Royal            | } | March 3 <sup>d</sup> 1782.<br>Cohansey. |
| Damaris Dare          |   |                                         |
| W <sup>m</sup> Kelsay |   |                                         |

|                  |   |                                                               |
|------------------|---|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Nathaniel Palmer | } | August 4. 1782. At Stonington<br>Point. State of Connecticut. |
| Grace Palmer     |   |                                                               |

Miriam Bowen. At Cohansey Nov<sup>r</sup> 2. 82.

|                 |   |                                       |
|-----------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Joel Sheppard   | } | Nov <sup>r</sup> 8. 1782.<br>Cohansy. |
| Hannah Sheppard |   |                                       |
| Hope Sheppard   |   |                                       |

Eleanor Thomas. Feby. 17. 1783. Baltimore.

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Lucia Mulford. At Cohansy March 31. 1783.

|                 |   |                              |
|-----------------|---|------------------------------|
| Sarah Foster    | } | At Cape May<br>June 9. 1783. |
| Daniel Swain    |   |                              |
| Rachel Woodruff |   |                              |
| Mary Hewett     |   |                              |

Elizabeth Hopkin. March 27. 1785. Wilmington. Brandiwine Creek.

Samuel Levering. April 3. 1785. At the Ridge. Schoolkyl.

Thomas Holmes. June 3. 1786. Pennepeck.

Philathea James. At Cohansey, Nov<sup>r</sup> 4. 1786.

|             |   |                                |
|-------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Sarah Davis | } | At Great Valley, May 26. 1787. |
| Mary Davis  |   |                                |

Charles Peale Polk. Nov<sup>r</sup> 8. 1787. In Schulkyl.

Samuel Thompson. At Cohansy. June 13. 1791.

|                |   |                               |
|----------------|---|-------------------------------|
| Anne Taylor    | } | At Southampton, June 7. 1794. |
| Martha Delaney |   |                               |

|                  |   |                                              |
|------------------|---|----------------------------------------------|
| John Hough       | } | At Southampton.<br>Aug <sup>t</sup> 9. 1794. |
| Charity Hough    |   |                                              |
| Elizabeth Thomas |   |                                              |
| Anne Hart        |   |                                              |
| (wife of Joseph) |   |                                              |
| Hannah Taylor    |   |                                              |
| Hannah Yerkes    |   |                                              |

|              |   |                                                             |
|--------------|---|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hope Willard | } | Schulkyl, Philad <sup>a</sup><br>Sep <sup>t</sup> 10. 1794. |
| Jane Ustick  |   |                                                             |

|                            |   |                                                  |
|----------------------------|---|--------------------------------------------------|
| John Dungan                | } | At<br>Southampton,<br>Oct <sup>r</sup> 11. 1794. |
| Anne Hart (wife of Josias) |   |                                                  |
| Mary Hart                  |   |                                                  |
| Elenor Hart                |   |                                                  |
| Elizabeth Hart             |   |                                                  |
| Mary Folwell               |   |                                                  |

Samuel Jones, Schulkyl, Phil<sup>a</sup>, Nov. 7. 1794.

|              |   |                                           |
|--------------|---|-------------------------------------------|
| Tilman Culp  | } | At the Ridge. Schulkyl.<br>June 27. 1802. |
| John Holgate |   |                                           |

|                       |   |                                                                                   |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| John Collard          | } | Northern Liberties,<br>River<br>Delaware.<br>On<br>Saturday<br>March 26.<br>1803. |
| W <sup>m</sup> Thorne |   |                                                                                   |
| Rachel Thorne         |   |                                                                                   |
| Margaret Cunningham   |   |                                                                                   |
| Martha Jackaway       |   |                                                                                   |
| Sarah Day             |   |                                                                                   |
| Phebe Woodruff        |   |                                                                                   |
| Margaret Thomas       |   |                                                                                   |
| Rachel Scott          |   |                                                                                   |
| Mary Coleman          | } |                                                                                   |
| Mary Clinton          |   |                                                                                   |

Sarah Sheetzline. At the Ridge. River  
Schulkyll. March 27. 1803.

|                    |   |                                                                        |
|--------------------|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ann Keyser         | } | Schulkyll,<br>Phil <sup>a</sup> On<br>Wedn <sup>r</sup> April 6. 1803. |
| Mary Keck          |   |                                                                        |
| John Bradley       |   |                                                                        |
| Ann Cole. A Black. |   |                                                                        |

|                  |   |                                                                  |
|------------------|---|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Harriot Rivers   | } | Schulkyll.<br>Phil <sup>a</sup> On Sat <sup>r</sup> May 7. 1803. |
| Elizabeth Cornog |   |                                                                  |

|                            |   |                                                                         |
|----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| George Lentner             | } | Schulkyll.<br>Philad <sup>a</sup><br>On<br>Tuesday,<br>June 7.<br>1803. |
| Abraham Woodruff           |   |                                                                         |
| Eve Mahen                  |   |                                                                         |
| Allse Williams             |   |                                                                         |
| Hannah Davis               |   |                                                                         |
| Catharine Davis            |   |                                                                         |
| Mary Tage                  |   |                                                                         |
| Sarah M <sup>c</sup> Grady |   |                                                                         |
| Catharine Bashford         |   |                                                                         |
| Martha Moulder             | } |                                                                         |
| Sarah Moulder              |   |                                                                         |

|                        |   |                                                       |
|------------------------|---|-------------------------------------------------------|
| W <sup>m</sup> Moulder | } | Schulkyll. Phil <sup>a</sup><br>Friday, July 8, 1803. |
| Sarah Ogden            |   |                                                       |
| Ann Guilliams          |   |                                                       |

|               |   |                                                                              |
|---------------|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| George Keck   | } | Schulkyll. Phil <sup>a</sup><br>Tuesd <sup>r</sup> Aug <sup>t</sup> 9. 1803. |
| Susan Sheldon |   |                                                                              |

|                                            |   |                                                                   |
|--------------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| John M <sup>c</sup> Leod, jun <sup>r</sup> | } | Schulkyll. Phil <sup>a</sup><br>Tuesday Sep <sup>t</sup> 6. 1803. |
| Mary Pippit                                |   |                                                                   |
| W <sup>m</sup> Sterne                      |   |                                                                   |
| Margaret Butler                            |   |                                                                   |
| Daphne Peterson }<br>a Black }             |   |                                                                   |



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|                 |   |                                   |
|-----------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Peter Bicknell  | } | Schulkyll. Phil <sup>a</sup>      |
| Elizabeth Brown |   | Sat <sup>y</sup> , Nov. 12. 1803. |

|                                   |   |                                  |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Thomas Billings                   | } | Schulkyll.                       |
| Margaret Keen                     |   | Phil <sup>a</sup>                |
| Elizabeth M <sup>c</sup> Cutcheon |   | Sat <sup>y</sup> , June 9. 1804. |
| Susan Meredith                    |   |                                  |

Christiana Griswold. Riv<sup>r</sup> Delaware.  
 Marcus Hook. Lord's Day.  
 July 15. 1804.

James Patterson. Ridge. Schulkyll.  
 Lord's Day. Sep<sup>t</sup> 2. 1804.

|                |   |                                    |
|----------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Henry Benner   | } | Schulkyll. Phil <sup>a</sup>       |
| John Owen      |   | Tuesd <sup>y</sup> , Nov. 6. 1804. |
| Mary Jarvis    |   |                                    |
| Abigail Gotman |   |                                    |

|                 |   |                |
|-----------------|---|----------------|
| Joseph Miles    | } | Pennypack.—    |
| Elizabeth Miles |   | Lord's Day.—   |
| Rebecca Snyder  |   | July 14. 1805. |
| Susanna Beans } |   |                |
| a Black }       |   |                |

|                   |   |               |
|-------------------|---|---------------|
| Abraham C. Ringer | } | Burlington.   |
| Elizabeth Jones   |   | Lord's Day.   |
| Lucretia Austin   |   | Nov. 2. 1806. |
| Sarah Stiles      |   |               |
| Julian Philing    |   |               |

|                |   |                    |
|----------------|---|--------------------|
| Joseph Gilbert | } | Burlington. Lord's |
| Grace Randall  |   | Day. May 3. 1807.  |

|                    |   |                |
|--------------------|---|----------------|
| John Wright        | } | Lower Dublin.  |
| Joseph Jackson     |   | Lord's Day.    |
| Elenor Roberts     |   | July 26. 1807. |
| Elizabeth Whitton  |   |                |
| Margaret Hendricks |   |                |

|                 |   |                    |
|-----------------|---|--------------------|
| William Fetters | } | Blockley. Lord's   |
| Ann Fetters     |   | Day. Sep. 27. 1807 |

Charles Hollingshead. Burlington  
 Lord's Day. May 1. 1808.

*Total by me 167.*

*Continued.*

Jeremiah Quicksill. Frankford, L. D. Nov. 20. 1808.

|                  |   |                       |
|------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Sarah Payne      | } | 2 <sup>d</sup> Church |
| Jemima Southwick |   | L. D. Dec. 25. —08.   |

|                       |   |                                                |
|-----------------------|---|------------------------------------------------|
| Simon Crewson         | } | Lower Dublin.<br>Lord's Day.<br>April 2. 1809. |
| Richard Burk          |   |                                                |
| Susanna Holmes        |   |                                                |
| Rachel Wright         |   |                                                |
| Achsah Hellingder     |   |                                                |
| Catherine Hendricks } | } |                                                |
| æ. 82 y <sup>rs</sup> |   |                                                |

Julia Baxter. Frankford. Lord's Day. Aug<sup>t</sup> 20. 1809.

Eliza Robinson. Roxb<sup>y</sup>. L. D. July 22. 1810.

|                   |   |                             |
|-------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Catherine Beddell | } | New York. E. R <sup>r</sup> |
| Eleanor Bifsett   |   | Lord's Day.                 |
| Catherine Toms    |   | Aug <sup>t</sup> 5. 1810.   |

Mary Stern, aged 84 years. Roxb<sup>y</sup>. L. D. Oct. 28. 1810.

|                 |   |                                    |
|-----------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Benjamin Kallam | } | Schulkyll. Phil <sup>a</sup>       |
| Mary Johnson    |   | Frid <sup>y</sup> , July 12. 1811. |

Susan M. Ustick Schulck<sup>ll</sup> Phil<sup>a</sup> Sat<sup>y</sup>. Oct. 12. 1811.  
*Baptisms 185*

Joseph Smith. Schulkyll. Phil<sup>a</sup> Sat<sup>y</sup> Nov. 9. 1811.

|                |   |                |
|----------------|---|----------------|
| Samuel Sexton  | } | Burlington.    |
| Rebecca Force  |   | Lord's Day,    |
| Margaret Craft |   | March 1. 1812. |
| Rachel Sexton  |   |                |

Christiana Price. Marcus Hook.  
Lord's Day. June 14. 1812.

|                       |   |                                  |
|-----------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Mary Thomson          | } | Schulkyll.                       |
| Martha Bevins         |   | Phil <sup>a</sup>                |
| Sam <sup>l</sup> Keen |   | Sat <sup>y</sup> March 13. 1813. |
| Henry Carman          |   |                                  |

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Elizabeth Mandeville. Newark, N. Jers<sup>r</sup>.  
Lord's Day, July 25. 1813.

Abraham L. Holget. Roxborough.  
Lord's Day. June 25. 1815.

|                                   |                             |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Sarah Wiley                       | } Schulk <sup>l</sup> Phil. |
| Mary M <sup>c</sup> Cormick       |                             |
| } Sat <sup>r</sup> Sep. 13. 1817. |                             |

Beulah Ewens. Mount Holly,  
Lord's Day. May 10. 1818.

Thomasin Fennimore. Burlingt<sup>a</sup>  
Lord's Day. March 5. 1820.

201

Frances Arnold. Providence, R. I.  
Thursday August 8. 1822.

By Dr. H. Eliza J. Rogers. Thursd<sup>r</sup>,  
Nov. 21. 1822. River Schulkyl.

The following is a List of Persons who joined y<sup>e</sup> Baptist Church by Letters from other Sister Churches during my Stay in Philadelphia as their Minister. Viz,

|                      |                                                                                                                                   |                                 |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Martha Brooks.....   | February 14. 1773....                                                                                                             | From Southampton.               |
| Mary Charuthers..... | April 5. 1773.....                                                                                                                | Upper Freehold.                 |
| Lydia Withman.....   | June 13. 1773.....                                                                                                                | Cohansie.                       |
| Sarah Trickett.....  | Jan <sup>r</sup> 3. 1774.....                                                                                                     | London. D <sup>r</sup> Gifford. |
| Mary Parker.....     | April 4. 1774.....                                                                                                                | New Mills.                      |
| Martha Clarke.....   | June 12. 1774.....                                                                                                                | Montgomery.                     |
| Richard Riley        | } Sep <sup>r</sup> 11. 1774. Having been baptiz'd<br>a Considerable Time before by y <sup>e</sup><br>Rev: M <sup>r</sup> Edwards. |                                 |
| Alexander Dick       |                                                                                                                                   |                                 |

A List of Persons dismiss'd to Other Churches During the same Period.

|                                 |                                     |                           |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Elizabeth Morgan now Edwards... | To Pennepack.....                   | Jan <sup>r</sup> 4. 1773. |
| Joseph Ingalls.....             | To D <sup>e</sup> .....             | April 5. 1773.            |
| Katharina Bartholomew.....      | To y <sup>e</sup> Great Valley..... | July 5. 1773.             |

Persons Excommunicated.

|                     |                                    |                     |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Samuel Olden.....   | Jan <sup>y</sup> 10. 1773.....     | For Drunkenefs &c.  |
| John Mason.....     | April 5. 1773.....                 | For Sandemanianism. |
| Nehemiah Davis..... | July 8. 1773.....                  | For Drunkenefs.     |
| Thomas Dungan       | } Nov <sup>br</sup> 11. 1773 ..... |                     |
| Elizabeth Church    |                                    |                     |
| Susannah Morris     | } Dec <sup>br</sup> 6. 1773.....   | For joining the     |
| Elizabeth Morris    |                                    | Weslyans.           |
| Elenor Jones        |                                    |                     |

Those who Departed this Life.

|                                    |                                |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Edith Priestly.....                | Jan <sup>y</sup> 9. 1772.      |
| Judith Fulton.....                 | April 5. 1772.                 |
| Mary Morris.....                   | April 14. 1772.                |
| Mary Powell.....                   | June 29. 1773.                 |
| Rebecca Williams.....              | Sep <sup>t</sup> 2. 1773.      |
| Grace Lloyd.....                   | Sep <sup>t</sup> 9. 1773.      |
| Elizabeth Byles.....               | Octob <sup>r</sup> 6. 1773.    |
| Isaac Jones Esq <sup>r</sup> ..... | Octob <sup>r</sup> 18. 1773.   |
| Frances M <sup>o</sup> Glone.....  | Jan <sup>y</sup> 17. 1774.     |
| Deborah Price.....                 | August 11. 1774.               |
| Susannah De Nyss.....              | August 27. 1774.               |
| Benjamin Howell.....               | Septembe <sup>r</sup> 6. 1774. |
| Samuel Burkeloe.....               | October 8. 1774.               |
| Prudence Flowers.....              | May 28. 1775.                  |

*An Account of Those married by me. W. Rogers VDM.*

1. Robert Hamilton & Mary Street. Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>  
County in the Province of Pennsylvania. June 11. 1772.
2. William Turner & Abigail Anthony.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup> July 9. 1772.
3. John Murdock & Sarah Whiteall.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. July 11. 1772.
4. Amos Leech & Meribah Gardner. He of  
Connecticut. She of Rhode Island. Sep<sup>t</sup> —. 1772.
5. William Patton & Mary Evans.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup> Nov. 11. 1772.
6. Thomas Waterman & Hannah Inglis.  
Both of Germantown in the Province of  
Pennsylvania. Dec<sup>br</sup> 8. 1772.

*Six Couple.*



7. Aaron Thorne & Elizabeth Van.  
Both of Burlington County In y<sup>e</sup> Province of  
West New Jersey. Jan<sup>y</sup> 7. 1773.
8. Fincher Hellings & Catherine Dougherty.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup> January 7. 1773.
9. Abraham Free & Ruth Evans.  
Both of Chester County. In the Province of  
Pennsylvania. Jan<sup>y</sup> 9. 1773.
10. John Hickby & Alice Tuft  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 28. 1773.
11. Godfrey Henry & Catherine Fulkroad.  
Both of Francfort. In the province of  
Pennsylvania. Feb. 16. 1773.
12. James Fowler & Hannah Swanson.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup> April 8. 1773.
13. Nathan Sturgis & Catherine Phillips.  
Both of Upper Merion. In Philad<sup>a</sup> County &  
Province of Pennf. April 17, 1773.
14. Peter Wells & Jemimah Davis.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup> County. In the Province of  
Pennsylvania. May 19. 1773.
15. David Rees & Elizabeth Cobourn.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. June 24. 1773.
16. Abraham Mitchell & Frances Gardner.  
Both of Philadelphia. July 22. 1773.
17. Clement Dungan & Sarah Bond.  
Both of Moorland In the County of Philad<sup>a</sup> &c.  
August 4. 1773.
18. Eli Hibbs & Mary Colburn.  
Both of Biburly in Philad<sup>a</sup> County.  
October 20. 1773.
19. John Dilworth & Hannah Hunter.  
Both of Philad: Octob<sup>r</sup> 21. 1773.
20. Thomas Davis & Margaret Davis.  
He of Hatfield. She of Montgomery, County  
of Philad<sup>a</sup> &c. Decem<sup>r</sup> 7. 1773.
21. David Jones & Lætitia Powell.  
He of Whitemarsh, She of Philadelphia.  
Decem<sup>r</sup> 28. 1773.

*Fifteen Couple.*

22. John Barrow & Mary Roberts.  
He of Baltimore County, Maryland, She of  
Philad<sup>a</sup>. Jan<sup>y</sup> 3. 1774.
23. John Rogers & Mary Trapell.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Jan<sup>y</sup>. 13. 1774.
24. Edmund McVaugh & Elizabeth Taylor.  
He of Abington, She of Lower Dublin, Philad<sup>a</sup>  
County. Jan<sup>y</sup> 20. 1774.
25. Thomas Fleeson & Rebecca Britton.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Jan<sup>y</sup> 27. 1774.
26. Benjamin Gibbs & Hannah Shewell.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. February 3. 1774.
27. Edward Matthew & Eleanor Thomas.  
He of New Britain. She of Hilltown Bucks  
County. Pennfyl<sup>a</sup>. Feb : 22. 1774.
28. John Annadown & Susannah Abel.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. March 17. 1774.
29. John Gardner & Mary Scott.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. March 31. 1774.
30. Christian Rufcorn & Margaret Jones.  
Both of New Britain, Bucks County Pennfyl.  
April 7. 1774.
31. John Kelly & Rachel Blacklege.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup> County.  
June 20. 1774.
32. John Delavan & Barbary Kroser.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup> County.  
July 6. 1774.
33. James Morrison & Hannah Anderson.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. July 26. 1774.
34. Jonathan French & Sarah Parsons.  
Both of Waterford, Gloucester County  
Province of New Jersey. August 24. 1774.
35. Richard Whitaker & Rachel Bowen.  
Both of Fairfield, Cumberland County.  
Province of New Jersey. Aug<sup>t</sup> 29. 1774.
36. Esias Hunt & Elizabeth Stratton.  
Both of Burlington County. Province of  
New Jersey. Sep<sup>t</sup>. 5. 1774.

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37. John Kills & Mary Cowperthwaite.  
He of Gloucester County, She of Salem D°,  
Province of New Jersey. Sep<sup>t</sup> 8. 1774.
38. Abraham Wentz & Sophia Wentz.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup> County. Septemb<sup>r</sup> 15. 1774.
39. Phinehas Waterman & Mary Johnston.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup> County. October 6. 1774.
40. John Eaminster & Hannah Lum.  
He of New Castle County, She of Philad<sup>a</sup>.  
October 8. 1774.
41. William Rofs & Mary Meritt.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup> Oct<sup>br</sup> 8. 1774.
42. Benjamin Marclay & Hannah Wentz.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. C<sup>v</sup>. October 18. 1774.
43. Thomas Cox & Ruth Ellison.  
He of Upper Freehold, She of Bordentown,  
Province of New Jersey. Nov: 21. 1774.
44. Isaac Githen & Elizabeth Boggs.  
Both of Newtown, Gloucester County.  
Province of New Jersey. Nov: 24. 1774.
45. John Hair & Elizabeth Maddox.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Decem: 6. 1774.
46. Joseph Wright & Martha Stotz.  
He of Philad<sup>a</sup> County, She of y<sup>o</sup> County of Bucks.  
Dec<sup>br</sup> 21. 1774.

*Twenty Five Couple.*

47. Daniel Huff & Mary Sharp.  
Both of Evesham, Burlington County,  
Province of New Jersey. Jan<sup>y</sup> 25. 1775.
48. John Braddock & Anna Green.  
Both of Evesham, Burlington County,  
Province of New Jersey. Jan<sup>y</sup> 25. 1775.
49. Benjamin January & Hannah Langdale.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. March 16, 1775.
50. William Kinnard & Elizabeth Stockford.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. May 4. 1775.
51. Philip Henry & Margaret Thorburn.  
Both of the Northern Liberties. Octo: 11. 1775.

*Five Couple.*

52. William Lewellin & Susanna Hackett.  
Both of Charlstown, Chester County.  
Jan<sup>y</sup> 24. 1776.
53. David Marple and Ann McClean.  
Both of Horsham Township, Philad<sup>a</sup> County.  
April 11. 1776.
54. Robert Willson, Soldier, & Mary Taylor,  
of Greenwood Township, Cumberland County.  
June 21. 1776.
55. David Zell & Elizabeth Roberts.  
Both of Lower Merion Philad<sup>a</sup> County.  
July 4. 1776.
56. James Nægles & Mary Jones.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Novem : 30. 1776.

*Five Couple.*

57. William Fairis and Ann Biddle.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. March 4. 1777.
58. Col. John Patton and Jane Davis.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. March 7. 77.
59. James Bole, Soldier, and Katherine Weaver.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. March 17. 77.
60. John Lewis, Soldier, and Sarah Jackson.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. March 17. 77.
61. Henry Burk, Soldier, and Mary Conrign.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. March 25. 77.
62. D<sup>r</sup> Barnabas Binney of Boston and Mary  
Woodrow of Philad<sup>a</sup>. May 25. 77.
63. Thomas Fitzgerald and Catherine Francis.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. June 5. 77.
64. John Clark and Mary Champion.  
Both of Deptford Gloucester County  
New Jersey. June 9. 77.
65. John German and Sarah Dorsey.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. June 17. 77.
66. Joseph Brays and Mary M<sup>c</sup>Mullin.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. July 31. 77.
67. Elijah Coffin and Sibyll Chandler.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. August 14. 77.



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68. Dr Thomas Parke of Delaware State and  
Jane Langdale of Philad<sup>a</sup>. August 15. 77.

*Twelve Couple.*

69. Thomas Sims, Soldier, and Jane Kelly.  
Both of Virginia. April 4. 1778.
70. William Hailey, Soldier, and Margaret Connor.  
Both of Virginia. April 13. 78.
71. John Enox and Catherine Castlebury.  
Both of Upper Merion Township. Phil<sup>a</sup> County.  
April 13. 78.
72. George Dougherty of Phil<sup>a</sup> Soldier, and  
Sarah M<sup>c</sup>Intire of Chester County.  
April 24. 78.
73. Cap<sup>t</sup> Berryman Green of Virginia &  
Ann Pritchard of Clarlst<sup>a</sup> Township. Pennf<sup>a</sup>.  
April 30. 78.
74. W<sup>m</sup> Farr, Soldier, and Martha Rees, Widow.  
Both of Upper Merion. Phil<sup>a</sup> County.  
May 25. 1778.

*Six Couple.*

75. James Street and Elizabeth Hooversack  
Both of Oxford Township Phil<sup>a</sup> County.  
April 20. 1779.
76. David Jones. Yeoman And Judith Ward.  
Both of Chester County. Sep: 15. 79.
77. Cap<sup>t</sup> Robert Campbell & Mary Hall.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sep<sup>t</sup> 16. 79.
78. James Shannon of 4<sup>th</sup> P R & Rosanna  
Harvey. Novemb<sup>r</sup> 18. 79.

*Four Couple.*

79. Robert Cook and Lydia Chattin.  
Both of Gloucester County W Jersey.  
Feb<sup>r</sup> 2. 1780.
80. George Davis & Mary Yocum.  
Both of Chester County Derby & Goshen  
Townships. March 23<sup>rd</sup> 1780.

81. Caleb Eddy & Esther Brown.  
Both of Mendham Morris County N Jersey.  
Ap<sup>t</sup> 24.
82. Patrick Walsh, Sold<sup>r</sup> and Catherine May.  
At Col: Febiger's Request. October 2. 80.
83. Reuben Stiles & Elizabeth Murell.  
Both of Burlington C<sup>y</sup> N. Jersey. Nov. 22<sup>d</sup>.
84. W<sup>m</sup> Rush jun<sup>r</sup> & Martha Wallace.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup> 14. 1780.
85. Richard Glassock of Richmond County  
Virginia & Elizabeth Downer of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Dec. 14.

*Seven Couple.*

86. Walter Charles Davids, Soldier. Invalid  
Reg<sup>t</sup> & Mary Collier. Jan<sup>y</sup> 4. 1781.
87. Andrew Ten Eyck of New York &  
Elizabeth Lloyd of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Feb. 3. 1781.
88. Samuel Harvey, Soldier, Invalid Reg<sup>t</sup> &  
Hannah Robinson of Newtown, Bucks  
County. February 15, 1781.
89. Alexander Gray & Hannah Having.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. March 11. 1781.
90. John Jones of Willmington & Sarah Green  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. March 11. 1781.
91. Robert Elliott. Merch<sup>t</sup> and Ann Duncan.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. March 16. 1781.
92. Zebediah David & Jane Nicholson.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. April 25. 1781.
93. Stephanus Haworth and Rebecca Warner.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. June 19. 81.

(To be continued.)

LETTERS RELATING TO THE DEATH OF MAJOR-GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

CONTRIBUTED BY ISAAC CRAIG, ALLEGHENY, PENNA.

[The following letters are addressed to Major Isaac Craig, Deputy Quartermaster-General, at Pittsburgh, by officers of the army under the immediate command of General Wayne.]

DETROIT—7 Nov, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

The bearer Ensign Merriwether Lewis is charged with three packets from the Commander-in-Chief to the Secretary of War as far as Pittsburgh. He is directed to deliver them into your hands, on or before the 18th instant, and the General requests you procure immediately a confidential express to proceed with them to Philadelphia.

About the 20 inst, wind and weather permitting, you may expect to see in Pittsburgh by the way of Presqu' Isle General Wayne, and Dear Sir,

your very obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

S<sup>r</sup> DE BUTTS.

N.B.—Hold all dispatches for the General after the receipt of this which may arrive at Pittsburgh.

DETROIT 11th Nov<sup>r</sup> 1796.

SIR

I enclose you the receipt of the Express, Silvester Ash for five Dollars I have paid him by order of the Commander-in-Chief, for which sum he is accountable to you. Gen<sup>l</sup> Wayne proposes to leave this place next Sunday for Presqu' Isle in the sloop Detroit, on his way to Pittsburgh.

Will you please let my wife know I am well. I have not time to write, being very busy in preparing every thing for the General. Please to present my respects to Mrs. Craig.

I am, Sir, very respectfully

Your Humb. Serv<sup>t</sup>

PETER AUDRAIN

PRESQU' ISLE Nov<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> 1796

SIR

I rec<sup>d</sup> your letter of the 22<sup>d</sup> Inst, and shall cause the — for the Doctors Accounts, to be put in the manner you have pointed out, I shall endeavour to get the sick Artificers removed as you have recommended. No boat has yet arrived from Pitt or Franklin. I hear Silks is nigh, and I shall expect his boat to Le Bœuf in one day, if the ice does not prevent. We have had a most severe spell of stormy weather, with extrem cold, so much so that this Harbour is froze almost over, and the lake is considerably near the land. I have received your letter by Mr. Nailor, and have given him instructions to relieve Mr. Osborn. Capt. Lee has not yet come in with his last cargo of corn, when he arrives, I shall cause the settlement made as you expected. I request you will make some arrangements to have some of the pork brought to this place from Fort Franklin, we are quite destitute of any, & a little for the winter will greatly oblige us.

I can inform you that the Commander-in-Chief arrived at this Post on the 18th inst. in company with Col<sup>o</sup> Kirkpatrick, Capt. De Butts &c, the Gen<sup>l</sup> has been exceedingly Ill ever since his arrival, but is now a recovering. I expect in a few days he will be on his way to Pitt. I must rest the sending my sick detachment to Pitt, until the Gen<sup>l</sup> is away. I must procure a transportation for the Gen<sup>l</sup>'s baggage, after which I shall send my Inviled detachment, and the supernumerary Cattle to Pitt.

I am Sir

Your obed serv<sup>t</sup>

R. BISSELL Cap<sup>t</sup>

2d Reg<sup>t</sup>

N.B.—I have detained the Post one day for the Monthly Returns.

P.S.—Doct<sup>r</sup> Balfour will write you by Col<sup>o</sup> Kirkpatrick.



PRESQU' ISLE 14th Dec<sup>r</sup> 1796.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your favor of the 7th this morning.

The Gout fixed itself in the Generals stomach about a week since & continues with unabated violence—how long he can continue to suffer such torture is hard to say—but it appears to me that nature must soon sink under such acute affliction.

I am extremely sorry that our position puts it out of my power to take advantage of your assistance towards the accommodation of the General at least for the present; if it can be applied, it will be freely used by

dear Sir

Your most hum. Serv<sup>t</sup>

S<sup>r</sup> DE BUTTS

PRESQU' ISLE, Dec<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 96

DEAR SIR

I should have answered your favour full by the last post had I not expected Col<sup>o</sup> Kirkpatrick would after have set out for Pitt & by him I intended to write—he however was unfortunately detained by our General's being violently attacked with the gout in his stomach & Bowels which after great suffering we have to lament—occasioned his Death last night—his sufferings for several days past have indeed been extreme. . . .

I am with great esteem

Your Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

GEORGE BALFOUR

15 Decr 1796

DEAR SIR

General Wayne died this morning at ten minutes past two.

Col. Kirkpatrick has said he would write to you on the melancholy occasion, which will spare me the pain of saying any further on the subject.—I pray you to forward by *immediate express* the enclosed letters to the Secretary of

War—they bear him an account of the unhappy event, and it is important they should reach as quick as possible.

Col. Kirkpatrick & I will leave this about the 18th—the Alleghany is froze up—and unless you can have us met at Franklin with six or eight packhorses we will be obliged to take on those which Capt. Bissell has full employment for between French Creek and this place.—

Adue my dear Sir, I am fatigued and distressed

S<sup>r</sup> DE BUTTS

FORT FRANKLIN 26 Dec'r, 96

SIR

We have at last reached this place, our baggage is behind about twenty miles. I had determined not to proceed it one foot, as it contains all my papers (of the utmost importance to me) but the weather was so intensely cold that I found myself compell'd to risk their safety & come forward to this place & wait their arrival. When I wrote you on the 15th inst. from Presqu' Isle I concluded I had got clear of the Ague, but on the 16th I had a severe fit of it & again on the 18th, the 19th we left that place—reached Le Bœuf that night; the 20th had the Ague again. The 21st left Le Bœuf came here the night of the 23d. since which the Ague has not yet returned. I hope it will not Visit me any more, at least before my arrival at Pittsburgh. I feel great anxiety for the Safety of my papers. The slays will possibly (for I do not think very probable) reach this place to-morrow. Next day we will (should the cattle be able) take up our line of march. How is my family & all our friends?

I am Sir

Yours most

Affectionately

A. KIRKPATRICK.

LETTER OF SURGEON'S MATE BENJAMIN SHIELD  
TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES HAMILTON, 1781.

CONTRIBUTED BY HORACE W. SELLERS.

[The following letter of Surgeon's Mate Shield, addressed to Brigadier-General James Hamilton, of the British army, captured at Saratoga, describes the condition of the prisoners under his care in the vicinity of York, Pennsylvania.]

YORK TOWN 30<sup>th</sup> August 1781

DEAR GENERAL

A few Days after your departure from Lancaster the Convention Troops receiv'd orders to move within five miles of York Town where they now remain hutted, Waggon's were order'd for the use of Transporting the sick upon which I ordered all those who were able to set up, and whose lives I thought would not be endanger'd by the movement, into the waggon's provided for this purpose, and by the desire of Co<sup>l</sup> Wood, and M<sup>r</sup> Atlie staid behind with the care of those Men (which were the worst) in the Barracks at Lancaster: But upon receiving intelligence from those Men in Camps of this Sickly condition, they having in about five weeks Buried upwards of forty Men women, and children; of the Camp, and Jailfever I thought it adviseable to make application to Co<sup>l</sup> Wood for leave to attend them at Camp wch was immediately granted, the Men in the Barracks being most of them upon the recovery, I therefore with those Men, who were able to accompany me on this March arrived here the 27<sup>th</sup> Inst. when to my great surprize I was not able to get any one to receive either myself, or Baggage betwixt the Camp and York Town, so that I was obliged to go on to York Town, there to remain at a Considerable expence and at the distance of five Miles from the Camp, the Day after my Arrival here, I visited the Sick in Camp with the Serg<sup>t</sup> Majors of each Reg<sup>t</sup> to point them out to me for having no Hospital it is an unusual trouble, and attended

with much difficulty, the Men had laid the foundation for an Hospital but falling Sick so fast there was not Men enough to attend the Sick, and proceed with this Business too for tho we began early in the Morning myself with the assistance of the Serg<sup>ts</sup> Bush (artillery) and Noserworthy (20<sup>th</sup>) which I employed in the following manner the one to take their Names and Prescribe, another to give out the Medicine, and a third to cary them round, without which assistance I never could have gone through the Business for with even that, it was Evening before we had visited the whole of the Sick and even then upon looking over the list I found not above one third of them were supplied with medicine and therefore was under the Necessity of finishing this piece of the Business, the next day the Serg<sup>ts</sup> beginning to get Sick, and tyred, and myself having to go to York town that Night: I have now the prospect (by the Assistance of Major Bailey who has ever been ready to alleviate the distresses of the Men under his care) of geting a place for Quarters, within two Miles of the Camp when I shall be better enabled to answer the purpose for which I was left behind: I assure you it is a distressing situation and I have often been at a loss to distinguish which most deserv'd to be lamented by their Country in whose cause they have and are still hourly suffering, the sickening, the dying, or the Dead; but surely much pity and compassion are due from it, towards the relief of a many poor men, now here, who have been at the very jaws of Death, and yet live in hourly dread of falling a sacrafice to this infernal distemper, after having escaped perhaps three or four times, through a most excrusiateing, and lingering sickness: there is now in Camp a shocking instance of the distracted state of mind accompanying these poor men in their sickness of a man who in his delerium Cut of the Head of his own Child with an axe He belongs to the Canada Companies, is now recover'd, and is thoroughly sensible of his own Wretchedness there is much more distress these poor men apprehend from the severity of a long Winter without your interposition in their favor (for many of them have parted even from



their shirts, to support themselves in their sickness, and most of them are without Blankets, they doubt not but you will of your wonted kindness towards them) as soon as you are more acquainted with their distressed Condition be pleased to do every thing in your power to allviate their distresses I thought it a duty incumbent on me to make known to you their sufferings, and represent their distresses; and dare say you will with your usual sensibility, and tenderness of heart; both see and feel the necessity of a fresh supply of Clothing, money and Medicines should we continue here during the Winter in the mean time I remain with all possible respect

D<sup>r</sup> Sir your

very Humble & Obed<sup>t</sup>

servant

BENJAMIN SHIELD

*Mate Gen<sup>l</sup> Hospital*

P.S.—Mr Weir<sup>1</sup> still continues in Frederick Town in the same situation you left him; and there is now on the sick list one Hundred and ninety six exclusive of those still at Lancaster: a fresh supply of Bark will be absolutely Necessary as those men taken ill now, are chiefly with the ague, and Camp fever. here the Bark is very scarce, dear and Bad. I only got 16/ in the pound for the Bill you was pleas'd to leave with me w<sup>ch</sup> went but a very little way in this Sickly state of the men.

BENJAMIN SHIELD

<sup>1</sup> John Weir, surgeon in the British army, captured at Saratoga.

## GRANVILLE PENN AS A SCHOLAR.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

Granville Penn, grandson of William Penn, was called in his day the most learned layman in England. Even at this late day two, at least, of his works have a living value: his "Observations on Virgil's Fourth Eclogue" (London, 1810), and his translation of the New Testament (1836). With regard to the former, he was the first to point out the applicability of the famous "Pollio" (which inspired Pope's "Messiah" and Shelley's last chorus in "Hellas") to the rising Octavian, when master of Italy in B.C. 39. As to his text of the New Testament, it was an anticipation of what is only now being slowly established after sixty years of research. The most remarkable thing about it is his adherence to the Vatican manuscript, which he stoutly defended with the Catholic Hug long before Westcott and Hort. He omits, without any marginal note to signify their absence, such passages as the Mark Appendix, the Pericope in John, the bloody sweat in Luke, the doxology in Matthew's version of the Lord's Prayer, the angel stirring the water in John v., and of course the late Latin interpolation in the First Epistle of John. He prints the Epistle of Jude in small type. In his "Annotations" (London, 1837-1841) he explains this by saying that he regards Jude as authentic, but uninspired. It is, in his opinion, an echo of the Second Epistle of Peter; and its well-known quotation from the apocryphal Enoch he compares with Clement's allusion to the phoenix, as a mark of human infirmity. Jude, says he, is a link between the Apostles and the Apostolic Fathers. Probably the weight of modern scholarship would rather favor Jude at the expense of 2 Peter.

In my article in this magazine on Charles Thomson's

New Testament (October, 1891) I called that translation the Quaker Version *par excellence*, though Thomson was nominally a Presbyterian. He uses what we may call Quaker ecclesiastical terms, such as "acknowledge" and "disown" (Matth. x. 32, 33), and "religious concern" (Hebrews xi. 7). Granville Penn, on the other hand, represents the traditions of the English Church, and where Thomson and other Puritans have "overseer" and "congregation," Penn has "bishop" and "church."

LETTER OF GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

[The following letter of General Wayne is addressed to "Captain William Hayman in Wellestown, Chester County," to whom it was delivered by Sharp Delany, Esq.]

LEGION VILLE 28<sup>th</sup> Decbr 1792.

DEAR SIR

It's now seven Months since I left—Waynesborough, without having received a single line, either from my own family or you—you may reply that this is the first from me—true but that is not the case with M<sup>rs</sup> Wayne—besides every moment of my time is absorbed in publick business—the defence of a portion of upwards of One thousand miles—and in providing for, & disciplining a New Army—who have yet to learn the dreadful trade of death.

You have undoubtedly had rumours of a general peace with the Indians—but the Contrary is the fact—in the Western Country it is *serious war*.

However neither War nor Politicks, were the Motives of this letter, I will therefore come to the point,—when I parted with you—you had the goodness to promise—to see that satisfaction was entered upon all Judgments obtained in the Supreme and other Courts—against me—is that business done. I have very recently had a serious caution to be prepared for an Awful charge—& my Monster still continues to visit & warn me of its approval. I have had a most serious & an alarming attack from a violent lax & bilious vomiting—nor has it been in the power of the Physicians to check it—but as I have some knowledge of my own Constitution—I peremptorily insisted upon taking an emetic—which they assured me was both improper & dangerous to the last degree in my present weak Condition, however I have found considerable relief from it, & by the aid of the bark—which I have also taken contrary to their Opinion—I had the tone of my Stomach altered for the



better, yet I am very weak & rather more reduced, than when I first arrived with the Army from Georgia in 1783.

Notwithstanding I have almost every fair day been able to ride for one or two hours at a time to direct our Redouts & chain of defence, which are so far perfected, that all the Indians in the Wilderness cou'd not force them :

But as life's uncertain—& *mine* at this time rather more so than usual, I wish to settle the Property I may leave behind me, so as to prevent any litigation after I am gone hence for shou'd I survive this attack, my *breast* is not bullet-proof—nor can I step a single foot aside to shield it. Therefore I pray you let me know what you have done in the premises the soonest possible.

My best—perhaps *last*—and kindest love and wishes to my poor old mother sister & friends & believe me to be with sincere Esteem

Your Affectionate

Hum. Ser<sup>t</sup>

ANT<sup>y</sup> WAYNE

CAPT W<sup>m</sup> HAYMAN

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

SUSSEX COUNTY, DELAWARE, COURT RECORDS, for the eighth, ninth, and tenth days of First month, 1687, contain the names of the Jury of Inquest:

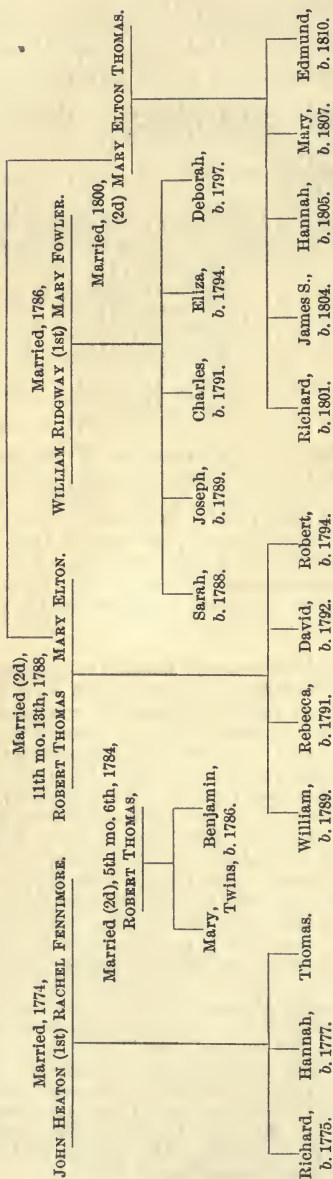
John Redwood,  
Jeremiah Scott,  
James Piller,  
Richard Painter,  
James Morrise,  
John Browne,  
Nathaniel Sykes,

Thomas Besent,  
William Oring,  
Thomas Oldman,  
Mathew Osborne,  
Ben. Kirle,  
Phillip Russell,  
Stephen Witman.

COAT OF ARMS OF PENNSYLVANIA.—In William Penn's "No Cross, No Crown," near the end, chapter xxi., § 33, Penn speaks of Abraham Cowley, of whom he appears to have been a great admirer. And towards the end of § 31 he quotes from Cowley as follows: "We may talk what we please of lilies and lions rampant, and spread eagles in fields *d'or* or *d'argent*; but if heraldry were guided by reason, a plough in a field arable would be the most noble and ancient arms." Cowley's idea of "a plough in a field arable" may have suggested to Penn or others the plough in the crest of Pennsylvania. C. C. C.

A RARE FRANKLIN IMPRINT.—Mr. Clarence S. Bement has presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a copy of Watts's edition of "The Psalms of David," which is of special interest. It was printed by Franklin in 1729, the first year he established his printing-office, and is the earliest thing worthy of the name of a book issued from his press. It is the only copy known to exist. It contains three hundred and eighteen pages and an Index of twenty-six pages. The imprint reads "Philadelphia, Printed by B. F. and H. M. for Thomas Godfrey, and sold at his shop, 1729." H. M. stood for Franklin's partner, Hugh Meredith. Franklin at that time was attentive to the daughter of a relation of Godfrey, but the match was broken off when he found her parents would not furnish a marriage settlement sufficient to enable him to pay off the debt on his printing-office, they fearing that his business effort would not prove successful. Interesting as the volume is typographically, this copy has a history of its own, which, judging from the memorandums in it, is as follows: It appears to have been picked up in Philadelphia in 1778 by one Alexander Hearne, who was a soldier in a British regiment when the British occupied our city, as one fly-leaf bears the following: "Alexander Hearne, his Psalm Book, 25 of Feb. 1778," and another, "Alexander Hearne, Sergeant in the 26th. Regiment. He was borne in the parish of Strickathrow, in the Shire of Angues, North Britain, in the year of our Lord 1737, aged this present year 42. Dated at Staten Island 3d of January 1779." The 26th Regiment was André's regiment, which we know was in Philadelphia. Mr. Bement had the book repaired and beautifully bound by Lortic Fils, of Paris.

## CHART OF A FAMILY OF FIVE SETS OF CHILDREN.



1st set.—Children of  
JOHN HEATON and RACHEL FENNIMORE.

2d set.—Children of  
ROBERT THOMAS and RACHEL FENNIMORE HEATON.

3d set.—Children of  
ROBERT THOMAS and MARY ELTON.

4th set.—Children of  
WILLIAM RIDGWAY and MARY FOWLER.

5th set.—Children of  
WILLIAM RIDGWAY and MARY ELTON THOMAS.

NOTES.—A tradition of the family states that Robert Thomas was paying his attentions to Rachel Fennimore, and upon one occasion he took his friend, John Heaton, to call at her house; the friend proved more attractive to the young lady, and they were married. After John Heaton's death, Robert Thomas renewed his attentions, and he and the widow Heaton were married. Robert Thomas married, 2d, Mary Elton, who afterwards married the widower William Ridgway, whose first wife was Mary Fowler. At the time of the marriage of William Ridgway and Mary Elton Thomas, in Friends' Meeting-House in Burlington, New Jersey, ten (10) children sat upon the benches in front of them.

A fact worthy of mention is, that representatives of each branch of children lived together in the same family in harmony and love, although of such mixed relationship. Elizabeth Fennimore, a sister of Rachel Fennimore-Heaton-Thomas, married William Cooper, and their son, James Fennimore Cooper, was the distinguished author. Mary Elton, the second wife of Robert Thomas, was a descendant of Anthony Elton, one of the early "Proprietors of West Jersey" (see the "Ancestry of J. William White"). William Ridgway was a descendant of Richard Ridgway, of Wallingford, England, who arrived in America in 1679.

R. J. D.

BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY, 10th mo. 15th 1894.

LETTER OF THOMAS LLOYD, 1691.—

Mordicaj  
 Sonns e LLoyd  
 John

I hope these Lines may finde you well & that you art a injoyeing to each other The Lord p'serve you in a dayly remembran of your duty towards your Creato<sup>r</sup>: be examples of Sobriety & affability & decline not convenient Industry in the imploy's you art in: you will render your Selves reputable thereby & avoid the Snare of Idlesnes: To hear well of you, will be even a renewing of the comfortable days of my Life: This vessel went off upon short notice I hope, if I live a few m<sup>o</sup> Longer I may be in a Capacity To incourage y<sup>e</sup> sommwhat more: Mordicaj I do enjoinne thee To transcribe exactly over the 5<sup>th</sup>: 6: & 7 Ch. of Mathew containing the doctrines of our Saviours sermen upon the mount: Some Late Jews have acknowledged the heads of wisdom to be therein expressed mind thoroughly the matter Orthography: watch over each other in love. Take heed of giving way to folly & loose discourse, the bane of youth: remember me to Such Friends in particular who have be<sup>n</sup> Kinde unto y<sup>e</sup>: & in general To the Sober Friends of the Island The Lord, your heavenly Father, Take you into his Care & protection & keep y<sup>e</sup> in his Feare & tender of his grac<sup>e</sup>. We are generally well; this Sumer hithrto very healthy Farewell to y<sup>e</sup> both:

Philadelph 3<sup>d</sup> 6 M<sup>o</sup>  
 1691

Your Loving Father  
 THO: LLOYD

[On the back.]

For Mordicaj Lloyd  
 att Jamaica  
 These

REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS.—We give the following "Return of the Recruits enlisted by the Classes of Lancaster County agreeable to an Act of Assembly passed June 25, 1781," from papers of William Henry, of Lancaster, as many of the names do not appear in the rosters printed in the Pennsylvania Archives:

*Lancaster Borough.*

Stephen Vanderlinder, 4 Regt. Artillery  
 Thomas Rigby, ditto.  
 Patrick Condrine, ditto.  
 William Gilbert, 4 Regt. Light Dragoons  
 James Hopkins, ditto.  
 William Dyer, 4<sup>th</sup> Artillery  
 Benjamin Sadler, ditto.  
 Bennet Renshaw, Light Dragoons  
 William Wade, ditto  
 Jacob Raum, ditto  
 Daniel Wandler, Artillery  
 John Henright, ditto  
 Anthony Robse, 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment.  
 Benjamin Morris, Light Dragoons  
 Christian Nebel, ditto  
 Philip Berry, Artillery  
 Mathew Jones, ditto.  
 Conrad Herger, Light Dragoons



*Notes and Queries.**Dunmore Township.*

John Curry, Artillery.  
James Anderson, 6<sup>th</sup> Regt.

*Conestogo Township.*

John McWade, Light Dragoons  
Christian Rightenboad, 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment.

*Hempfield Township.*

Edward Smith, Artillery.  
George Milchsack, 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment  
William Welsh, ditto  
Thomas Brown, Artillery.

*Little Britain Township.*

Thomas Kelly, Artillery.  
James Moore, 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment.

*Manheim Township.*

William McClung, 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment.  
John Maddis, Light Dragoons.

*Heidelberg Township.*

George Nagel, 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment.  
Jacob Adler, ditto  
John Ambell, Artillery.

*Strasburg Township.*

Cornelius Wied, Light Dragoons.  
Francis Leland, Artillery.  
Daniel Hains, 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment.

*Donegal Township.*

Thomas Ross, Artillery  
Archibald Hays, ditto.

*Rapho Township.*

Augustus Milcksack, 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment.

*Mount Joy Township.*

Peter Maghin, Light Dragoons.

*Bart Township.*

Robert Hannah, 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment.

*Cocalico Township.*

John Erlenbacher, Artillery

*Lancaster Township.*

Isaac Davis, Light Dragoons.  
Henry Teaff, Artillery.

*Londonderry Township.*

William Benson, Light Dragoons.

*Paxton Township.*

Joseph McGee, Artillery.

*Earl Township.*

John Remens, Artillery.

*Marlick Township.*

James Garnaghan, Light Dragoons.

*Enlisted by the Commissioners.*

|                                 |                           |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| John Godlip,                    | Light Dragoons.           |
| Mathias Althouse,               | ditto.                    |
| Casper Houser,                  | ditto.                    |
| Tho <sup>s</sup> Hugh Cromwell, | ditto.                    |
| Frederick Mayer,                | ditto.                    |
| John Gramer,                    | ditto.                    |
| Thomas Jones,                   | ditto.                    |
| Christian Leidenrode,           | 6 <sup>th</sup> Regiment. |
| John Demsey,                    | ditto.                    |
| John Burk,                      | ditto.                    |
| John Campbell,                  | ditto.                    |
| John Allen,                     | Artillery.                |
| David Safferin,                 | —                         |
| Peter Gallas                    | —                         |

Certify'd by us at Lancaster 29 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1781.

JACOB KRUG,  
JOHN SLAYMAKER,  
JOHN JAMISON.

**HISTORIC HOUSE DESTROYED BY FIRE.**—The historic Wingate house at Stratham, New Hampshire, was destroyed by fire on Sunday morning, December 30, 1894. It was one of the oldest in the State, and was built prior to 1716 by Dudley Leavitt, and is described in the town records as the "new house situated next to the meeting-house." In 1766 the Hon. Paine Wingate settled in the town and purchased the house, which has remained in that family ever since. L.

**"THE PROVINCIAL OR COLONIAL FLAG OF PENNSYLVANIA."**—Since the appearance of Mr. Francis Olcott Allen's interesting article in last year's July number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE it has been asserted that the colors of the First Regiment of the Associators of 1748 (a lion holding a cimeter and the shield of the Province) was the Provincial or Colonial Flag of Pennsylvania. Now, besides this flag, Dr. Benjamin Franklin designed several others; but, since all of them, including the lion one, were but *regimental* colors, it is incorrect to call any one of them "The Provincial or Colonial Flag of Pennsylvania,"

because not one of them represented the Province. The only flag which did represent the Province was the banner of the Penns, her feudal lords (argent, on a fesse sable three plates); and, although this banner had been borne in England and perhaps also by Admiral Penn, in the Dutch wars, there is no account of it ever having been unfurled within Pennsylvania. Why this one—the true Provincial flag, because it represented the Province by representing her lords, whose seigniority she was—was never unfurled here is not surprising when we remember the great Quaker element present, and the jealousy of the English to the display of any flag but the cross of St. George,—a feeling which rendered objectionable even the carrying of the mere regimental colors invented by Franklin. But, although the Province of Pennsylvania never displayed her flag, she did set up and display its bearings on the shield of arms in her Great Seal and on the official acts and proclamations issued by her authority.

P. S. P. CONNER.

Philadelphia.

P.S.—The term “lord,” as applied to the Penns, must be understood merely in its feudal sense, and not in one connecting them with the British peerage.

BENJAMIN SMITH TO SAMUEL EMLÉN, JR., at Isaac Mathers’s, about seven miles from Germantown, on the Montgomery road, Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania.

“Phil’a 10 mo. 5/1793. . . . I do not think on the whole that the general state of the disorder is less awful than when I wrote. . . . some particular deaths that have lately occurred are affecting. Thou wilt have heard of the death of Margaret Haines, perhaps, who fell before this destroyer on 5th day morn’g. The same day, I think, died John Todd, Sen’r, Jon’n Shoemaker, Jac. Tomkins Jr., Wife of Jos: Budd, Towns’d Speakman & our neighbour Kay. . . . Soon after I closed my last to thee, we were informed of the death of thy kinsman Sam’l Powell, who was struck with the disorder as he returned from a visit to his wife who was at her Brother R. W’s; he turned in at a little farm he has a few miles from hence, where in a few days he died. S. P. Griffiths spent the last night with his uncle, who had, during his illness, good medical assistance. D. Dawson stopped me & desired I would inform thee that in writing thou might let thy Father know that our fr’d E. Burngate is dead; he added he had lost his wife. . . . Here is no trade, none of the British vessels attempt to discharge, the Manchester after sending up half her cargo, got off without much damage. . . . T. C. James taken with the disorder day before yesterday with considerable violence. . . .”

THE “CONNECTICUT CLAIM.”—Letter of John Harris, dated Paxton, September 4, 1770.—“I can’t think the present Connecticut Claim will ever take place, but the People are so Disgusted in general at the Preference of the Lands in the New Purchase Being given to Gentlemen of Fortunes, Favourites, Officers &c., & so large a Quitrent laid on the Lands that there is a General Discontent prevails, for if the first Improvers had Got the Lands granted to them, there would never been any Connecticut People (so *Called*) on the Premises, & they are generally Inhabitants of this Province, Jerseys &c. that are now there, and there is now a number of them on the West Branch & the Inhabitants I hear generally Joins them on Conditional Terms, so that the Affair may happen to be of more Trouble to dispossess them than most Persons imagines, If they continue in Possession some years and makes good Improvements &c.”

SOME OLD BILLS.—I am sometimes asked for the names of silver-smiths and jewellers of Philadelphia in the last century. I send a bill of Daniel Dupuy.

Mr. Lukens to DAN'L DUPUY.

|                 |                                                                                       |         |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| June 22nd, 1773 | To mending a pr Stone Buttons for Dau'tr                                              | £0- 1-0 |
|                 | To mending a Stone Ring                                                               | 0- 1-6  |
| Oct. 20th, 1773 | To mending a shoe Buckel for Mr. Lukens                                               | 0- 1-6  |
|                 | To a fellow to a Squair shoe Buckel with<br>new Chapes <sup>1</sup> & tongues in both | 0- 5-0  |
| June 25th, 1774 | To a fellow to a small Do                                                             | 0- 5-0  |
|                 | To fellow to a small Do.                                                              | 0- 5-0  |
|                 |                                                                                       | £1- 8-6 |
|                 | By Old Silver Rec'd                                                                   | 0-11-0  |
|                 | Due                                                                                   | £0-17-6 |

Mr. John Luken's Estate to Geo: Claypoole,

Dr.

|                                                     | £ | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------------------------------|---|----|----|
| 1777 March ye 12th to a mahogany Coffen for Himself | 8 | 10 | 0  |

Mr. John Luckings to Elizabeth Miller

Dr.

|            |                               |   |   |        |
|------------|-------------------------------|---|---|--------|
| 1777       |                               |   |   |        |
| March 26th | To Making a habit for Gainey  | . | . | 5-0    |
|            | To making a habit for Reachel | . | . | 5-0    |
|            | To bobin & butins thraid      | . | . | 1-0    |
|            | To making Abigail a gown      | . | . | 5-0    |
|            | To thrad                      | . | . | 0- 0-6 |
|            |                               |   |   | 0-16-6 |

Rec'd 7th April 1777 of Mr. Ruben Haines, one pound 3/4 for Jno Lukens Lamp & watch Tax for the year 1776.

£1, 3, 4

WILL: ADCOCK —

T. S.

### Queries.

PHINNEY FAMILY.—Certain descendants of Joshua Phinney (or Finney) who claim descent from the Pilgrim John Finney (who came to this country before 1638) removed some time about the beginning of the present century to New Milford, Pennsylvania. These descendants must not be confounded with those of Robert Finney, who settled in Pennsylvania in 1725, emigrating from Ireland that year, and who have always spelt their name as originally. A Henry Finney came to Rhode Island and married there, in the town of West Greenwich, Melissa Capron, March 22, 1857. He was the son of James, and came from Pennsylvania.

There may be others who trace descent from the Phinneys of New England stock, and who may be able to make lines of connection between families that seem now to be totally distinct. It may be possible that the families of the Pilgrim John Finney and of Robert Finney may be allied, as John had a brother Robert, who came with him to this country, though neither history nor tradition states their birthplace. If of Irish origin, they were severely Protestant. Any information about the Phinney family, members of which removed from New England, will be gratefully received. Please address Franklin C. Clark, M.D., 186 Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island.

<sup>1</sup> The catch by which they are held in place.



AMERICAN POTTERY.—About 1840 the Jersey City Pottery was producing yellow or cream-colored ware decorated with *printed* designs, usually in black. How extensively transfer-printing was practised there is not known, but I have seen at least one piece of the work, in the shape of a large octagonal water-pitcher, with designs of the American eagle and the log cabin of the 1840 campaign and a portrait of General W. H. Harrison. The piece was marked on the bottom with a small printed design of a flag containing the name of the factory,—“American Pottery Manufacturing Co., Jersey City.” If any one has a similar piece, or *any* piece from that pottery, *with printed decorations*, I would be glad to hear from him. It is supposed that all of the pieces of that character were *marked*. This information is desired to enable me to complete my record of the chain of progress in the art of the potter in this country.

West Chester, Pennsylvania.

EDWIN ATLEE BARBER.

DUNLOP.—Information is desired of the parentage and life of Colonel James Dunlop prior to the year 1794, at which date he came from Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and with his son-in-law laid out the town of Bellefonte. J. H. S.

ORMSBY—HARRISON.—Oliver Ormsby, of Pittsburgh, son of John and Jane (McAllister) Ormsby, was educated with the sons of the family at one of the Harrison estates in Virginia. He was given an allowance and a pony by his father, the same as the Harrison sons had; and their tutor was an eccentric Scotchman. The name of Harrison, as a consequence, has been perpetuated in the Ormsby family. Oliver Ormsby's son, Dr. Oliver Harrison Ormsby, was to have been called Burr Harrison Ormsby, the former name being connected in some way with this particular Harrison family; but the idea was abandoned, as the name of Burr was then held in great detestation, Aaron Burr's treason being fresh in every one's mind. Oliver Ormsby acted as navy agent at Pittsburgh during the War of 1812, at the request of Mr. George Harrison, navy agent at Philadelphia; but Mr. Harrison does not appear to be in any way connected with the foregoing tradition. Colonel Burr Harrison, of Prince William County, Virginia, son of Burr and Ann Harrison, of Chapatamsie, had three sons—Matthew, born 1763; Burr, born 1767; and Cuthbert, born 1768—who were about the same age as Oliver Ormsby, born 1767. I should like to know if any of the descendants of that family can confirm the idea that theirs was the family in question.

Allegheny, Pennsylvania.

OLIVER ORMSBY PAGE.

SEMPLE.—Information is requested concerning David Semple, Steele Semple, and Cunningham Semple, of the Philadelphia bar: dates of births, and where; dates of deaths, and where; and did either occupy any public office or judicial honor?

JOHN HILL MARTIN.

SMITH'S BREWERY AND THE SWALLOWS.—The following letter of Robert Hare to Reuben Haines, written probably about 1824, has been sent to us with the query as to how many subsequent years was this annual visit of the swallows observed.

N. Y. April 14<sup>th</sup>

DEAR REUBEN,

It occurs to me that it is just now on the eve of the time when the swallows visit our Brewery, that was, according to immemorial usage. The punctuality of their return and departure has always been a matter

of astonishment to me, as it has always taken place about the 18th, if not on the very day, whatever may be the season. Mr. Smith, my successor, during the great number of years he was in our employ, has always noted it with some interest. . . .

I am very truly  
Your friend,  
ROBERT HARE.

Mr. Haines has endorsed on the letter, "*Hirundo Americana*, barn swallow, arrived 4 mo. 15th."

The brewery was located at the northwest corner of Fifth and Minor Streets. T. S.

COLCORD—COFFIN.—Jane Coffin, daughter of Tristram and Deborah (Colcord) Coffin, was married to Edward Colcord, of Hampton, New Hampshire, about the year 1738. I shall be obliged for information of the name of Edward Colcord's parents. He is supposed to be the son of Jonathan Colcord (b. March 4, 1684), who was the son of Samuel (representative in the Assembly in 1682), who was the son of Edward the immigrant. (See "Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Savage, Vol. I.) C. H. C.

ABEL.—Conrad Abel, of Philadelphia, hatter and hat-dyer, married in St. Michael and Zion Church, June 1, 1756, Maria Margaret Sturm. He died September, 1794, leaving (by will) these children: Jacob, George (to whom he willed his library), Catherine, Margaret, Elizabeth, Sarah, and wife Margaret.

He owned, among other properties, eight lots, one hundred by one hundred and forty-four feet, corner of Juniper and Cherry Streets, a part of which his heirs still hold. I have all the records of his children, but would be very glad to know if any evidence exists of his having served in the Associators or militia during the Revolution. He was not over forty years old when the war began, and he does not appear among those who were loyalists, or non-Associators. He lived, I think, on the north side of Mulberry Street, on his own property, fifteen by one hundred feet, bought in 1764 of Henry Keppele. He bought the Juniper Street lots of William Milnor in 1783. Any proof of his military service will be gratefully received by

Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania. REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

THE UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE AND REVIEW.—Can any of your readers supply information regarding "The Universal Magazine and Review"? I have an engraving of the Duchess of Gordon bearing the above imprint, and I am anxious to find the article which I infer that this portrait illustrated. The Duchess of Gordon married Staats Morris, of the British army, a brother of Gouverneur Morris, in 1758, and died in 1770. Instigated by her brother-in-law, she became a considerable land-owner in the United States. Information regarding her is desired by

ANDREW D. MILLICK, JR.

KITE CLUB.—I remember that about sixty years ago there was in this city a Kite Club, the members of which used to congregate on Bush Hill to experiment with their kites, which ranged in size from one foot to ten or more feet in height. Information is requested as to where the minutes of this organization can be consulted. R.

PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION OF 1780.—In J. C. Hamilton's "History of the Republic," Vol. II. pp. 79-82, is an account of several conventions of the New England or Northern States held 1776-80. On page 81 is some account of the Philadelphia Convention held in January of 1780: "they adjourned to February, and then to April, when a call was made for a meeting in August." There is no copy of the Journal of this Convention among the papers of the Old Congress at Washington, nor in the archives of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, or New York. I have found one in the archives of Massachusetts, which ends thus: "Tuesday, Feby. 8th, then met according to adjournment. Resolved, that the adjournment of this Convention be to the fourth day of April next, to meet at the State House in the city of Philadelphia." Did that meeting hold? and was there such a call made? Do you know of a copy of the Journal of the Philadelphia Convention, besides the one I refer to?  
C. J. H.

WASHINGTON.—It is stated (PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XIII. p. 89) that General Washington visited Bethlehem. Is it known whether he ever used the Minisink road and halted at Nazareth, in his journeys between the Hudson River and Philadelphia?

New York.

H.

BASTIAN—RUP.—Information is wanted as to where can be obtained the full text of the marriage certificate of Christopher Bastian and Ann Rup, an abstract of which is given in the July, 1894, number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE. Is the certificate still in existence?

Germantown, Philadelphia.

G. H. B.

JONES.—Is there any descendant now living of Agnes Jones, of Germantown, Pennsylvania, who married Robert Eastburn in 1733?

They were Friends, but were converted under the preaching of George Whitefield, and with others erected a large building for worship, and called Rev. Gilbert Tennant to be their pastor. Can any one give the ancestry of this Agnes Jones? Also, can any one tell whom her son Robert married and the date of his marriage?

M. W. M.

LONGSCOPE.—Biographical information is requested of Samuel Longscope, who published an English newspaper at Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1799, and for several years thereafter.

3215 Spencer Terrace, West Philadelphia. ETHAN A. WEAVER.

JONES—ROBERTS.—Wanted, copy of record of marriage of John Jones and Sidney Roberts, which took place about 1779.

M. L.

### Replies.

WASHINGTON.—General Washington never visited the Moravian town of Nazareth, which was laid out at the southern terminus of the old Minisink road, but on July 28, 1779, a nephew of the name, with two friends from Virginia, passed a day or more at the inn. The distinguished visitors to the town during the Revolution were General Gates and staff, April 11, 1777, going northward, and General Philip Schuyler and staff, May 30, *en route* for Albany. General Gates, with his wife, again visited



the town, January 6, 1778, and remained overnight at the inn, and in November the French minister Gérard, Don Juan de Miralles, and Silas Deane, escorted by Bishop Ettwein, came sight-seeing.

ED. PENNA. MAG.

SAMUEL MEREDITH.—The letter of Samuel Meredith (PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XVII. p. 211) is to be found among the letters of Thomas Wharton, of Philadelphia.

ED. PENNA. MAG.

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA FLAG.—The so-called flag of the city is merely the display of the city seal, the device and colors of which were established by ordinances of June 22, 1854 (p. 17), and February 14, 1874 (p. 55).

DAVID W. SELLERS.

SEYBERT (PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XVIII. p. 386).—The *Seybert* referred to is doubtless Adam Seybert, a Democratic politician, and at the time a member of Congress from Philadelphia. He was a chemist or druggist,—whence the “doctor,”—and this profession of his furnished his political opponents a frequent source of ridicule. He was a supporter of Madison, while the writer of the “Hit” was presumably in favor of Clinton for the presidency. Seybert was apparently on an electioneering tour for Madison. The “bottles containing extracts from a newly discovered caucus root, lately found at Washington” is of course a fling against the system of nominating for President by Congressional caucus. Madison was so nominated, but both before and long after his date the system was very much opposed.

WILLIAM M. MEIGS.

OGDEN (PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XVI. p. 253).—A. B. M. I. will please send present address to

ED. PENNA. MAG.

### Book Notices.

HISTORY OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, CALLED BY SOME THE FREE QUAKERS, IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA. By Charles Wetherill. Philadelphia, 1894. 118 pp.

The old brick meeting-house at the corner of Fifth and Arch Streets, since 1841 occupied by the Apprentices' Library Company, has probably been the subject of more inquiry than many of the edifices of a past age in the city, mainly occasioned by the closing paragraph of the inscription on the marble tablet built into the north gable. The Society of Free Quakers, but more familiarly known as the “Fighting Quakers,” who erected the building “in the year of our Lord 1783, of the Empire 8,” was founded by a number of Friends who took part during our war for independence, either in the military or civil service, and were for such participation disowned. Conspicuous among these founders were Timothy Matlack, a colonel of militia and a member of the Committee of Safety; the brothers Colonel Clement and Owen Biddle and William Crispin, of the quartermaster's and commissary departments of the army; Christopher Marshall, the diarist, a member of the Committee of Safety; and Peter Thomson, printer of the Continental money. Among the women were Lydia Darragh, who, it is said, notified Washington of the intended surprise of his army, then encamped at White Marsh, and Elizabeth Claypoole, who was employed by Congress to manufacture



American flags. After our independence had been obtained and political differences died away, some of those who had served in the army made acknowledgment to their meetings and were received back into membership, and so before very long the Free Quakers—never a large body—became comparatively few in number. About the year 1836, when the last survivor of the original members died, the Sunday meetings of the Society ceased, but since 1882 yearly meetings have been regularly held, which has revived an interest and led to an increased membership. On one point the members of the Society have certainly lived up to the precepts of their patriotic founders, for in every war since the Revolution, in which the United States has been engaged, involving resistance to invasion, either by foreign enemy or domestic traitor, the members of the Society of Free Quakers have done faithful service. Mr. Wetherill has divided his history into three periods: the Colonial, in which he briefly gives some consideration to the nature of Friends and their peculiarities of faith and practice; the Revolutionary, in which he sets forth at length the causes which led to the founding of the Society; and the Modern, which deals with events of the present century; and an appendix contains copies of addresses and petitions, a list of all the members of the Society, and one of the survivors in 1894, besides other interesting matter. The work is a valuable contribution to the local history of the city, and the author is to be congratulated on the results of his researches. The book is well printed on excellent paper, and contains an illustration of the ancient meeting-house. The edition is limited to eight hundred copies.

**HERALDRY IN AMERICA.** By Eugene Zieber. Published by the Department of Heraldry of the Bailey, Banks & Biddle Company. Philadelphia, 1895. Quarto. 427 pp.

This volume is designed to meet a felt want in America for a popular work on heraldry, and the compiler has grouped in a concise and intelligent manner all that is necessary to enable the student correctly to interpret and apply the manifold laws of the science of arms. A number of chapters are devoted to the necessity of heraldry, misappropriation of arms, the use of the crest in America, rules to govern heraldry in America, arms of Pennsylvania families, Colonial and Revolutionary societies and American orders, book-plates, French and German heraldry, with a glossary of English, French, and obsolete heraldic terms, and a very full index. The work is so systematized that the laws of heraldry are made perfectly clear. More than nine hundred and fifty illustrations are distributed throughout the text, together with lithographed plates in colors, steel plates, copper-plate etchings, and half-tones. Among these will be found the United States arms and seal, and seals of the Departments, seals of the Colonies, Territories, and States, seals of American bishops, seals of individuals, coats of arms from tombstones, insignia of Colonial and Revolutionary societies and American orders, coats of arms of prominent Colonial families, and American book-plates. This handsome work is of quarto size (eight by eleven inches), and is printed on heavy supercalendered paper. Price, in red cloth, \$10; handsomely bound in full red Turkey morocco, gilt edges, \$15.

**PUBLICATIONS OF THE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,**  
Vol. I., No. 1, January, 1895. 40 pp.

This Society is to be congratulated on the first publication of some of the valuable material it has collected, and the Board of Directors announce that if the proper financial encouragement is received, it will

be continued periodically. They have abundance of material available, such as church registers, deeds, wills, family papers, and copies of tombstone inscriptions, all indispensable aids in the preparation of family genealogies. The titles of the papers which appear are "The Sailing of the Ship 'Submission' in 1682, with a True Copy of the Vessel's Log;" "Inscriptions on some Ancient Tombstones, formerly in the Burial-Ground of the First Presbyterian Church, on Bank Street," illustrated; "John Hart, Governor of Maryland, 1714-1720;" "Some Data concerning the taking of Wolves in New Castle County in 1676, and a Reprint of the Taxables;" and "Notices of the Justices of New Castle." The editing has been intelligently done, and many foot-notes are valuable additions to the text. Good, clear type, excellent paper, and an attractive cover are characteristics of the number before us. We hope that the present departure from the path heretofore followed by the Society will be appreciated and meet with the encouragement it deserves.

**THE MASSACRE OF WYOMING.** The Acts of Congress for the Defence of the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, 1776-1778: with the Petitions of the Sufferers by the Massacre of July 3, 1778, for Congressional Aid. By Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M.A. Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, 1895. 8vo. 85 pp.

This is another valuable contribution to the history of the Wyoming Valley, which has just been issued by the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, in attractive form. It contains the acts of the Continental Congress for the defence of the valley, the petitions of the sufferers by the massacre for aid, resolutions of and petitions to the Assembly of Pennsylvania, affidavits of nineteen of the survivors of the massacre, the ratables of Westmoreland in 1781, and an introductory chapter by the compiler, all of which is of the highest value to the student of the history of the Revolutionary period. The certificate of protection to Lieutenant Scovell and his party, in the handwriting of Colonel John Butler (reproduced for frontispiece), appears to definitely settle the question as to who was the Indian leader at the massacre of Wyoming.

**THE VIRGINIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.**—From the annual report of the Virginia Historical Society it is gratifying to learn that its magazine is held in such high esteem by historical students generally, and that there is a growing demand for it from all parts of the United States. This is not undeserved, for the policy adopted from the beginning is to be continued, and the forecast for the present year, in addition to the Fitzhugh letters, will include the Byrd letters, which throw light on the trade transactions of Virginia and England in the seventeenth century, and also contain much valuable genealogical data: the instructions to Governor Yeardley, to Harvey, Berkeley, Culpeper, and Howard. The January number opens with the first instalment of the "Virginia Officers and Men in the Continental Line," which we hope will be supplemented by the rosters of the State militia covering the same period. A regular department of genealogy has been introduced, the Flournoy Family being compiled for the present number. We extend our congratulations to our contemporary for the general excellence of its material and its good type and paper.

**THE VALLEY FORGE COMMISSION.**—We have received the report of the Valley Forge Commission for the year 1894, made to the Governor of the Commonwealth, from which we find that a topographical survey of the camp-site has been made, and that about two hundred and

eighteen acres have been acquired by purchase and condemnation. The Commission recommend that an appropriation be made to preserve and maintain the redoubts and intrenchments, and to build roads and paths to make them accessible to the public; and furthermore, that the limits of the park be increased, not exceeding in all three hundred acres. A reprint of the oration of the late Henry Armitt Brown, delivered in June of 1878, also accompanies the report. The members of the commission are Francis M. Brook, President; F. D. Stone, W. J. Latta, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, Henry A. Muhlenberg, Levi G. McCauley, Tatnall Paulding, Joel J. Baily, Samuel Hartranft, and William Wayne.

THE PERKIOMEN REGION, PAST AND PRESENT, edited by Henry S. Dotterer, is the name of the excellent little historical monthly the initial number of which was issued in September of 1894. The researches of its editor are not confined to the history and genealogy of the Perkiomen Valley, but cover the county of Montgomery and contiguous localities, the pioneer settlers of which founded families whose upright citizenship and meritorious achievements have done much for the prosperity of the State. The field is rich in material, and the editor's reputation as a local historian is so well known that we bespeak for the magazine the substantial encouragement it merits. Send subscription (one dollar per annum) to Post-Office Box 316, Philadelphia.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REGISTER.—Since the first issue of this new serial, in September of last year, it has been steadily gaining in its clientage among historical students and all persons who are interested in patriotic hereditary societies. The historical articles have been selected with care, its "Autograph Department" is valuable, the department relating to the hereditary societies ably edited, and "Notes and Queries" contains new and interesting material. Typographically the publication is attractive and liberally illustrated. Published by the Historical Register Publishing Company, No. 120 South Sixth Street, Philadelphia, at \$3 per annum.

NOTES AND QUERIES, Historical and Genealogical. By William Henry Egle, M.D. Vol. I. 496 pp.

Since 1878, Dr. Egle has been contributing weekly to the Harrisburg *Daily Telegraph* his "Notes and Queries," devoted to the elucidation of the history, biography, and genealogy of our Commonwealth, which have gained so high a reputation for reliability and are so largely consulted that he has been induced to collect and publish the first series in the more convenient form before us. The data embraced in this first volume relate mainly to the central section of the State, but the scope of the three succeeding series has been much enlarged, and every student of Pennsylvania history is indebted to Dr. Egle for preserving so much valuable material which otherwise would have been lost. Copies may be obtained from the Harrisburg Publishing Company.



## WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

[Addenda to Vol. XVIII. page 413.]

THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1785.

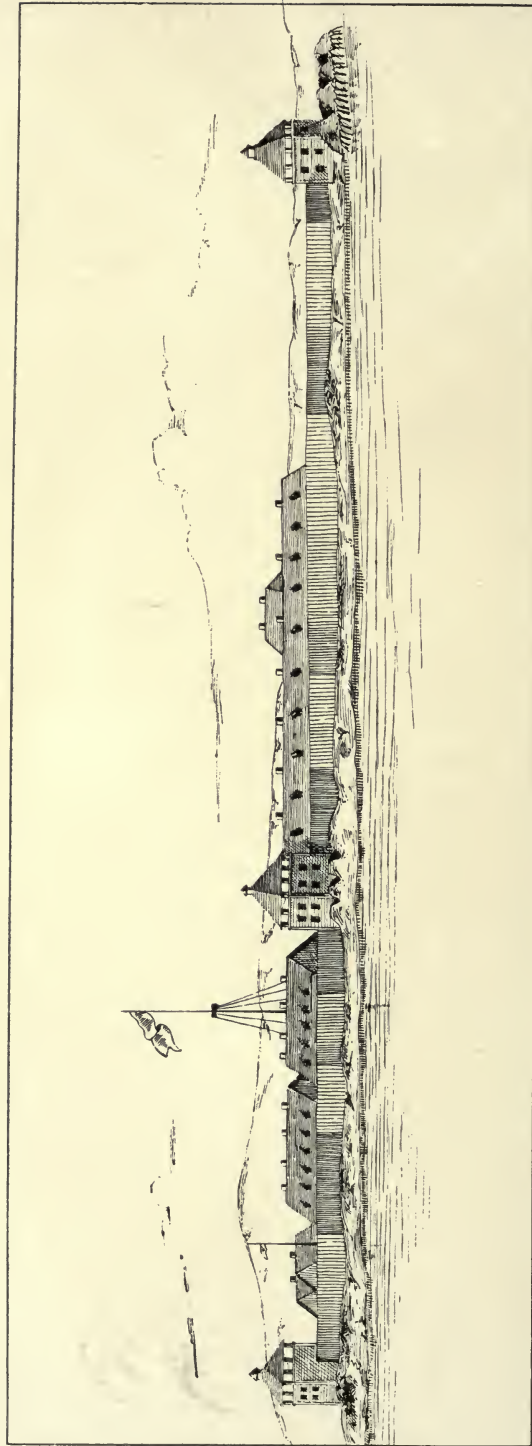
At Mount Vernon: “*May 26.*—Upon my return [from riding to the plantations] found M<sup>r</sup> Magowan, and a Doct<sup>r</sup> Coke & a M<sup>r</sup> Asbury here—the two last Methodist Preachers recommended by Gen<sup>l</sup> Roberdeau—the same who were expected yesterday. . . . After Dinner M<sup>r</sup> Coke & M<sup>r</sup> Asbury went away.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*May 26.*—Mr. Asbury [Francis Asbury, Bishop of the M. E. Church] and I set off for General Washington's. We were engaged to dine there the day before. The General's seat is very elegant; built upon the great river Potomawk; for the improvement of the navigation of which, he is carrying on jointly with the State some amazing Plans. He received us very politely, and was very open to access. He is quite the plain, Country-Gentleman. After dinner we desired a private interview, and opened to him the grand business on which we came, presenting to him our petition for the emancipation of the Negroes, and entreating his signature, if the eminence of his station did not render it inexpedient for him to sign any petition. He informed us that he was of our sentiments, and had signified his thoughts on the subject to most of the great men of the State; that he did not see it proper to sign the petition, but if the Assembly took it into consideration, would signify his sentiments to the Assembly by a letter. He asked us to spend the evening and lodge at his house, but our engagement at Annapolis the following day would not admit of it. We returned that evening to Alexandria.”—*Journal of the Rev. Thomas Coke*.









# FORT MIFFLIN.

FROM A MAP PREPARED BY CAPTAIN JOHN MONTRESSOR, SIR WILLIAM HOWE'S CHIEF OF ENGINEERS.

THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. XIX.

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No. 2.

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JOHN BECHTEL: HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO LITERATURE, AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

The moral and religious, as well as the social and political, condition of the Province of Pennsylvania about the year 1740 was in many respects remarkable, for such a mixture of nationalities and languages, such a medley of opinions and views, so freely maintained and as freely proclaimed, could not be found elsewhere in the Provinces. The Germans, who probably formed one-third of the population, had been for some years destitute of a settled ministry, in consequence of which many of them became divided into numerous sects, or had grown indifferent to all forms of religion. There were others, however,—men like John Bechtel, Henry Antes, John Adam Gruber, and Christopher Wiegner,—who, recognizing this deplorable state of affairs, desired to effect a change. They frequently met for consultation at the house of John Bechtel, in Germantown, and the project which had been always advocated by Antes—a union of all German sects and denominations—finally



prevailed. On December 26, 1741, he issued a circular inviting representatives to attend a general meeting at Germantown, "not for the purpose of disputing, but in order to treat peaceably concerning the most important articles of faith, and to ascertain how far they might agree on the most essential points, for the purpose of promoting mutual love and forbearance." A number of delegates assembled on January 12, 1742, at the house of Theobald Endt, situated on the west side of Main Street, near Queen Lane, where was organized the first of the so-called "Pennsylvania Synods." During the ensuing ten months seven of these synods were held at different places, to which came delegates representing the Lutheran and German Reformed churches, Moravians, Tunkers, Schwenkfelders, Mennonites, Sabbatarians, Separatists, and Hermits. It is difficult to determine whether the original purposes of those who convened these synods were always kept in view; but, so far as we are acquainted with the proceedings, they were not, and finally, through denominational jealousies, the project failed. Eventually, John Bechtel, Henry Antes, and others united with the Moravians, being attracted by the preaching of Count Zinzendorf and impressed by the unsectarian character of their labors in the Province. It was the activity and success of the Moravians which hastened the coming of Muhlenberg and Schlatter to care for the long-neglected members of their denominations.

John Bechtel was born October 3, 1690, at Weinheim in the Palatinate, to which town his parents fled when the French sacked and burnt Franckenthal, their native place. He was early sent to the parish school and also received a religious training, but he had the misfortune to lose his mother when he was nine years of age, and his father five years later. He was then sent to Heidelberg and apprenticed to a wood-turner, and after serving his time, as was then the custom, spent the first three years of a journeyman in travelling through Germany, working at his trade. In 1714 he returned to Heidelberg with the intention of making it his home, and the following year married; but in 1717

he removed to Franckenthal, where he carried on his trade. With his wife and three daughters, in 1726, he immigrated to Pennsylvania and settled in Germantown, where he resided for twenty years. His house and lot was located on Main Street, adjoined that of Theobald Endt, and was near by the residence of John Stephen Benezet, a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, whose three daughters married Moravian clergymen.

Reared in the German Reformed Church, and being an earnest, pious man, two years after he settled in Germantown he began to hold religious meetings for his Reformed brethren in the town, and was instrumental in doing much good prior to the arrival of Schlatter and the organization of a synod. At first he kept these meetings in his own house, not only on Sundays, but every morning and evening on week days. The congregation which he gathered built a small church on Market Square, and in 1733 he was given a call as pastor, and a license to preach was sent to him from Heidelberg University. He was not ordained, however, until April 18, 1742, and then by Bishop David Nitschmann, of the Moravian Church, in a session of the "Fifth Pennsylvania Synod," to labor among his Reformed brethren who were connected with the Synod. Bechtel became acquainted with the Moravians through Bishop Spangenberg, whom he met, in 1738, at the house of Christopher Wiegner, on the Skippack, where he was sojourning after his return from Georgia. At Wiegner's the "Associate Brethren of Skippack" met for worship, where Bechtel usually attended every four weeks. His daughter Margaret relates the meeting of her father with Count Zinzendorf:

"On his arrival at New York, the Count wrote to my father to meet him in Philadelphia. Through fear of incurring the displeasure of such of his friends as had been prejudiced against the Count, he hesitated to comply with his request. I urged him to go, I gave him no rest, and as my verbal persuasions were of no avail, I ran to the pasture, caught his riding-horse and brought it saddled and bridled to the door. This appeal father could not resist, and from regard

to me, he rode to town to see the remarkable man, who impressed me deeply when I saw him next day at our house, and indelibly so, when not two weeks later I heard him for the first time proclaim the words of eternal life."

During the various visits of Zinzendorf to Germantown he frequently preached in Bechtel's church, December 30, 1741, being the date of his first appearance in an American pulpit. There were members of the congregation, however, who were not in sympathy with the movement in which their pastor was associated with Henry Antes and others, and who also looked with suspicion and distrust on his intimacy with Zinzendorf, which culminated, in 1744, in his dismissal.

In January of 1746, John Peter Miller, Englebert Lock, Jean de Dier, Peter Hoffman, Anthony Gilbert, Cornelius Weygandt, Marcus Muenser, and Hans Gerster, on behalf of themselves and other residents of Germantown, applied to the Moravians at Bethlehem to open a boarding-school for their children, and to further this object John Bechtel offered his house and lot to the church, which they accepted. In September the school was opened, and the Rev. James Greening, of London, placed in charge. Boarding scholars were also admitted from Moravian congregations in other Provinces, and a limited number of day scholars were taken. The charge for tuition and board was six pounds per annum, but all laundry work for the pupils was to be done at the homes of their parents! To aid in the maintenance of the school, contributions of money and provisions were solicited in the congregations, and parents were requested not to visit their children too often, as it was detrimental to discipline and interfered with their studies, and the indulgence in cakes or candy was considered prejudicial to good health. Among the pupils from Philadelphia were Nathaniel Evans, who became a clergyman of the Anglican Church and a poet of some merit, and Lazarus Stow, who during the Revolution was an officer in the Continental service, and whose father recast Independence bell for the State-House. In May of 1749 the school was discontinued



Kurzer  
**CATECHISMUS**

Vor etliche  
**GEMEINEN JESU**

Aus der  
**REFORMIRTEN RELIGION**  
In *PENNSYLVANIA*,

*Die sich zum alten Berner Synodo halten:*

Herausgegeben von  
**JOHANNES BECHTELN,**  
Diener des Worts **GOTTES.**



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*PHILADELPHIA,*  
Gedruckt bey **BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, 1742**

. . . . .  
Bechtel's Catechism, original edition.



and the pupils transferred to other institutions of the church.

When the Moravians accepted Bechtel's house and lot, he removed with his family to Bethlehem, where he was appointed one of the wardens, and continued to work at his old trade until increasing years forced him to relinquish it. During the French and Indian wars he was particularly active in providing for the relief of the large number of refugees who sought shelter in the town.

John Bechtel's reputation is not confined to his prominence in the religious movement among the Germans to which I have referred, but to his connection with that early era of Pennsylvania bibliography made famous through the imprints of Franklin, Bradford, and Saur. The need of a catechism for the use of all who were in union with the "Pennsylvania Synod" early became apparent, whereupon Zinzendorf and Bechtel, in March of 1742, began its compilation, based on the twelve articles adopted by the Bern Synod of 1532, in which a tendency towards Lutheranism is manifest, and by some was claimed to be in harmony with the doctrines of the Moravian Church. The manuscript was read in a session of the "Fifth Pennsylvania Synod," approved, and ordered to be printed. As the printing-office of Christopher Saur was the only one in the Province fully equipped with German type, the job was first offered to him, but declined through pique towards some of the members of the Synod, upon which it was given to Franklin. In Franklin's office at this date was John Henry Miller, an expert German printer (subsequently the proprietor and publisher of the *Staatsbote*), who had accompanied Zinzendorf to Pennsylvania, to whom was assigned the manuscript; but the office being without sufficient German letters, English had to be substituted in the publication. In a few weeks the first edition, a small 12mo of forty-two pages, was ready for distribution. The title reads:

"Kurzer | Catechismus | vor etliche | Gemeinen Jesu |  
Aus der | Reformirten Religion | In Pennsylvania, | Die  
sich zum alten Berner Synodo halten : | Herausgegeben

A SHORT  
CATECHISM  
FOR SOME  
CONGREGATIONS of JESUS  
OF THE  
REFORMED RELIGION  
IN PENNSYLVANIA,  
Who keep to the ancient SYNOD of BERN;  
Agreeable to  
The DOCTRINE  
Of the  
MORAVIAN CHURCH.  
First published  
IN GERMAN,  
By  
JOHN BECHTEL,  
Minister of the Word of GOD.

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PHILADELPHIA.

Printed by ISAIAH WARNER, almost opposite  
to CHARLES BROCKDEN's in *Chestnut-*  
*Street.* MDCCXLII

. . . . .

Bechtel's Catechism, English edition.

von | Johannes Bechteln, | Diener des Worts Gottes. |  
Philadelphia, | Gedruckt bey Benjamin Franklin, 1742. | ”

On the reverse of the title-page is the following advertisement:

“Zu haben

“In *Philadelphia* bey Stephen Benezet,

“In *Germanatown* bey Bechteln,

“Im *Falckner* Schwamm bey H. Antes,

“In *Oley* bey Johannes Leimbach dem

“Aeltern,

“In *Lancaster Town* bey Daniel Maquenet,

“In *Schippach* bey G. Merckeln,

“In *Socken* bey Jacob Bachman,

“In den *Forks* bey Eyseck.”

An incident connected with a copy of this scarce imprint is of interest. When the Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D.D., was preparing his “*Fathers of the German Reformed Church*,” his interest in the career of John Bechtel was so great as to induce the late Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, S.T.D., of Bethlehem, to present the zealous author with a copy of the Catechism. Mr. Harbaugh loaned it to a friend, who loaned it to some one else, and this went on until it became lost. After a long and patient search, it was traced to that treasure-house of the world, the British Museum, and recovered.

An English translation of the Catechism was prepared about the same time, and printed by Isaiah Warner. This second edition is a small 12mo of thirty-six pages, the title of which reads:

“A Short | Catechism | for some | Congregations of Jesus  
| Of the | Reformed Religion | In Pennsylvania, | Who  
keep to the ancient Synod of Bern; | Agreeable to | The  
Doctrine | Of the | Moravian Church. | First published |  
In German, | By | John Bechtel, | Minister of the Word of  
God. | Philadelphia: | Printed by Isaiah Warner, almost  
opposite | to Charles Brockden’s in Chesnut- | Street.  
MDCCXLII. | ”

Kurzer  
**Catechismus**

Vor etliche  
**Gemeinen Jesu**

Aus der  
**Reformirten Religion**

In  
**PENNSYLVANIA,**

Die sich zum alten Berner Synodo  
halten:

Herausgegeben

von

**Johannes Bechteln**

*Dienern des Worts Gottes.*



**PHILADELPHIA,**

Gedruckt bey Benjamin Franklin,

1742.

. . . . .

Bechtel's Catechism, spurious German edition.



This edition contains no advertisement, but has additional matter under the following heading, pp. 34-36:

"To fill up a few vacant Pages, | here are added two Abstracts, | and one entire Hymn, from | the Moravian Hymn Book. | "

Another edition (the third) was printed in Germany with the title-page and imprint of Franklin retained. It is a small 12mo of forty-four pages, and the copy in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was formerly in use at New Herrnhut, a Moravian mission station in Greenland. The title-page reads:

"Kurzer | Catechismus | Voretliche | Gemeinen Jesu | Aus der | Reformirten Religion | In | Pennsylvania, | Die sich zum alten Berner Synodo | halten: | Herausgegeben | von | Johannes Bechteln, | Dienern des Wortes Gottes. | Philadelphia: Gedruckt bey Benjamin Franklin, | 1742. | "

During Zinzendorf's visitation to Pennsylvania he organized a mission among the Swedes settled along the Delaware, in West Jersey, and appointed two of his Moravian clergymen, who were graduates of the University of Upsala, to carry it on. One of their early converts was Olof Målander, who in 1737 came from Sweden with Dylander to take charge of a parochial school. In 1743, while employed in the printing-office of Benjamin Franklin, he prepared Bechtel's Catechism for publication in the Swedish language, and it was issued the same year from that office. It is a 12mo of thirty-five pages, and the title-page of this, the fourth edition, reads:

"En kort | Catechismus | För några | Jesu Foersamlingar | Utaf then | Reformerta Religionen | Uti Pennsylvania, | Som hålla sig til thet Berniska Synodo; | Hvilket är | Enligt med Lärone uti then | Mæhriska Kyrkian. | Först utgiswen i thet Tyska Språket | Af Johanne Bechtel, | Guds Ords Tienare. | Philadelphia: | Tryckt hos Benjamin Franklin, | Åhr 1743. | "

The advertisement in the first and third editions are omitted in this edition.

En kort  
**CATECHISMUS**

För några  
**JESU FOERSAMLINGAR**

UTAF THEN  
REFORMERTA RELIGIONEN  
UTI *PENNSYLVANIA*,

Som hålla sig til thet BERNiska SYNODO;

Hwilket är  
Enligt med Lärone uti then  
MAEHRiska KYRKIAN.

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*Först utgifwen i thet Tyfka Språket  
Af JOHANNE BECHTEL,  
Guds Ords Tienare.*

---

*PHILADELPHIA:*  
Tryckt hos BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,  
Åhr 1743.

. . . . .  
Bechtel's Catechism, Swedish edition.

This is the rarest of all the editions of the Catechism, two copies of which only are known to us,—one in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the other in the Royal Library at Stockholm.

John Bechtel was the compiler of one other work, a reprint of which is given in *Fresenius's Nachrichten*, Vol. III. p. 740 *et seq.*, with the following title :

“Abermaliger Vorschlag deselben wegen gedachter Schule, im Johannes Bechtel. Philadelphia, 1742.”

John Bechtel was married February 15, 1715, to Maria Appolonia Marret, who was born May 14, 1691, at Heidelberg, to which city her parents fled from Metz, owing to the persecutions of the Protestants. After a married life of forty-three years, she died at Bethlehem, February 7, 1758, five daughters surviving her.

Mary Agneta Bechtel was born at Franckenthal, Germany, September 19, 1719, and was married at Germantown, July 5, 1739, to Cornelius Weygandt. With her family she removed, in 1755, to what is now called “Fountain Hill,” South Bethlehem, and in 1760 to Forks Township, Northampton County, where her husband had purchased a tract of land on the Bushkill Creek, from John Lefevre, adjoining that of the Delaware chieftain Tatamy. Here she died, May 28, 1789, and was buried in the cemetery of the Moravian congregation at Schoeneck, of which she was one of the first members. Her husband, a son of Balthsar and Ottelia (Dimler) Weygandt, was born March 6, 1713, at Osthofen, in the Palatinate, and was a member of the Lutheran Church. He came to Pennsylvania on the ship “Harle,” from Rotterdam, in 1736, and settled in Germantown. In addition to several minor offices which he held, he was from May 30 to November 11, 1776, a member of the Committee of Observation and Committee of Correspondence of Northampton County. He died October 1, 1799, and was buried at Schoeneck. Some of the descendants of this worthy couple are entitled to more than a passing notice, for the literary strain of old John Bechtel has been developed in every generation for the past century and a half, and they have also filled respon-

sible positions in the civil and military service of the Commonwealth. Their son, Jacob Weygandt, Sen., was born in Germantown, December 13, 1742. At the commencement of our war for independence he espoused the cause of the Colonies, and, with a company of Northampton County Associators, was captured at Fort Washington in November of 1776. After his exchange he re-entered the service as captain of the second company (the "Forks company") Fifth Battalion, Northampton County militia, and was stationed at Billingsport and other points in the defence of the Delaware. After peace was proclaimed he became a citizen of Easton, where, in 1793, he founded the first newspaper published in the county, the *Eastoner Bothe und Northamptoner Kundschafter*, in the editing and printing of which he was assisted by his son, Cornelius N. Weygandt. It was a folio sheet seventeen by eleven inches, with three columns to the page, the subscription price one dollar per annum, and it had a circulation the first year of about three hundred copies. In 1805 he founded and published *Der Eastoner Deutsche Patriot*, which he conducted for a number of years. These early newspapers largely moulded the political sentiments of the German population among whom they circulated in the eastern section of the State.

In addition to his journalistic labors, Captain Weygandt was prominently identified with the political interests of the county, serving a number of years as county commissioner, as first burgess of Easton, as a member of the Assembly from 1808 to 1811, and was a Presidential elector in 1809. He was married in 1769 to Catherine, daughter of John Nolan, one of the earliest settlers and largest land-owners of Bethlehem Township. He died July 11, 1828, and left numerous descendants.

Cornelius Nolan Weygandt was born in Forks Township, November 1, 1770, and, as has been stated, was associated with his father in the publication of the *Bothe* and the *Patriot*. He also served for some years as one of the burgesses of Easton. He married Susan, daughter of Captain Caspar Grünmayer, and died May 3, 1806.



Jacob Weygandt, Jr., his brother, was born June 30, 1789, and began his journalistic life on the *Patriot*. In 1820 he edited the *Mountaineer*, which, however, had a short life. On February 15, 1827, with Samuel Innes, he issued the first number of the *Pennsylvania Argus*, a folio thirteen by twenty and a half inches, with five columns to the page, which is still published in the interests of the Democratic party of the county. Its German edition, the *Republikanische Presse*, was issued the same day, but was discontinued three years later. The *Argus* was the first paper to nominate George Wolf for governor, and his claims were urged so boldly and ably that he was nominated the candidate of his party and elected.

For thirty-five years Mr. Weygandt served as justice of the peace, and from 1850 to 1851 as associate justice of the county courts, and was chief burgess of Easton from 1830 to 1835, and again from 1852 to 1853. He was one of the founders and first trustees of Lafayette College, and, as captain of the "Citizens' Volunteers," attended the reception of Lafayette in 1824, at Philadelphia. He died July 1, 1861, without issue.

Other prominent descendants of John Bechtel through the Weygandt line are William Eichman, who in 1855 founded the *Easton Express*, the first daily newspaper published in Northampton County and the Lehigh Valley; Cornelius Weygandt (a son of Cornelius Nolan Weygandt, president of the Western National Bank, Philadelphia), a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and a member of the editorial staff of the *Evening Telegraph*, of Philadelphia; William B. Baldy, a former editor of the *Montour American*; Eugene Clifton, one of the proprietors of the *Easton Free Press*; Ethan Allen Weaver, a graduate of Lafayette College, late of the reportorial corps of the *Easton Express*, and now of the engineer department of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, compiler of the "Weygandt Genealogy," and secretary of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; Hon. William L. Sebring, late associate judge of the Northampton County courts;

Hon. William Sebring Kirkpatrick, late dean of the Law Department of Lafayette College, president judge of the county courts, and attorney-general of Pennsylvania; Samuel S. and Linn Hartranft, sons of the late General and Governor John F. Hartranft; W. Herman Wilhelm, a graduate of West Point, and Lieutenant Tenth United States Infantry; Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Baldy, of the Twelfth Pennsylvania Reserves; and the late Jesse Godley, a gifted sculptor.

Ann Margaret Bechtel was born at Franckenthal, September 13, 1721, and in 1742 was married by Count Zinzendorf to the Rev. Gottlob Büttner. She accompanied her husband to the Moravian mission among the Indians of New York and Connecticut, where he died in 1745 at Shecomeco. She married, second, the Rev. John G. Youngman, a native of the Palatinate, and entered with him on a long and varied career in the mission service of the church, principally among the Indians. She has the reputation of being a proficient in both the Delaware and Mohican dialects.

Mary Susan Bechtel was also born at Franckenthal, and in May of 1748 was married to the Rev. John Levering, a grandson of Gerhard Levering, one of the founders of Roxborough, Philadelphia. Her husband died while they were employed in the negro mission on the island of Jamaica, West Indies. The Rt. Rev. J. Mortimer Levering, of Bethlehem, is a descendant. In 1768 she was married to John Merek, of Bethlehem.

Maria Apollonia Bechtel, born at Germantown, June 12, 1733, was married to Christian Weber, of Bethlehem, and died December 27, 1808. There was another daughter concerning whom we know nothing.

John Bechtel, after a long and active life, in April of 1777 died at Bethlehem, highly respected by his brethren.

JOURNAL KEPT ON BOARD THE UNITED STATES  
FRIGATE "CONSTITUTION," 1812, BY AMOS A.  
EVANS, SURGEON UNITED STATES NAVY.

CONTRIBUTED BY A. W. EVANS, ELKTON, MARYLAND.

[Dr. Amos A. Evans, eldest son of John and Mary (Alexander) Evans, was born November 26, 1785, in Cecil County, Maryland. On his father's side he was descended from a Welsh immigrant of the early part of the eighteenth century, and his maternal grandfather, Amos Alexander, was a magistrate of Cecil County before and during the Revolution, two of whose brothers were concerned in the Mecklenburg Declaration of May, 1775. Dr. Evans studied medicine with local practitioners and under Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, and September 1, 1808, was appointed surgeon's mate in the United States navy, and ordered to Louisiana, where he was on duty at the Marine Hospital, New Orleans, and other points. He was made surgeon April 10, 1810. In 1812 he was ordered to St. Mary's, Georgia, and *en route* was wrecked on the North Carolina coast. Making his way to Washington and reporting to the Navy Department, he was ordered to the frigate "Constitution," then lying in the Potomac, and joined that ship March 23, 1812. He was on duty at the navy-yard, Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1813-14, and in the latter year took a degree at the medical school of Harvard College. In 1815 he was fleet surgeon in the Mediterranean on the United States ship "Independence," 74, sailing from Boston July 2, and arriving back there December 5, 1815. Again on duty for some time at Charlestown, he later received a furlough to enter into private practice in his native State, and finally resigned from the navy April 15, 1824. He died at Elkton, Maryland, January 15, 1848.]

*June 11<sup>th</sup> 1812.*—Left the Navy yard at Washington City in the U. S. Frigate Constitution.

*July 5-12.*—Sailed from Annapolis down the Bay and went out of the capes on the 12<sup>th</sup> for a cruise.

*July 15<sup>th</sup>.*—Spoke a Spanish privateer Schooner from St. Jago de Cuba bound to Philadelphia. Same evening spoke a Brig from N. Orleans bound to Baltimore: informed her that war had been declared against England. . . .

*July 16<sup>th</sup>.*—In Lat. 39° 18' N. at 2 P.M. in 18 fathoms



water four sail of vessels in sight: at a quarter past 3 P.M. tack'd to the eastward: at 4 P.M. a ship in sight bearing N.E. standing down for us, and 3 ships and a brig N.N.W. on the starboard tack. From 4 to 6 P.M. light airs from the Northward: at a  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 5 haul'd up the mainsail: at 6 the single Ship bore E.N.E. At  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 6 P.M. got a light breeze from the Northard & Eastward, wore ship and stood towards the above sail, keeping her a little off the starboard bow: set top gallant and Royal Staysails, and starboard top gallant studden sails. At half past 7 beat to quarters. At 8 P.M. light airs: coming up with the above ship very slowly. At 10 P.M. haul'd down the staysails & haul'd up the spanker: at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 make the private signal of the day: at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 11 haul'd down the signal, not having been answered by the above ship, and made sail by the wind, with starboard tacks on board: from 12 to 4 A.M. light airs from the Southward & Eastward and cloudy.

*July 17<sup>th</sup>.*—At 4 A.M. the ship made a signal with a rocket and 2 guns. At daylight discovered 3 sail off the starboard quarter bearing N.E., and 3 sail astern: at 5 A.M. discovered another sail astern, making 2 Frigates off our Lee quarter, and 2 frigates and one ship of the line, one brig and one schooner astern, with English colours hoisted.

At  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 5 A.M., it being calm and the ship having no steerage way, hoisted out the first cutter, & got the boats ahead to tow ship's head to the Southard. Got a 24 pounder up off the Gun deck for a stern chaser, and the long 18 pounder from the forecastle aft: cut away the Taffrail to give them room, and ran two guns out of the cabin windows.

At 6 A.M. got the Ship's head round to the Southard and set topgallant studdingsails and staysails, one of the frigates firing at us. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 A.M. sounded in 26 fathoms of water. At 7 A.M. got out a Kedge and warped the ship ahead. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 hoisted the colours and fired one gun at the ship astern. At 8 A.M. calm, employed warping and towing the Ship ahead; the other ships, having a light air, gaining on us, with their boats ahead, and one of them



using her sweeps. At 9 A.M. the above Ships in close chase, and nearest frigate gaining on us. At 9 minutes past 9 A.M. a light breeze sprung up from the Southard; braced up by the wind on the larboard tack, when the above frigate came round, firing, but her shot did not reach us. Got the boats along side & ran two of them up. At 10 A.M. started about 2335 gallons of water, & pumped it out: almost calm. Manned the first cutter to tow ship: six sail of the enemy's ships off the starboard beam and quarter: perceived that the nearest frigate had got all the boats from the other ships to tow her towards us. From 10 A.M. to Meridian employ<sup>d</sup> warping and towing, all sail made by the wind: one of the other ships coming up, having apparently all the boats from the other ships. Light airs and cloudy. At meridian light airs from the Southard and Eastward, attended with calms— $\frac{1}{4}$  after meridian sent the first cutter and green cutter ahead to tow the ship.  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 1 P.M. a strange sail discovered two points abaft off the leebeam: the 4 frigates one point off the Starboard quarter, Line of Battle Ship, Brig & Schooner off the leebeam. At 7 minutes before 2 P.M. the chasing frigates commenced firing their bow chase guns: we<sup>1</sup> returned them with our stern chase guns. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 P.M. still chased by the above ships, one of them is nearly within gun shot. At 7 P.M. observed the enemies' ships towing with their boats; lowered down the first cutter, green cutter and gig, and sent them ahead to tow ship, steering S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., light airs inclinable to calm: at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 sounded in 24 fathoms water. At 8 P.M. light airs from the Southward & Eastward, the 1<sup>st</sup> & 5<sup>th</sup> cutters ahead towing ship, the enemies ships in the same position as at half past 7 P.M. From 8 to 9 light airs and cloudy; Enemies ships still in chase.

<sup>1</sup> In conversation, many years after, Dr. Evans mentioned watching with a glass the forecastle of the nearest English frigate, which was crowded with officers gazing at the "Constitution," when a shot from the latter's cabin window struck in the midst of the group, which instantly scattered. The force of this shot was probably much spent by the distance.

*July 18<sup>th</sup>.*—At 2 A.M. sounded in 23 fathoms of water—discovered one of the ships off the Lee beam: At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 A.M. took in the steering sails. At daylight 4 frigates in sight, three off the lee quarter and one off the lee beam, from two to three miles distant. At 4 A.M. 6 sail in sight from off the deck. Haul<sup>d</sup> down the fore top mast staysail, very light breezes. 20 minutes after 4 A.M. tack<sup>d</sup> ship to the Eastward; at 5 A.M. pass<sup>d</sup> about gun shot distance to windward of one of the frigates; hoisted in the first cutter. Six sail in sight from the masthead. At 8 A.M. haul<sup>d</sup> down the middle staysail: at 9 A.M. fitted and set fore and main sky sails. Saw a ship to windward supposed to be an American Merchantman standing towards us. The frigates astern hoisted the American colours as a decoy, and we immediately hoisted English colours: got royal studden sail and booms fitted & shifted the starboard fore top mast studensail boom which was sprung. At 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  A.M. sounded in 25 fathoms of water, fine grey sand and broken shells. At 11 A.M. took in sky sails. At meridian moderate breezes and pleasant weather: rather leaving the frigates in chase, the headmost frigate to Leeward, bearing nearly N. by W. 4 or 5 miles distant: the nearest frigate W.S.W. direct in our wake, distant about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The line of battle ship N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. on the Larboard Tack, hull down. Two frigates off our lee quarter, N.N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. & N.W. by N. about 5 miles distant, & the brig bearing about N. by W. Latitude observed 38° 47' N. which from that & the soundings got at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 10 A.M., allowing for the distance since run, gives our Longitude about 73° 53' W. from which we date our departure.

At 4 P.M. a moderate breeze from the S.S.W. and cloudy: four sail of the enemy still in chase, the nearest about 6 miles off bearing N.N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. & off the weather quarter W. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. From 4 to 6 P.M. moderate breezes and cloudy: at  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 7 P.M. a heavy squall of wind with rain: took in sail, &c— $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 P.M. the leewardmost ship N.N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. & the weathermost ship, the other two more astern & hull down.  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 P.M. wind tack<sup>d</sup> round to

W: made all sail close by the wind. Heard two guns from the enemies ships off the lee quarter: at 11 could just discover the weather ship in our wake: moderate breezes during the night.

*July 19<sup>th</sup>.*—At  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 4 A.M. hauled up to S.E. by S. 4 Sail in sight astern, the weathermost ship bearing N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., the 2<sup>d</sup> N.W., & the others N.W. by N. no[r]thing; all of them hull down. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 A.M. more moderate—employ<sup>d</sup> wetting the sails aloft: at 8 A.M. moderate breezes and pleasant: 4 ships still in sight chasing us. The weathermost ship bearing N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N. having her lower yards under: & the leeward ship N. by W. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 A.M. all the ships in chase stood to the Northward & Eastward & were completely out of sight in a few minutes. Thus terminated a disagreeable chase of nearly 3 days,—attended with inexpressible anxiety and alternate elevation and depression of spirits as the winds were propitious or otherwise. We had many times given over all expectations of making our escape, & had it not been for uncommon exertion we must inevitably have fallen a prey to the superiority of our enemy.

At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 A.M. discovered a Brig two points off the starboard bow: took in studdensails &c and stood for the sail ahead: at 9 discovered another sail ahead:  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 9 A.M. back<sup>d</sup> the main topsail & spoke an American Brig 33 days from St. Domingo bound to Portland: we informed her that war was declared against England, that there were cruisers astern, and advised her to stand well to the Eastward. At 10 A.M. fill<sup>d</sup> away and stood for the other sail off the Lee bow; came up with her  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 11 and boarded, and found her to be the American Brig Sally, 23 days from St. Bartholomew's to Phil<sup>a</sup>. When we informed her that war was declared & cruisers off she stood for Charleston, S.C. At meridian made sail and stood to the Eastward: 31 men sick. At 2 P.M. fresh breeze from Westward: discovered a ship from the masthead bearing E. by N.: haul<sup>d</sup> close by the wind & discovered the sail to be a large ship standing by the wind with starboard tacks on board: at 4



P.M. discovered her to be a merchant ship with American colours flying. Back<sup>d</sup> the main topsail and boarded the American Ship Diana 47 days from Lisbon for Baltimore. She is a handsome, copper-bottom<sup>d</sup> ship. The boarding officer was told that a corpse which then lay on the quarter deck was our late consul at Lisbon, Mr. Jefferson, nephew of the late president, who had died that morning. Informed him that war was declared, & advised him to keep a bright lookout. He had 80,000 dollars specie on board. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 filled away & stood E. At 6 mustered the crew at quarters, as usual every evening.

*July 20<sup>th</sup>.*—At 40 minutes past 4 A.M. discover<sup>d</sup> a sail ahead; hauled by the wind N.N.E. to speak her: at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 6 fired 2 muskets at her, which she did not appear to mind: then fired 2 32 pound carronades and bro't her to: boarded and [found] her to be the snow Rising Sun, Mayburry, Master, 43 days from Oporto, bound to Newport (R.I.) in ballast. At 4 P.M. discovered a strange sail to the Northward and Westward.

*July 21<sup>st</sup>.*<sup>1</sup>—At  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 7 A.M. discovered a sail off the Larboard bow: made sail: at meridian came up with the above mentioned vessel & found her to be the same brig that we had spoken on Monday<sup>2</sup> bound from St. Domingo to Portland.

At  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 4 P.M. discovered a large ship off the lee beam standing to the Southard and Eastward: at 5 bore up and made all sail towards her:  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 spoke and found her to be a ship under Spanish colours 4 days from New York, bound to Teneriffe. From her we procured some late New York newspapers and learned that Comm<sup>d</sup> Rodgers' Squadron had not return<sup>d</sup> from chasing the Jamaica fleet. That the Essex was on a cruise by herself, and that the John Adams and Nautilus had left New York on a cruise a few days before the ship sail'd. We also learn<sup>d</sup> from the papers that the Wasp had arrived in the Delaware from Cowes.

*July 22<sup>d</sup>.*—At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 A.M. squally and rain. Lat. ob. at

<sup>1</sup> Date *sic* in original, but should be Tuesday, July 21. See *post*.

<sup>2</sup> Sunday?



meridian  $39^{\circ} 45' N$ . At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 P.M. discovered 2 sail off the Lee bow : made sail and stood towards them :  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 discovered 3 other sails from the masthead, bearing N.W. by N., making a squadron of 5 sail, which we supposed to be our old *friends* of chasing memory. Took in the studden sails and haul<sup>d</sup> by the wind, and soon lost sight of them.

*July 23<sup>d</sup>.*—At 4 A.M. discovered a sail off the weather quarter : took in Top gallant sails, tack<sup>d</sup> ship and stood for her :  $\frac{1}{4}$  after 4 laid the main top sail to the mast & spoke the Brig Triton, 23 days from Porto Rico, bound for Portsmouth N.H. : made sail, and at  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 7 A.M. discovered two sail bearing E.N.E. : at 9 A.M. spoke the Brig Hazard of Wiscasset from Cadiz, bound for New York. Informed her of war with England and advised the Cap<sup>t</sup> to make the best of his way to Boston ; he immediately altered his course, and stood for the latter port.  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 A.M. spoke another Brig, 81 days from St. Ubes, bound to New London. Informed us that they had been nearly starved for want of provision, but had been supplied by an American privateer, 2 days before, who informed him of the war. Told us that he would stand in for Boston. Fresh breezes from Southard and Eastward, with rain. The ship was going 12 knots before the wind. At meridian sounded on the tail of George's bank in 50 fathoms water. *No observations.* Cold, wet and foggy during the night : wind from the Southard.

*July 26<sup>th</sup>, Sunday.*—Light winds—variable. Beating towards Boston light house : a number of small vessels in the bay. The scenery of the country surrounding the bay is very romantic and picturesque : passed Scituate, a small village on the Southern side. The general face of the country hilly and thickly settled. The light house is situated on a small Island and the right side of the entrance of the principal channel, and has a very good revolving light. The State house and several of the church steeples in Boston are visible a considerable distance down the bay. The hills along the bay present a round, smooth surface, and do not appear to have much timber on them. At 11 A.M. a Pilot came on board. Mr. Chew, the purser of the ship, went up

to town in the boat this afternoon, for the purpose of procuring our provisions &c: with him went the 6<sup>th</sup> Lieut., Mr. Morgan, to open a rendezvous for shipping men.

The Bay from a short distance below the light house to Boston appears to be nearly fill<sup>d</sup> with small Islands, presenting to the eye a most delightful prospect. Some of them a[re] handsomely cultivated and improved. Two of the Islands nearest the Town are strongly fortified, and between them lies the channel, which at that place is not wide. There are several other commanding situations for forts lower down. It is in fact more susceptible of defence than any port belonging to the U. States. Just below but out of reach of gun shot of the fort the channel is not much wider than the length of a large ship across and very intricate, and on each side of the channel at that place a very strong battery might be erected.

*July 27<sup>th</sup>, Monday.*—We came up and anchored just below the fort. Lighters employed getting off provisions & water for the ship. In the afternoon went to Boston, & after attending to some articles which I had [unintelligible] for, went to the Exchange coffee house, perhaps the largest building of the kind in the U. S. The Post office and many shops and other offices are kept in this building. Spent the evening at viewing the Town which much surpasses in gaiety and beauty my conception of it. The “*Mal*” is a pleasant and fashionable extensive walk, planted with Elm trees. The State house is situated on an eminence in the N.W. part of the town, and is a stupendous and elegant building. The streets of Boston are narrow and crooked, but well paved and clean. The houses have an air of neatness about them that in my opinion much surpasses Philadelphia or Baltimore. The merchants meet in State Street, in front of the exchange, to transact business every day from 12 to 2 o’clock—but the exchange, in which there is a news room well furnish<sup>d</sup> with papers, is generally crowded. The people of Boston with whom the Constitution and her Commander are both favorites, appear overjoy<sup>d</sup> at our arrival, as they had confidently expected we were taken by

the British squadron. They cheered Capt. Hull as he pass<sup>d</sup> up State Street about 12 o'clock.

*July 28<sup>th</sup>, Tuesday.*—I slept last night at the exchange in the room No. 190 something, and after breakfast this morning took a hack and after driving around town went out thro' Cambridge, and having view<sup>d</sup> the college pass<sup>d</sup> on as far as "Fresh pond tavern," a house so call<sup>d</sup> delightfully situated on the bank of a small lake or pond about 5 or 6 miles W. of Boston. After staying some little time there I return<sup>d</sup> along the foot of "Bunker's Hill" thro' Charlestown, and stop<sup>d</sup> at the Navy yard. The country along which I pass<sup>d</sup> is well cultivated and lined with country-seats and farm houses, generally 2 stories, frame, and handsomely painted, with elegant gardens and yards ornamented with a variety of flowers, shrubs, and trees, amongst the latter English poplar, elm, and English walnut are the most common. The enclosures along the way are generally made by stone fences. Pass<sup>d</sup> Gov. Gerry's beyond Cambridge; a neat place on the right hand going out. Charlestown is separated from Boston on the South only by a branch of Charles river, over which there is a toll bridge. There are also 2 other Toll Bridges over it on the way to Cambridge, one a few hundred yards higher up the branch than the other. The Frigate Chesapeake is now repairing at the Navy yard at Charlestown. 2 Gunboats and a revenue cutter constitute the naval force at this place. Judging of the females of this place from their appearance in the street, the only opportunity I have had of seeing them, I should say they were not so handsome as those in Philadelphia and Baltimore. Their persons are not so neat nor their motions so graceful. Their complexions are rosy and healthy, and their countenances, features, sprightly and animated: or, in other words, they appear to have more *mind* and less *grace* than the Southern ladies. I know nothing of their dispositions, but, if permitted to apply the rules of *Lavater* to their Physiognomies should say there was a superabundance of *Tartaric acid* in them. The *Yankees*, however, I have always understood, are a set of stiff-neck<sup>d</sup>,



stubborn republicans, and, of course, not likely to submit to the most tyrannical of all governments, I mean a *Petticoat one*—I amused myself part of the forenoon in the book-stores, of which there are a great number in this place. In all of them I found plenty of sermons in pamphlet form, & pieces against “Maddison’s ruinous war,” as they call it. I inquired particularly for the letters of the “British Spy,” attributed to Mr. Wirt, of V<sup>a</sup> but was not able to procure a copy in the place, altho’ I was told an edition of it had been published here. “Sampson’s Memoirs,” & “Curious Speeches” were neither of them seen in any of the stores; nor do I recollect to have seen a copy of the Columbiad in my tour thro’ them. Cherrys and currants are now in season here. I recollect we had some in Washington City in the beginning of June. So confident were the people of this place that we had been taken and carried to Halifax that a friend of one of our officers had forwarded letters of credit for him to that place. On board of an old ship above Charlestown bridge there are a number of British prisoners taken by the privateers from their merchantmen. Yesterday the Cartel bearing the flag of truce (white) at the fore, left this place on her return for Halifax. She bro’t the seamen that were taken by the Leopard from the Chesapeake. The English midshipman that was lately retaken in his prize by the crew returned in the Cartel. I understand he gives it as his opinion that Comm<sup>d</sup> Rodgers manag<sup>d</sup> or maneuvered his ship very badly in the late attack on the Belvidera, on board which vessel he says he then was.—Query? During my ride to-day I saw several old fortifications that had been thrown up at the time the British had possession of Boston; say at the commencement of the revolution. Will the United States receive any assistance from the eastern states in the prosecution of the present war? Judging from present symptoms, I fear not. Good God! Is it possible that the people of the U. S. enjoying the blessings of freedom under the only republican government on earth, have not virtue enough to support it! Well might Horace say—“all men are mad.” If Democri-



tus or Heraclitus were alive at the present day, our follies would burst the sides of the one & exhaust the tears of the other. “*Quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*” May heaven forbid that the proverb should ever suit us. . . .

We receive accounts that the British squadron are burning and destroying our merchantmen on the coast. The people of this place say they did not expect anything of that kind—are sorry that the British should imitate Bonaparte in anything. Will not this serve to rouse them in some degree? Why do the merchants blame our government for this? Did it not hold out to them this language: we are about to declare war, take care of yourselves.—Are not Lloyd, Quincy and others who informed them that an embargo was about to be laid, culpable: or do they that were foolhardy enough to despise the counsels & run counter to the wishes of the Government, deserve any commiseration?

*July 30<sup>th</sup>, Thursday.*—Foggy, with rain in the afternoon. Went on shore in Town: spent the day in viewing the place & reading the news in the coffee house. A variety of reports in circulation & much *guessing* amongst the *Yankees* about the war, captures, &c.

Paid a visit to Mr. W. Hollingsworth<sup>1</sup> at Task’s Tavern in Broomfield lane, and dined with him. Saw there some genuine, unsophisticated *Yankees* from the country. One of them *guess<sup>d</sup>* Com<sup>d</sup> Rodgers had gone to France and would shortly arrive with a fleet of French ships, and “want much afeer<sup>d</sup> to hold a bottle of the bghost [best?] wine” with his neighbour on the subject, who “rather *guess<sup>d</sup>*” he “hadndt” gone there, but didn’t much like to *lay* a bottle of wine “*about*” it. Visited the marine Hospital in Charles Town. It is a commodious building, but the site is, I think, not a very good one. The rooms and bedding are neat, clean and comfortable. Had about 35 patients in it when I was there.

*July 31<sup>st</sup>, Friday.*—Slept last night at the exchange coffee house, and after breakfast took a walk round Town. Vis-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hollingsworth was from Maryland, and a cousin of Dr. Evans.

ited the State house and after sauntering an hour or two in the book stores, returned on board the ship. Less fog to-day than usual—Wind from Eastward. . . .

*August 1<sup>st</sup>, Saturday.*—Damp and very foggy in the forenoon. Wind from the eastward with rain in the evening. The day's report says the Maidstone Frigate is capturing the fishermen at Cape Cod. Others say there are 2 Frigates in the bay. We are all ready and only waiting a fair wind to proceed on a cruise. To-day came in an American Brig from Liverpool loaded with salt, which we took possession of. She was bound to St. Mary's but hearing of the war put in here. I suppose she was again liberated, as I have heard nothing of her since.

*August 2<sup>d</sup>, Sunday.*—Got under weigh [*sic*] at 5 o'clock A.M. and pass<sup>d</sup> the light house about 6. Stood N.E., wind S. & W. and pleasant. Saw at one time 50 sail of vessels, most of them small. Lost sight of land in the afternoon. Spoke a ship from Ireland with passengers.

*August 3<sup>d</sup>, Monday.*—Was call<sup>d</sup> to Quarters last night about one o'clock, in consequence of the light of the rising Moon, which was taken by the officer of the watch for Signals. Chased a small sail for some time to-day, but gave up the chase in consequence of being so far to leeward of it.

*August 4<sup>th</sup>, Tuesday.*—At 4 o'clock spoke an American Fishing Schooner from Belleisle bound to Cape Cod. Had seen no cruisers. Saw a Ship on Sunday, but did not know what she was. Directly afterwards we saw and pursued a ship to the Northward, apparently an armed one, perhaps a Sloop of war or Privateer. Lost sight of her after dark. Light winds—cool, inclined to fogs.

*August 5<sup>th</sup>, Wednesday.*—Pleasant day—Very light winds. Stood to the Northward during the forenoon. The ship that we had chased was not in sight this morning. Stood to the Southard during the latter part of the day. Light airs. 3 Sail in sight before Sundown from the topgallant yard. Stood by the wind about S.S.W. in pursuit.

*August 10<sup>th</sup>, Monday.*—Fresh breeze from N.N.W. Standing N.E. Lat. ob. 45° 10' N. Long. 54° 45' W. At meridian

discovered from the top gallant yard a sail on the weather beam. Gave chase. At 5½ P.M. fired a shot ahead and bro<sup>t</sup> to a Brig which on boarding proved to be the British merchant brig the *Lady Warren* from St. John's Newfoundland bound to the Island of St. John's. By her log book it appears that she sailed in company with some other vessels on the — *Ius't*, under convoy of H.B.M. Frigate *Jason* and a government armed Brig. From one of the sailors we learn that there was a larger Frigate than the *Jason* in company, but that the latter was the flag ship:—that there were 4 ships and 4 Brigs all deeply laden with troops, &c. The *Lady Warren* left the convoy on Saturday night in the fog, and being light, out sailed them. After bringing on board the Cap<sup>t</sup>, Supercargo, Mate, and 6 seamen, together with their private property, we set fire to the Brig in different places—and made sail to the N & E. She continued to burn for several hours, and presented an appearance after dark awfully beautiful and grand. Such are the dreadful, concomitant evils of a state of war. The Brig was in Ballast. The Supercargo laboured under a severe fit of the gravel, to which he says he has been subject for some years.<sup>1</sup> Every medical and other assistance in our power was yielded him. He observed that the loss of his Brig was a trifle compared to the pain he felt. Wind still blows fresh.

*August 11<sup>th</sup>, Tuesday.*—Blew fresh all last night from the N. & W. At 10 o'clock A.M. discovered a sail ahead from Top Gallant yard. At 12 came up with her. Proved to be a British Merchant Brig, *Advance*, [or *Adiona*] from Shediack harbour [N.B.] bound to New Castle upon Tyne, loaded with Squar<sup>d</sup> Pine Timber. Got out of her the Captain, Mate and crew consisting of 9 men and boys, and set fire to her at 2 o'clock. We then fill<sup>d</sup> away to the W. At 4 o'clock P.M. her sails took fire and were consumed in a few minutes, directly after which her masts went overboard.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Evans left some notes of the medical treatment of the supercargo, whose name was Freeman.



From the Captain we learn that they saw a Frigate on the 9<sup>th</sup> inst. standing down the Gulph of St. Lawrence with a Brig in Tow, but did not speak her. She was five days out when we captured her. We learn from him that Capt. Porter had sent a cartel with a Lieut. into St. John's, N. F. with prisoners. Lat. by ob: at meridian  $45^{\circ} 12' N.$  Long.  $55^{\circ} 10' W.$  In 73 fathoms water at meridian. The air yesterday, last night, and to-day was uncomfortably cold. Caught a red headed Woodpecker on board this morning, in 60 fathoms water, distant from land 150 miles.

*August 12<sup>th</sup>, Wednesday.*—No vessels in sight to-day. Pleasant breeze from N. & E. Stood off and on since yesterday. Lat. ob:  $44^{\circ} 57' N.$  Long.  $55^{\circ} 39' W.$  We learn from the Supercargo of the Lady Warren that Com<sup>d</sup> Barney has taken several vessels off Newfoundland and burnt some fishing boats. That the Essex also burnt some. He also tells us that the small pox is very fatal and prevalent in St. John's at present. Sick list decreases; having at present but 15 men sick mostly slight cases. The Supercargo represents St. John's, Newfoundland, as a place strongly fortified both by nature and art. There are high hills on each side of a very narrow channel. The lands, he says, are very barren and but thinly settled, being principally fishermen. He says it is considered as a nursery for Sailors. A great many Irishmen are yearly bro't over and after being kept in the fishing trade of that place for a few years are transferred or impress<sup>d</sup> into the British Navy. The families of the fishermen, he says, are miserably poor. Whilst the husband is out fishing the merchant who owns the fishing boat in which he is employ<sup>d</sup> issues out to his wife and children their daily allowance of provision, which is very scant and not of the best kind. Hence it is more than cruel to destroy the fishing boats,—because when the Husband returns without fish the merchant ceases to supply his family. More of the miseries of a state of war! We have the consolation, however, of knowing that this wanton and merciless kind of warfare was commenced by the British: *par exemple*, at Cape Ann. He says it is believed at



St. John's that the Constitution is off the British Channel with Commodore Rodgers' squadron.

*August 14<sup>th</sup>, Friday.*—Light winds from N. & W.: course about E. Were alarmed about 9 o'clock with the cry of fire in the cockpit—Produced by one of the Surgeon's Mates having left a candle burning in his state room with the door locked. We found considerable difficulty in opening the door, in attempting to force which I had my right hand jamm<sup>d</sup> with a crowbar: in consequence of which I am under the necessity of writing with my left. I have laboured under great pain all day, and am much afraid it will terminate in *Tetanus*. The cry of fire is dreadful on shore, but ten thousand times more distressing on board a powder ship *at sea*. It produced much confusion, but was instantly extinguished. The Surgeon's Mate, who is truly a worthy fellow, was arrested for his negligence. Hove-to at noon, in 30 fathoms water, and caught a very large Hollibut, and what sailors call a man's-head: a curiosity and novelty to me. Lat. obs<sup>d</sup> 45° 51' N. Lon. by D. R. 55° 35' W. At 3 P.M. a sailor fell overboard out of the main chains. The topsail was instantly backed and the stern boat lower<sup>d</sup> down. The man being (fortunately) an expert swimmer, kept on top of the water, and was pick<sup>d</sup> up about 200 yards astern. He said he could have taken off his shoes, but did not wish to lose them! The blood however appeared to have forsaken his cheeks. The tenure of a sailor's existence is certainly more precarious than any other man's, a soldier's not excepted. Who would not be a sailor? I, for one.

*August 15<sup>th</sup>, Saturday.*—Pleasant weather: light winds from S. & W. Discovered immediately after daylight five sail of vessels on our weather bow. Made all sail and stood for them. Gaining on them fast. At 8 o'clock A.M. discovered that one of them, a brig in tow of a sloop of war, was on fire. Another of the Brigs stood before the wind. The sloop of war then stood by the wind on the other tack, as did also a Dutch-built, sharp stern Barque. A Pilot built schooner stood by the wind on the starboard tack. We immediately stood after the sloop of war, with Lar-

board tacks on board. After standing in that way a short time the Barque tacked & stood between us and the sloop of war. We then tack<sup>d</sup>, fired a gun, and bro't her down. She had English colours hoisted which she haul<sup>d</sup> down when we fired. On boarding her we discovered that she was a prize to the American privateer Dolphin from Salem; that she had been captured yesterday evening: that the schooner to windward was the Privateer; and that the British Sloop of war Avenger had fallen in with them in the night, having two prizes in company—one of which, viz—the one set on fire, was a fine Brig, the ——— belonging to New York: the other was the one that stood before the wind. The Barque had been boarded by the Sloop of war at 4 o'clock A.M., but discovering us recalled her boat without leaving any of her crew on board or taking out any of the Privateer's men. He ordered the Barque to follow him, who finding us from our sails, &c, to be an American and that the Sloop of war was running from us, was then trying to make for the Privateer. After taking out of her her former Captain and two boys, the only English prisoners on board, we made all sail after the Prize Brig before the wind. In a short time the Sloop of war was out of sight, still standing from us with all sail set. At 2 o'clock we bro'<sup>t</sup> to the Brig Adeline<sup>1</sup> from England, loaded with dry goods and hard ware bound to Bath in Massachusetts bay. We took from on board of her a British Master's mate and five seamen belonging to the Avenger, and put [on] Mid<sup>n</sup> Madison and five seamen [and] started her for some port in the U. S. She was taken by the Avenger on the 7<sup>th</sup> Inst. Whilst chasing the latter Brig we pass<sup>d</sup> near the Brig in flames. The Barque follow<sup>d</sup> us until compleatly out of sight of the Sloop of War—and then haul<sup>d</sup> by the wind to the S. & E. At 3 P.M. discovered land from the top gallant yard—bearing N. by E. distant 40 miles—supposed to be *cape Race*. Sounded in 80 fathoms water. Wind S. & W. Lat. ob: at meridian 45° 58'. Long 53° 14'. By the Prisoners we are informed that several Frigates are cruising on

<sup>1</sup> Name altered in original from Adelaide. See September 12.

the banks, amongst the rest the Belvidera,<sup>1</sup> Guerriere,<sup>1</sup> Shannon,<sup>1</sup> Spartan, Pomona, Eolus,<sup>1</sup> &c &c— The Captain (Johnson) of the Avenger supposed us to be the Frigate Essex. The Avenger laid closer to the wind than we did and appeared to sail very fast. We were under an impression that she would out sail us and thus prevent our taking either of the other vessels. . . . Cold and raw in the afternoon. Wind freshened in the evening and blew a stiff breeze in the night. I observe that a troublesome cough with which I was annoyed the principal part of the last winter, and which ceased when the warm weather commenced, has again come on. Whilst in the act of writing the two last words of the above sentence the Drummer and fifer were call<sup>d</sup> to beat to quarters, having discovered a light a short distance off on the lee bow. It proved, however, to be the Brig which was burnt during the day, and not a ship's light as was at first supposed. Blowing fresh still, and quite cool.

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The sloop of war had the figures 68 marked on her quarter & bow like a Transport, for the purpose, no doubt, of deceiving the privateers. The Sloop of war made signals several times during the morning.

*August 17<sup>th</sup>, Monday.*—Cloudy & cold. Fresh breeze from W.: Standing to the S. & W. No observation. Passed about 6 o'clock the wreck of a vessel that appeared to have been capsized. No observation to-day. Wind increases: cold, damp, disagreeable weather. 16 men on the Sick List. My wounded hand is nearly well.—We tack<sup>d</sup> ship and pass<sup>d</sup> just to leeward of what was supposed to be a vessel capsized and it proves to be a dead whale floating on the surface. On approaching we supposed it to be an Island of Ice. There were a number of small birds—perhaps “Mother Carey’s Chickens” flying about it. The oil was floating on the water some distance to leeward. As we pass<sup>d</sup> it, we were saluted with a very unpleasant smell.

<sup>1</sup> Together with the Africa 64 and the Brig Nautilus are the vessels that chased us off New York July 16, 17, 18<sup>th</sup>.



Directly after passing it we wore ship and stood again to the S. & W.—At 11 P.M. were call<sup>d</sup> to Quarters, having seen a vessel nearly ahead standing before the wind. She haul<sup>d</sup> her wind and we made all sail after her, and after a chase of 1½ hours came up with and spoke the American Privateer Brig Decatur, Capt. Nichols, from Salem, 12 days out, and had taken nothing. In chase of a Ship yesterday carried away her fore top mast. Was chased last evening by a Ship of War. During our chase of her last night she threw overboard 12 of her Guns, leaving but 2 sixpounders on board. She carried 100 men. The Cap<sup>t</sup> came on board of us and got some Irons, having thrown all his overboard in the chase. We learn that he had boarded a *Cartel* from Halifax to Boston, from whom he learn<sup>d</sup> that the Privateer Curlew of Boston, & Letter of Marque Catherine of Salem are both taken into Halifax. The former by the Africa—64, and the latter by a large gun Brig, after an action of 45 minutes. From the same source we are informed that there are 300 American prisoners in Halifax.—They were getting their Bags ready to come on board, supposing we were an English man of war, and were overjoyed when undeceived by our boarding officer. The Captain said he would steer for Cape Race: that 2 Guns were sufficient to bring Merchant vessels to. He kept in company with us all night and stood to the E<sup>a</sup> in the morning.

(To be continued.)



## WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1784-1799.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from page 50.)

1787.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 3.

At Alexandria: "*January 3.*—Rid to Alexandria to a meeting of the board of Directors of the Potomack C<sup>o</sup>—Did the business which occasioned the Meeting dined at Lomax's & returned home in the evening."—*Washington's Diary*.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10.

At Mount Vernon: "*January 10.*—I rec<sup>d</sup> by express the acc<sup>t</sup> of the sudden death (by a fit of the Gout in the head) of my beloved Brother Col<sup>o</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Aug<sup>o</sup> Washington."<sup>1</sup>—*Washington's Diary*.

Augustine Washington, of Pope's Creek, Westmoreland County, Virginia, the father of General Washington, had ten children: Butler, Lawrence, Augustine, and Jane by his first wife, Jane Butler; GEORGE, Betty, Samuel, *John Augustine*, Charles, and Mildred by his second wife, Mary Ball, to whom he was married on the 6th of March, 1731. Augustine Washington died April 12, 1743, aged forty-nine years, at an estate in King George, now Stafford, County, on the Rappahannock River, directly opposite to Fredericksburg, to which he had removed in 1739, seven years after the birth of his son GEORGE.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 25.

At Mount Vernon: "*January 25.*—On my return home [from a ride to the plantations] found M<sup>r</sup> Madison here—and after Dinner M<sup>r</sup> [David] Griffith came in—both of whom stayed all night."—*Washington's Diary*.

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<sup>1</sup> John Augustine Washington died at his estate on the Nominny River, Westmoreland County, Virginia.

"January 26.—Mr Madison & Mr Griffith going away after breakfast, (the former to attend Congress) I rid as yesterday to all y<sup>e</sup> Plant<sup>ns</sup>."—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 6.

At Mount Vernon: "February 6.—About Sundown Mess<sup>rs</sup> Bushrod & Corben Washington [sons of John Augustine Washington] came in on their return from Berkeley County."—*Washington's Diary*.

"February 7.—Continued at home. February 8.—At home all day. February 9.—Mr Bushrod Washington<sup>1</sup> and his Brother Corbin went away after breakfast."—*Washington's Diary*.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14.

At Mount Vernon: "February 14.—Rid immediately, after breakfast to French's Plantation to see a sick man—and intended to have gone to others but was driven back by the Rain."—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

At Mount Vernon: "February 17.—Went into the Neck to Mark some lines for fences. . . . Received before I had done a message acquainting me that Col<sup>o</sup> [Jeremiah] Wadsworth and a Mr Chaloner were here which brought me home."—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

At Alexandria: "February 20.—Went with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington to Mr Fendalls to make a visit to Col<sup>o</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> [Henry] Lee.—dined and returned home in the Evening."—*Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

At Mount Vernon: "February 22.—Rid to Muddy hole Dogue run & Frenchs Plantation. . . . On my return home found Mr Bryan Fairfax, his wife & daughter here."—*Washington's Diary*.

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<sup>1</sup> The favorite nephew of General Washington, and devisee under his will of the Mount Vernon estate.

"February 23.—At home all day. In the Evening Mr Griffith came in and stayed all Night. February 24.—After breakfast Mr. Fairfax, his wife & daughter—and Mr Griffith went away."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SATURDAY, MARCH 3.

At Mount Vernon: "March 3.—The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Weems, and y<sup>e</sup> Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik who came here yesterday in the afternoon left this about Noon for Port Tob<sup>o</sup> [Port Tobacco, Maryland]."—*Washington's Diary*.

The visitor at Mount Vernon, Mason Locke Weems, was the author of that curious compound of fact and fancy, religion and morality, which was published at George-Town in 1800, with the title, "A History of the Life and Death, Virtues and Exploits, of General George Washington; dedicated to Mrs. Washington; and containing a great many curious and valuable Anecdotes, tending to throw much light on the *private* as well as *public* life and character of that very Extraordinary Man; the whole happily calculated to furnish a feast of true Washingtonian Entertainment and Improvement, both to ourselves and our children." The original production, after going through several editions, was almost entirely rewritten, and issued in 1808 as the sixth edition, with the title, "The Life of George Washington; with curious Anecdotes, equally honorable to Himself, and exemplary to his young Countrymen." This is the book in which *the hatchet story*, *the cabbage-seed story*, etc., etc., first appeared, and which, notwithstanding its fabrications and fanciful anecdotes, has been more widely known and read than all the other biographies and sketches of Washington. Since that date (1808) more than fifty editions have been issued, the last bearing date 1891. In several years two editions were printed, and in 1816 three appeared, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth.

#### THURSDAY, MARCH 15.

At Mount Vernon: "March 15.—Went out with my Compass in order to Mark the ground at Muddy hole intended for experiments, into half acre lotts, and two other pieces adjoining—all in field N<sup>o</sup> 2—into 10 acre lotts—Also to mark the lines which divide field N<sup>o</sup> 1 from N<sup>o</sup> 2 & 3—and the fields 6 & 7 at Dogue Run."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, MARCH 25.

At Mount Vernon: "Most of the legislatures have appointed, and the rest it is said will appoint, delegates to meet at Philadelphia on the second Monday in May next in a general convention of the States, to revise and correct the



defects of the federal system. Congress have also recognised and recommended the measure.”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

On February 21, Congress in session passed the following resolution: “That in the opinion of Congress it is expedient, that, on the second Monday in May next, a convention of delegates, who shall have been appointed by the several States, be held at Philadelphia, for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein, as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the federal constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union.”

Early in December, 1786, the General Assembly of Virginia appointed Washington one of the delegates from that State to attend a proposed general convention of all the States, to be held at Philadelphia, which was subsequently recommended by Congress in the foregoing resolution. Washington at first declined the appointment, but at the urgent solicitation of the Governor of the State (Edmund Randolph) and others, finally consented to serve.

#### MONDAY, APRIL 16.

At Alexandria: “*April 16.*—Went up to Alexandria to the Election of Delegates to Represent the Country in General Assembly—when Col<sup>o</sup> [George] Mason and Doct<sup>r</sup> [David] Stuart were chosen.—Returned in the Evening, accompanied by Col<sup>o</sup> Mason—his two Sons William and George & his Son-in-Law Col<sup>o</sup> Cooke.”—*Washington's Diary.*

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 26.

At Mount Vernon: “*April 26.*—Receiving an Express between 4 & 5 o'clock this afternoon informing me of the extreme illness of my Mother and Sister Lewis I resolved to set out for Fredericksburgh by daylight in the Morning—and spent the evening in writing some letters on business respecting the Meeting of the Cincinnati to the Secretary General of the Society Gen<sup>l</sup> Knox.”—*Washington's Diary.*

“*April 26.*—Though so much afflicted with a rheumatic complaint (of which I have not been entirely free for six months) as to be under the necessity of carrying my arm in a sling for the last ten days, I had fixed on Monday next for my departure [for Philadelphia], and had made every



necessary arrangement for the purpose, when (within this hour) I am called by an express, who assures me not a moment is to be lost to see a mother and only sister (who are supposed to be in the agonies of death) expire; and I am hastening to obey this melancholy call, after having just buried a brother [John Augustine Washington] who was the intimate companion of my youth, and the friend of my ripened age.”—*Washington to General Knox.*

FRIDAY, APRIL 27.

At Fredericksburg: “*April 27.*—About sun rise I commenced my journey as intended—Bated at Dumfries, and reached Fredericksburgh before two o’clock and found both my Mother & Sister better than I expected—the latter out of danger as is supposed, but the extreme low state in w<sup>ch</sup> the former was, left little hope of her recovery as she was exceedingly reduced and much debilitated by age and the disorder—Dined and lodged at my Sisters.”—*Washington’s Diary.*

“*April 28.*—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Lewis’s and Drank Tea at Judge Mercers;—Gen<sup>l</sup> [George] Weedon, Col<sup>o</sup> Ch<sup>s</sup> Carter, Judge [James] Mercer, and M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Lewis and his wife dined with me at my sisters. *April 29.*—Dined at Col<sup>o</sup> Charles Carters—and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> John Lewis’s. *April 30.*—Set out about Sunrise on my return home.—halted at Dumfries for about an hour where I breakfasted—reached home about 6 oclock in a sm<sup>l</sup> shower, which did not continue (and that not hard) for more than 15 Minutes.”—*Washington’s Diary.*

THURSDAY, MAY 3.

At Mount Vernon: “*May 3.*—Rid to the Fishing landing—and thence to the Ferry, Frenchs, Dogue Run, and Muddy hole Plantations with my Nephew G. W. [George Augustine Washington<sup>1</sup>] to explain to him the Nature, and the ord<sup>r</sup> of the business at each as I would have it carried on during my absence at the Convention in Philadelphia.”—*Washington’s Diary.*

MONDAY, MAY 7.

At Mount Vernon: “*May 7.*—At home preparing for my journey to Philadelphia.”—*Washington’s Diary.*

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<sup>1</sup> Son of Charles Washington.

"May 8.—The weather being squally with Showers I defer<sup>d</sup> setting off till the Morning—M<sup>r</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Lee came in to dinner but left it afterwards."—*Washington's Diary*.

### WEDNESDAY, MAY 9.

Leaves Mount Vernon : "May 9.—Crossed from M<sup>t</sup> Vernon to M<sup>r</sup> Digges a little after Sun rise & pursuing the Rout by the way of Baltimore—dined at M<sup>r</sup> Rich<sup>d</sup> Hendersons in Bladensb<sup>g</sup> and lodged at Maj<sup>r</sup> Snowdens where feeling very severely a violent h<sup>d</sup> ach & sick stomach I went to bed early."—*Washington's Diary*.

"May 10.—Very great appearances of Rain in the morning, & a little falling, induced me, tho' well recovered to wait till ab<sup>t</sup> 8 oclock before I set off—At one Oclock I arrived at Baltimore—Dined at the Fountain [Inn], & Supped & lodged at Doct<sup>r</sup> [James] M<sup>c</sup>Henrys—Slow Rain in the Evening. May 11.—Set off before breakfast—rid 12 Miles to Skerretts for it—baited there and proceeded without halting (weather threatning) to the Ferry at Havre de gras where I dined but could not cross the wind being turbulent & squally—lodged here. May 12.—With difficulty (on acc<sup>t</sup> of the Wind) crossed the Susquehanna—Breakfasted at the Ferry house on the East side—Dined at the head of Elk (Hollingsworths Tavern)—and lodged at Wilmington at O'Flins [Tavern]—at the head of Elk I was overtaken by M<sup>r</sup> Francis Corbin who took a seat in my Carriage."—*Washington's Diary*.

### SUNDAY, MAY 13.

At Philadelphia : "May 13.—About 8 Oclock M<sup>r</sup> Corbin and myself set out, and dined at Chester (M<sup>rs</sup> Withys) where I was met by the Gen<sup>l</sup> Mifflin (now Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly) Knox and Varnum—The Colonels Humphreys and Minges [Francis Mentges]—and Majors [William] Jackson and [Francis] Nicholas—With whom I proceeded to Philad<sup>a</sup>—at Grays Ferry the City light horse commanded by Col<sup>o</sup> [Samuel] Miles met me and escorted me in by the Artillery Officers who stood arranged & saluted as I passed—alighted through a crowd at M<sup>rs</sup> Houses<sup>1</sup>—but being again warmly and kindly pressed by M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Morris to lodge with them I did so and had my baggage

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Mary House kept a boarding-house at the corner of Fifth and Market Streets.

removed thither<sup>1</sup>—Waited on the President [of the State] Doct<sup>r</sup> Franklin as soon as I got to Town—On my arrival, the Bells were chimed.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*Philadelphia, May 14.*—Yesterday His Excellency General WASHINGTON, a member of the grand convention, arrived here,—He was met at some distance and escorted into the city by the troop of horse, and saluted at his entrance by the artillery. The joy of the people on the coming of this great and good man was shewn by their acclamations and the ringing of bells.”—*Pennsylvania Packet*.

#### MONDAY, MAY 14.

At Philadelphia: “*May 14.*—This being the day appointed for the Convention to meet, such Members as were in town assembled at the State H<sup>o</sup><sup>2</sup> but only two States being represented—viz—Virginia & Pennsylvania—agreed to attend at the same place at 11 O'clock to morrow. Dined in a family way at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*May 15.*—Repaired, at the hour appointed to the State H<sup>o</sup>, but no more States being represented than were yesterday (tho' several more members had come in) we agreed to meet again to morrow.—Gov<sup>r</sup> [Edmund] Randolph from Virginia came in to day. Dined with the Members, to the Gen<sup>l</sup> Meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati. *May 16.*—No more than two States being yet represented, agreed till a quorum of them should be formed to alter the hour of Meeting at the State house to one O'clock. Dined at the President Doct<sup>r</sup> Franklin's—and drank Tea, and spent the evening at M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Penns. *May 17.*—M<sup>r</sup> [John] Rutledge from Charleston and M<sup>r</sup> Ch. Pinkney from Congress having arrived gave a Representation to S<sup>o</sup> Carolina—and Col<sup>o</sup> [George] Mason getting in this Evening placed all the Delegates from Virginia on the floor of Convention. Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Powells<sup>3</sup> and dr<sup>k</sup> Tea there. *May 18.*—The Representation from New York appeared on the floor to day. Dined at Greys ferry, and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's—after which accompanied M<sup>rs</sup> and some other Ladies to hear a M<sup>rs</sup> O'Connell read (a charity affair) the lady being reduced in circumstances had had recourse to this expedient to obtain a little money—her perform<sup>e</sup> was toler-

<sup>1</sup> Robert Morris resided on the south side of Market Street, below Sixth.

<sup>2</sup> The sessions of the Convention were held in the eastern room on the first floor, “Independence Chamber.”

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Powel, mayor of Philadelphia in 1775 and 1789, lived at No. 112 Third Street, between Walnut and Spruce. The house, which is still standing, is now known as No. 244 South Third Street. Mr. Powel married Elizabeth Willing, sister of Thomas Willing, the well-known merchant. Washington was a frequent visitor at this house during his stay in the city.



able—at the College Hall [Fourth, below Arch Street]. May 19.—No more States represented—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> [Jared] Ingersolls—spent the evening at my lodgings & Retired to my Room soon.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, MAY 20.

At Philadelphia: “May 20.—Dined with M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Morris and other Company at their farm (called the Hills<sup>1</sup>)—Returned in the afternoon & drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Powells.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“May 21.—Delaware State was represented. Dined and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Bingham<sup>2</sup> in great splendor. May 22.—The Representation from N<sup>o</sup> Carolina was compleated which made a representation for five States. Dined and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's.”—*Washington's Diary*.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 23.

At Philadelphia: “May 23.—No more States being represented I rid to Gen<sup>l</sup> Mifflins<sup>3</sup> to breakfast—after which in Company with him M<sup>r</sup> Madison, M<sup>r</sup> Rutledge, and others I crossed the Schuylkill above the Falls—visited M<sup>r</sup> [Richard] Peters<sup>4</sup> M<sup>r</sup> [John] Penns Seat,—and M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Hamiltons.

“Dined at M<sup>r</sup> [Benjamin] Chews [No. 110 South Third

<sup>1</sup> “The Hills,” which originally comprised eighty acres, lay upon the east bank of the Schuylkill River, north of Fairmount Hill, and extended to the Ridge Road. That portion of the land upon which the mansion-house stood, known in later years as Lemon Hill, is included in Fairmount Park.

<sup>2</sup> William Bingham, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, 1787–88, and United States Senator, 1795–1801, married Anna, daughter of Thomas Willing, October 26, 1780. Mrs. Willing was distinguished for her beauty, elegance of manner, and profuse hospitality. The Bingham Mansion, on Third Street, above Spruce, was one of the finest private residences of the day.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Mifflin's country house was on the Ridge Road, at the Falls of Schuylkill, on the east side of the river, in what is now the Twenty-eighth Ward of the city of Philadelphia. The house was taken down quite recently.

<sup>4</sup> The Peters estate, on the high land west of the Schuylkill River, about one mile and a half below the Falls, and known as “Belmont,” is now in Fairmount Park. The house, erected in 1745, is still standing and occupied as a Park restaurant. Richard Peters, Judge of the United States District Court for Pennsylvania from 1792 until his death in 1818, was a warm personal friend of General Washington.



Street]—with the Wedding guests (Col<sup>o</sup> [John Eager] Howard of Baltimore having married his daughter Peggy)—Drank Tea there in a very large Circle of Ladies.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“ May 24.—No more States represented. Dined, and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> John Ross's.<sup>1</sup> One of my Postilion boys (Paris) being sick, requested Doct<sup>r</sup> [John] Jones to attend him.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### FRIDAY, MAY 25.

At Philadelphia: “ May 25.—Another Delegate coming in from the State of New Jersey gave it a Representation and encreased the number to Seven which forming a quorum of the 13 the Members present resolved to organize the body; when by a unanimous vote I was called up to the Chair as President of the body.—Maj<sup>r</sup> William Jackson was appointed Secretary—and a Com<sup>ee</sup> was chosen consisting of 3 Members<sup>2</sup> to prepare Rules & Regulations for conducting the business—and after appointing door keepers the Convention adjourned till Monday, to give time to the Com<sup>ee</sup> to report the Matter referred to them.

“Returned many visits to day—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Willings<sup>3</sup>—and sp<sup>t</sup> the evening at my lodgings.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“ May 26.—Returned all my visits this forenoon dined with a club at the City Tavern [Second Street, above Walnut] and spent the evening at my quarters writing letters. May 27.—Went to the Romish Church [St. Mary's, Fourth Street, above Spruce]—to high Mass—Dined, drank Tea, and spent the evening at my lodging.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, MAY 28.

At Philadelphia: “ May 28.—Met in Convention at 10 Oclock. Two States more—viz—Massachusetts and con-

<sup>1</sup> A prominent shipping merchant and importing agent of Philadelphia. A Scotchman by birth.

<sup>2</sup> George Wythe, Alexander Hamilton, and Charles Pinckney.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Willing, the head of the mercantile house of Willing & Morris (Robert Morris the financier), resided at the southwest corner of Third Street and Willing's Alley, below Walnut Street. He was the first president of the Bank of North America, the first bank chartered in this country, 1781.

necticut were on the floor to day. Established Rules—agreeably to the plan bro<sup>t</sup> in by the Com<sup>es</sup> for the governm<sup>t</sup> of the Convention & adjourned.—No com<sup>ns</sup> [communications] without doors.<sup>1</sup>

“Dined at home, and drank Tea in a large circle at Mr [Tench] Francis’s.”—*Washington’s Diary*.

“May 29.—Attended Convention—and dined at home—after w<sup>ch</sup> accompanied Mr<sup>s</sup> Morris to the benefit Concert [at the City Tavern] of a Mr Jutan [Juhan]. May 30.—Dined with Mr [John] Vaughan—drank Tea, and spent the evening at a Wednesday evening party at Mr & Mr<sup>s</sup> Lawrences.<sup>2</sup> May 31.—The State of Georgia came on the Floor of the Convention to day which made a Representation of ten States. Dined at Mr Francis’s and drank Tea with Mr<sup>s</sup> Meridith.”—*Washington’s Diary*.

#### FRIDAY, JUNE 1.

At Philadelphia: “June 1.—Attending in Convention—and nothing being suffered to transpire no minutes of the proceedings has been, or will be inserted in this diary.

“Dined with Mr John Penn, and spent the evening at a superb entertainment at Bush Hill given by Mr [William] Hamilton—at which were more than an hundred guests.”—*Washington’s Diary*.

The estate called “Bush Hill,” purchased in 1729 by Andrew Hamilton, the eminent lawyer, was part of the Springettsbury Manor. It lay north of Vine Street, in what is now the Fifteenth Ward of the city of Philadelphia, and the mansion, erected about 1740, stood on the north side of the present Buttonwood Street, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth Streets. It was occupied by John Adams during a portion of his term as Vice-President, and was destroyed by fire about the year 1808.

#### SATURDAY, JUNE 2.

At Philadelphia: “June 2.—Mr [Daniel of St. Thomas] Jenifer coming in with sufficient powers for the purpose, gave a representation to Maryland; which brought all the States in the Union into Convention except Rhode Island which had refused to send delegates thereto.

<sup>1</sup> One of the rules adopted by the Convention, to be observed in their proceedings as standing orders, reads thus: “That nothing spoken in the House be printed, or otherwise published, or communicated without leave.”

<sup>2</sup> John Lawrence, mayor of Philadelphia, 1765–66, and justice of the Supreme Court, 1767–76.

"Dined at the City Tavern with the Club & spent the evening at my own quarters. *June 3.*—Dined at Mr [George] Clymers and drank Tea there also."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### MONDAY, JUNE 4.

At Philadelphia: "*June 4.*—Attended Convention.—Representation as on Saturday. Reviewed (at the importunity of Gen<sup>l</sup> Mifflin and the officers) the Light Infantry—Cavalry—and part of the Artillery of the City.

"Dined with Gen<sup>l</sup> Mifflin & dr<sup>k</sup> Tea with Miss Cadwallader."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*June 4.*—In the evening my wife and I went to Market Street to see that great and good man General Washington. We had a full view of him and Major Jackson, who walked with him, but the number of people who followed him on all sides was astonishing. He had been out on the field to review Captain Samuel Miles with his Troop of Horse, the light infantry and artillery."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer.*

#### TUESDAY, JUNE 5.

At Philadelphia: "*June 5.*—Dined at Mr Morris's with a large Company & spent the Evening there—Attended in Convention the usual hours."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*June 6.*—In Convention as usual—Dined at the Presidents (Doct<sup>r</sup> Franklins) & drank Tea there—after which returned to my lodgings and wrote letters for France. *June 7.*—Attended Convention as usual—Dined with a Club of Convention Members at the Indian Queen [Tavern, Fourth, above Chestnut Street]—Drank Tea & spent the evening at my lodgings. *June 8.*—Attended the Convention.—Dined, drank Tea, and spent the evening at my lodg<sup>gs</sup>. *June 9.*—At Convention—Dined with the Club at the City Tavern—Drank Tea & set till 10 o'clock at Mr Powells."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### SUNDAY, JUNE 10.

At Philadelphia: "*June 10.*—Breakfasted at Mr Powells, and in Company with him rid to see the Botanical Garden of Mr [William] Bartram; which, tho' stored with many curious plants, Shrubs & trees, many of which are exotics was not laid off with much taste, nor was it large.

"From hence we rid to the Farm of one Jones, to see the effect of the plaister of Paris which appeared obviously great. . . . From hence we visited Mr Powells own farm



after which I went (by appointment) to the Hills & dined with M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Morris—Returned to the City ab<sup>t</sup> dark.”—*Washington's Diary*.

The Bartram gardens, the first botanical gardens in the United States, were founded in 1728 by John Bartram, a distinguished botanist of Philadelphia. They were situated on the west bank of the Schuylkill River, a short distance below the lower ferry, afterward called Gray's Ferry. The house, built by him in 1731, is still standing. John Bartram, cited by Linnæus as the greatest natural botanist in the world, died September 2, 1777; he was succeeded by his son William, who had like tastes. Both father and son travelled extensively through the United States, collecting specimens. The gardens, comprising about seven acres in what is now the Twenty-seventh Ward of the city of Philadelphia, were purchased with some additional land in 1891, by the city, for a public park.

#### MONDAY, JUNE 11.

At Philadelphia: “June 11.—Attended in Convention—Dined, drank Tea, and spent the evening in my own Room.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“June 12.—Dined and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's—went afterwards to a concert [of Mr. Reinagle] at the City Tavern. June 13.—In Convention—dined at M<sup>r</sup> Clymers & drank Tea there. Spent the evening at M<sup>r</sup> Bingham's. June 14.—Dined at Major [Thomas Lloyd] Moores (after being in Convention) and spent the evening at my own lodgings. June 15.—In Convention as usual—dined at M<sup>r</sup> Powells & drank Tea there. June 16.—In Convention—Dined with the Club at the City Tavern—and drank Tea at Doct<sup>r</sup> Shippins with M<sup>rs</sup> Livingstons party.”<sup>1</sup>—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, JUNE 17.

At Philadelphia: “June 17.—Went to [Christ] Church—heard Bishop White preach, and see him ordain two Gentlemen Deacons—after w<sup>ch</sup> rid 8 Miles into the Country and dined with M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Ross in Chester County—Returned in the Afternoon.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“June 18.—Attended the Convention—Dined at the Quarterly Meeting of the Sons of St Patrick at the City Tav<sup>n</sup>—Drank Tea at D<sup>r</sup> Shippins with M<sup>rs</sup> Livingston. June 19.—Dined (after leaving Convention) in a family way at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's and spent the Evening there in a very large Company.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. William Shippen, the younger, and his daughter Anne Hume, who married Henry Beekman Livingston, son of Robert R. Livingston, March 11, 1781.



*June 20.*—Attended Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> [Samuel] Meridiths<sup>1</sup> & drank Tea there. *June 21.*—Attended Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Pragers, and spent the evening in my Chamber. *June 22.*—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's & drank Tea with M<sup>r</sup> Frans. Hopkinson. *June 23.*—In Convention—Dined at Doct<sup>r</sup> [Thomas] Ruston & drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's. *June 24.*—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's & spent the evening at M<sup>r</sup> Meridiths—at Tea. *June 25.*—Attended Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's—drank Tea there & spent the evening in my chamber. *June 26.*—Attended Convention—partook of a family dinner with Gov<sup>r</sup> Randolph,—and made one of a party to drink Tea at Grays Ferry.<sup>2</sup> *June 27.*—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's—drank Tea there also—and spent the evening in my own chamber. *June 28.*—Attended Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's in a large Company (the news of his Bills being protested arriving last Night a little Mal-apropos)—Drank Tea there & spent the evening in my chamber. *June 29.*—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's and spent the evening there."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SATURDAY, JUNE 30.

At Philadelphia: "*June 30.*—Attended Convention—Dined with a Club at Springsbury [? Springettsbury]—consisting of several associated families of the City—the Gentlemen of which met every Saturday accompanied by the females of the families every other Saturday—this was the ladies day."—*Washington's Diary*.

Of this dining club, known as the "Cold Spring Club," we have been unable to obtain any information other than the fact that Tench Francis, the first cashier of the Bank of North America, acted as treasurer for it in the summers of 1786 and 1787. It is presumed that the place of meeting must have been at some point in the Springettsbury Manor, a large tract of land adjoining the city of Philadelphia on the northwest, and in which there were a number of large springs. Besides the Saturday above mentioned, Washington dined with the club, as appears by his Diary, on July 7, 14, 21, 28, on August 11 and 25, and on September 8.

<sup>1</sup> Member of Congress 1787–88, and Treasurer of the United States from 1789 to 1801.

<sup>2</sup> The garden at Gray's Ferry, on the west side of the Schuylkill River, three miles southwest of the city, was one of the most popular resorts of the day. The grounds were laid out with pleasant walks and ornamental shrubbery, and every means, such as concerts, fireworks, and the like, were used to make the place attractive. Out-of-door parties attended by the best people of the city were frequently held at the garden, and on several public occasions fêtes were given by the proprietors, George and Robert Gray. Manasseh Cutler, who visited the garden at Gray's Ferry, July 14, 1787, gives in his journal an elaborate description of the beauty and arrangement of the grounds.

## SUNDAY, JULY 1.

At Philadelphia: "Every body wishes, every body expects something from the convention; but what will be the final result of its deliberation, the book of fate must disclose. Persuaded I am, that the primary cause of all our disorders lies in the different State governments, and in the tenacity of that power, which pervades the whole of their systems." — *Washington to David Stuart*.

"July 1.—Dined and spent the evening at home. July 2.—Attended Convention—Dined with some of the Members of Convention at the Indian Queen. Drank Tea at Mr Bingham's, and walked afterwards in the State house yard. Set this Morning for Mr [Robert Edge] Pine who wanted to correct his port<sup>t</sup> of me."<sup>1</sup>—*Washington's Diary*.

## TUESDAY, JULY 3.

At Philadelphia: "July 3.—Sat before the meeting of the Convention for Mr [Charles Willson] Peale who wanted my picture to make a print or Metzotinto by."<sup>2</sup> Dined at Mr Morris's and drank Tea at Mr<sup>s</sup> Powells—after which in Company with him, I attended the agricultural Society at Carpenters Hall."<sup>3</sup>—*Washington's Diary*.

"July 3.—Returning from a visit to my meadow before breakfast, with my daughter Hannah, we met His Excellency General Washington taking a ride on horseback, only his coachman Giles with him."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 4.

At Philadelphia: July 4.—Visited Doct<sup>r</sup> Shovats Anatomical figures—and (the Convention having adjourned for

<sup>1</sup> The portrait painted by Mr. Pine at Mount Vernon in May, 1785.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Peale made several copies of the bust portrait resulting from this and the subsequent sittings noted in the Diary, under dates of July 6 and 9. The mezzotinto executed from it is well known to collectors, although impressions of it have become extremely rare. A description of this interesting print will be found on page 18 of Baker's "Engraved Portraits of Washington."

<sup>3</sup> This building, in which the sessions of the Congress of 1774 (the First Continental Congress) were held, and to which Washington was a delegate, was erected by "The Carpenters Company of the City and County of Philadelphia" in 1770. It is still standing in perfect preservation, back from the south side of Chestnut Street, below Fourth

the purpose) went to hear an Oration on the Anniversary of Independence delivered by a Mr Mitchell a student of Law. —After which I dined with the State Society of the Cincinnati at Epplees Tavern [No. 117 Race Street], and drank Tea at Mr Powells.”—*Washington's Diary*.

The *Pennsylvania Journal* of July 4, in the following notice of this celebration of the anniversary of independence, gives a different name for the orator of the day from that in the Diary: “THIS MORNING, at the hour of eleven being the *Anniversary of Independence*, an Oration will be pronounced by *James Campbell*, esquire, in honor of the day, at the Reformed Calvinist Church, in Race-street [below Fourth, south side]—the business of the day to be introduced by Prayer, by the Rev. *William Rogers*, and the doors to be opened at 10 o'clock.”

#### THURSDAY, JULY 5.

At Philadelphia: “*July 5.*—Attended Convention—Dined at Mr Morris's and drank Tea there—spent the evening also.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*July 6.*—Sat for Mr Peale in the Morning—attended Convention—Dined at the City Tavern with some members of Convention—and spent the evening at my lodgings. *July 7.*—Attended Convention—Dined with the Club at Springsburg—and drank Tea at Mr Meridiths.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, JULY 8.

At Philadelphia: “*July 8.*—About 12 Oclock rid to Doct<sup>r</sup> Logans<sup>1</sup> near Germantown where I dined—Returned in the evening and drank Tea at Mr Morris's.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*July 9.*—Sat in the Morning for Mr Peale—Attended Convention—Dined at Mr Morris's—& accompanied M<sup>rs</sup> Morris to Doct<sup>r</sup> [John] Redmans 8 Miles in the Country where we drank Tea and returned. *July 10.*—Attended Convention—Dined at Mr Morris's—Drank Tea at Mr Bingham's & went to the Play [at the Southwark Theatre]. *July 11.*—Attended Convention—Dined at Mr Morris's and spent the evening there. *July 12.*—In Convention—Dined at Mr Morris's & drank Tea with M<sup>rs</sup> Livingston.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. George Logan resided at “Stenton,” on the Germantown road, a short distance below Germantown. The house built in 1728 by his grandfather James Logan is still standing. Washington passed the night of August 23, 1777, at “Stenton,” when on his way to meet the British army under General Howe, at the Chesapeake.



July 13.—In Convention—Dined, drank Tea & spent the Evening at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's. July 14.—In Convention—Dined at Springsbury with the Club—and went to the play in the Afternoon. July 15.—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's & remained at home all day. July 16.—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's and drank Tea with M<sup>rs</sup> Powell."—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, JULY 17.

At Philadelphia: "July 17.—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>rs</sup> House's, and made an excursion with a party for Tea to Grays Ferry."—*Washington's Diary*.

"July 17.—In the afternoon went with my wife, Matthew Clarkson, and Mr. & Mrs. Barge to Mr. Grays ferry, where we saw the great improvements made in the garden, summer houses, and walks in the woods. General Washington and a number of other gentlemen of the present Convention, came down to spend the afternoon."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 18.

At Philadelphia: "July 18.—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> [Robert] Milligans—and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Meridiths."—*Washington's Diary*.

"July 19.—Dined (after coming out of Convention) at M<sup>r</sup> John Penn the Youngers—Drank Tea & spent the evening at my lodgings. July 20.—In Convention—Dined at home and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Clymers. July 21.—In Convention—Dined at Springsbury with the Club of Gentl<sup>m</sup> & Ladies—Went to the Play afterwards."—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, JULY 22.

At Philadelphia: "July 22.—Left Town by 5 oclock A.M. —breakfasted at Gen<sup>l</sup> Mifflins—Rode up with him & others to the Spring Mills<sup>1</sup> and returned to Gen<sup>l</sup> Mifflins to Dinner after which proceeded to the City."—*Washington's Diary*.

"July 23.—In Convention as usual—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's and drank Tea at Lansdown<sup>2</sup> (the Seat of M<sup>r</sup> [John] Penn) [the elder]. July 24.—In Con-

<sup>1</sup> On the Schuylkill, a short distance below Conshohocken, the *Matson's Ford* of the Revolution. The old mill, said to be the oldest grist-mill in Pennsylvania, is still in operation.

<sup>2</sup> "Lansdowne," originally one of the finest properties on the west bank of the Schuylkill, and immediately south of "Belmont," the seat of Judge Peters, is now included in Fairmount Park. The mansion-house erected by John Penn, the elder, was destroyed by fire, July 4, 1854.



vention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's, and drank Tea, by appointment & part<sup>r</sup> Invitation at Doct<sup>r</sup> [Benjamin] Rush's. *July 25.*—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's, drank Tea & spent the evening there. *July 26.*—In Convention.—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's, drank Tea there, and stayed within all the Afternoon."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### FRIDAY, JULY 27.

At Philadelphia: "*July 27.*—In Convention, which adjourned this day, to meet again on Monday the 6<sup>th</sup> of August<sup>1</sup> that a Com<sup>ee</sup> which had been appointed (consisting of 5 members<sup>2</sup>) might have time to arrange, and draw into method & form the several matters which had been agreed to by the Convention as a Constitution for the United States.

"Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's, and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Powells."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*July 28.*—Dined with the Club at Springsbury—Drank Tea there—and spent the Evening at my lodgings. *July 29.*—Dined and spent the whole day at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's principally in writing letters."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### MONDAY, JULY 30.

Near Valley Forge: "*July 30.*—In company with M<sup>r</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> [Gouverneur] Morris, and in his Phæton with my horses; went up to one Jane Moores in the vicinity of Valley Forge to get Trout."—*Washington's Diary.*

The Jane Moore referred to was the owner and occupant of two hundred and seventy-five acres of land in Upper Merion Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. The property was situated about one mile west of the Schuylkill River, on Trout Creek, a stream which has its source in Chester County near the present village of Berwyn, and empties into the Schuylkill three miles *below* Valley Forge. It has been stated that "Moore Hall," the seat of William Moore, Esq., three miles *above* Valley Forge, was the objective point of the excursion recorded in the diary. This is undoubtedly an error. William Moore died May 30, 1782, and his widow Williamina, December 6, 1784, after which the family removed to Philadelphia. "Moore Hall" was advertised for private sale July 5, 1787, and offered at public vendue October 17, 1787. It was probably not occupied in July of

<sup>1</sup> According to the Journal of the Convention in the archives of the Department of State, Washington D.C., the adjournment to August 6 was made on July 26, and not on the 27th, as stated by Washington.

<sup>2</sup> John Rutledge, Edmund Randolph, Nathaniel Gorham, Oliver Ellsworth, and James Wilson.

that year. The mistake doubtless had its origin in an item printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* (and other Philadelphia papers), Wednesday, August 1, 1787: "Monday his Excellency General Washington set out for Moore Hall in order to visit his old quarters at the Valley Forge in this State." A statement at variance with the Diary entry.

## TUESDAY, JULY 31.

At Valley Forge: "*July 31.*—Whilst M<sup>r</sup> Morris was fishing I rid over the old Cantonment of the American [army] of the Winter 1777 & 8—visited all the Works w<sup>ch</sup> were in Ruins; and the Incampments in woods where the ground had not been cultivated. . . . On my Return to M<sup>rs</sup> Moores I found M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Morris & his Lady there."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*August 1.*—About 11 o'clock, after it had ceased raining, we all set out for the City—and dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's. *August 2.*—Dined, Drank Tea & spent the Evening at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's."—*Washington's Diary*.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3.<sup>1</sup>

At Trenton, New Jersey: "*August 3.*—In company with M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Morris and his Lady—and M<sup>r</sup> Gouv<sup>r</sup> Morris I went up to Trenton on another Fishing party—lodged at Col<sup>o</sup> Sam Ogdens at the Trenton Works—In the Evening fished, not very successfully."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*August 4.*—In the morning, and between breakfast & dinner, fished again with more success (for perch) than yesterday—Dined at Gen<sup>l</sup> [Philemon] Dickenson's on the East side of the River a little above Trenton & returned in the evening to Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden's. *August 5.*—Dined at Col<sup>o</sup> Ogdens, early; after which in the company with which I came, I returned to Philadelphia at which we arrived ab<sup>t</sup> 9 Ocl<sup>k</sup>."—*Washington's Diary*.

## MONDAY, AUGUST 6.

At Philadelphia: "*August 6.*—Met according to adjournment in Convention, & received the Rep<sup>t</sup> of the Committee

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<sup>1</sup> "*Philadelphia, August 4.*—His Excellency General Washington attentive to every thing interesting to his country, yesterday [August 3] visited and examined the steel furnace belonging to Nancarrow and Matlack, lately rebuilt, in this city. It is much the largest and best constructed furnace in America, being charged with fourteen tons of iron at that time, converting into steel; and His Excellency was pleased to express his approbation of it."—*Pennsylvania Packet*.

—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Meridiths."  
—*Washington's Diary*.

"August 7.—In convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's and spent the evening there also. August 8.—In Convention—Dined at the City Tavern and remained there till near ten oclock. August 9.—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> [John] Swanwicks and spent the Aftern<sup>n</sup> in my own Room—reading letters and acc<sup>ts</sup> from home. August 10.—Dined (after coming out of Convention) at M<sup>r</sup> Bingham and drank Tea there—spent the evening at my lodgings. August 11.—In Convention—Dined at the Club at Springsbury and after Tea returned home. August 12.—Dined at Bush-hill with M<sup>r</sup> William Hamilton—Spent the evening at home writing letters. August 13.—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's, and drank Tea with M<sup>rs</sup> Richard Bache, at the President's. August 14.—In Convention—Dined, drank Tea, and spent the evening at home. August 15.—The same as yesterday. August 16.—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> [Oliver] Pollocks & spent the evening in my chamber. August 17.—In Convention—Dined and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Powells. August 18.—In Convention—Dined at Chief Justice [Thomas] McKeans—spent the afternoon & evening at my lodgings."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, AUGUST 19.

At Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania: "August 19.—In company with M<sup>r</sup> Powell rode up to the White Marsh—traversed my old Incampment,<sup>1</sup> and contemplated on the dangers which threatened the American Army at that place—Dined at Germantown—visited M<sup>r</sup> Blair M<sup>c</sup>Clenegan<sup>2</sup>—drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Peter's [Belmont] and returned to Philadelphia in the evening."—*Washington's Diary*.

"August 20.—In Convention—Dined, drank Tea and spent the evening at M<sup>r</sup> Morris. August 21.—Did the like this day also. August 22.—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's farm at the Hills—visited at M<sup>r</sup> Powells in the Afternoon. August 23.—In Convention—Dined, drank Tea & spent the evening at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's. August 24.—Did the same this day. August 25.—In Convention—Dined with the Club at Springsbury & spent the afternoon at my lodgings. August 26.—Rode into the Country for exercise 8 or

<sup>1</sup> The Continental army was encamped at Whitemarsh, twelve miles north of Philadelphia, from November 2 to December 11, 1777.

<sup>2</sup> Blair McClenachan, a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, was at this time a resident of the historic Chew House (Cliveden) at Germantown, still standing, which he had purchased from Benjamin Chew in September, 1779. He retained the ownership until April, 1797, when he reconveyed the property to Judge Chew.



10 miles—Dined at the Hills and spent the evening in my chamber writing letters. *August 27.*—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Powells. *August 28.*—In Convention—Dined, drank Tea, and spent the evening at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's. *August 29.*—Did the same as yesterday. *August 30.*—Again the same. *August 31.*—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's and with a Party went to Lansdale [Lansdowne] & drank Tea with M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Penn. *September 1.*—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris after coming out of Convention and drank Tea there. *September 2.*—Rode to M<sup>r</sup> Bartrams and other places in the Country,—dined & drank Tea at Grays ferry and returned to the City in the evening."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

At Philadelphia: "*September 3.*—In Convention—visited a Machine at Doct<sup>r</sup> Franklins (called a Mangle) for pressing, in place of Ironing, clothes from the wash—Which Machine from the facility with which it dispatches business is well calculated for Table cloths & such articles as have not pleats & irregular foldings and would be very useful in all large families—Dined, drank Tea & spent the evening at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*September 4.*—In Convention—Dined &c at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's. *September 5.*—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>rs</sup> Houses & drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Bingham's. *September 6.*—In Convention—Dined at Doct<sup>r</sup> [James] Hutchinsons and spent the afternoon and evening at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's. *September 7.*—In Convention—Dined, and spent the afternoon at home (except while riding a few Miles). *September 8.*—In Convention—Dined at Springsbury with the Club—and spent the evening at my lodgings. *September 9.*—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's after making a visit to M<sup>r</sup> Gardoqui (Minister from Spain) [Don Diego de Gardoqui] who as he says came from New York on a visit to me. *September 10.*—In Convention—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's & drank Tea there. *September 11.*—In Convention—Dined at home in a large Company with M<sup>r</sup> Gardoqui—drank Tea—and spent the evening there. *September 12.*—In Convention—Dined at the President's and drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Pines."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13.

At Philadelphia: "*September 13.*—Attended Convention, Dined at the Vice Presidents Cha<sup>s</sup> Biddles<sup>1</sup>—Drank Tea at M<sup>r</sup> Powells."—*Washington's Diary*.

"When he [Washington] was in the Convention I dined several times in company with him, and had the honor of his company to dine with me.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Biddle was Vice-President of Pennsylvania from October 10, 1785, to October 9, 1787.



When he was elected President of the United States, he lived during the whole of the time he was in Philadelphia nearly opposite to me. At that time I saw him almost daily. I frequently attended his levees to introduce some friend or acquaintance and called sometimes with Governor Mifflin. The General always behaved politely to the Governor, but it appeared to me that he had not forgotten the Governor's opposition to him during the Revolutionary war. He was a most elegant figure of a man, with so much dignity of manner, that no person whatever could take any improper liberties with him. I have heard Mr Robert Morris, who was as intimate with him as any man in America, say that he was the only man in whose presence he felt any awe. You would seldom see a frown or a smile on his countenance, his air was serious and reflecting, yet I have seen him in the theatre laugh heartily."—*Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, p. 284.

#### FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

At Philadelphia: "September 14.—Attended Convention—Dined at the City Tavern, at an entertainm<sup>t</sup> given on my acc<sup>t</sup> by the City light Horse.—Spent the evening at Mr Meridiths."—*Washington's Diary*.

The "City light Horse," now known as the "First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," was organized November 17, 1774. Of this crack company it has been said, "That troop proved time and time again, as Lee's and Washington's Legion subsequently proved in the Carolinas, that there is room in society for the order of gentlemen, and that in time of stress it is well for the State to have a class to call on who will die as gayly as they dance, and will pour out their blood, as they were wont to do their fortunes, for faith and honor, for sentiment and ideals."<sup>1</sup>

#### SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15.

At Philadelphia: "September 15.—Concluded the business of Convention all to signing the proceedings; to effect which the House sat till 6 o'clock; and adjourned till Monday that the Constitution which it was proposed to offer to the People might be engrossed—and a number of printed copies struck off—Dined at Mr Morris's & spent the evening there.

"Mr Gardoqui set off for his return to New York this forenoon."—*Washington's Diary*.

"September 16.—Wrote many letters in the forenoon—Dined with Mr & Mrs Morris at the Hills & returned to town in the Even<sup>g</sup>."—*Washington's Diary*.

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<sup>1</sup> Bradley T. Johnson, "Life of General Washington," p. 159.

## MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17.

At Philadelphia: "*September 17.*—Met in Convention when the Constitution received the unanimous assent of 11 States<sup>1</sup> and Col<sup>o</sup> Hamilton's from New York (the only delegate from thence in Convention) and was subscribed to by every Member present except Gov<sup>r</sup> Randolph and Col<sup>o</sup> Mason from Virginia—and M<sup>r</sup> Gerry from Massachusetts.

"The business being thus closed, the Members adjourned to the City Tavern, dined together and took a cordial leave of each other—after which I returned to my lodgings—did some business with, and received the papers from the Secretary of the Convention, and retired to meditate on the momentous w<sup>k</sup> which had been executed, after not less than five, for a large part of the time Six, and sometimes 7 hours sitting every day, sundays & the ten days adjournment to give a Com<sup>ee</sup> opportunity & time to arrange the business for more than four Months."—*Washington's Diary*.

In transmitting to the President of Congress the full text of the proposed Constitution, Washington wrote, "In all our deliberations on this subject we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."

## TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

Leaves Philadelphia: "*September 18.*—Finished what private business I had to do in the City this forenoon—took my leave of those families in w<sup>ch</sup> I had been most intimate dined early at M<sup>r</sup> Morris's with whom & M<sup>r</sup> Gouv<sup>r</sup> Morris I parted at Grays ferry—and reached Chester in Company

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<sup>1</sup> When it appeared that the consent of eleven States was recorded in favor of the Constitution, Franklin, looking toward a sun which was blazoned on the President's chair, said of it to those near him, "In the vicissitudes of hope and fear I was not able to tell whether it was rising or setting; now I know that it is the rising sun."

with M<sup>r</sup> [John] Blair who I invited to a seat in my Carriage 'till we should reach Mount Vernon."— *Washington's Diary*.

" *September 19.*—Prevented by Rain (much of which fell in the Night) from setting off till about 8 o'clock, when it ceased & promising to be fair we departed—baited at Wilmington—dined at Christiana and lodged at the head of Elk.—At the bridge near to which my horses (two of them) and Carriage had a very narrow escape, for the Rain which had fallen the preceeding evening having swelled the water considerably there was no fording it safely I was reduced to the necessity therefore of remaining on the other side or of attempting to cross on an old, rotten & long disused bridge.—Being anxious to get on I preferred the latter and in the attempt one of my horses fell 15 feet at least the other very near following which (had it happened) would have taken the Carriage with baggage along with him and destroyed the whole effectually—however by prompt assistance of some people at a Mill just by and great exertion, the first horse was disengaged from his harness, the 2<sup>d</sup> prevented from going quite through and drawn off and the Carriage rescued from hurt. *September 20.*—Sett off after an early breakfast—crossed the Susquehanna and dined in Havre de gras at the House of one Rogers—and lodged at Skirrets Tavern 12 Miles short of Baltimore. *September 21.*—Breakfasted in Baltimore—dined at the Widow Balls (formerly Spurriers)—and lodged at Major Snowdens who was not at home."— *Washington's Diary*.

#### SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

At Mount Vernon: " *September 22.*—Breakfasted at Bladensburg and passing through George Town dined in Alexandria and reached home (with M<sup>r</sup> Blair) about sun set after an absence of four Months and 14 days."— *Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24.

At Mount Vernon: " In the first moment after my return, I take the liberty of sending to you a copy of the constitution, which the federal convention has submitted to the people of these States. . . . I wish the constitution which is offered, had been more perfect; but I sincerely believe it is the best that could be obtained at this time."— *Washington to Patrick Henry*.

#### WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3.

At Abingdon: " *October 3.*—Went up with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington to Abingdon—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> [William] Herberts in Alexandria on our way."— *Washington's Diary*.



"October 4.—Dined at Abingdon and came home in the Afternoon—bro<sup>t</sup> Fanny Washington with us."—*Washington's Diary*.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5.

At Mount Vernon: "October 5.—In the Afternoon M<sup>r</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> Donald came in. October 7.—After breakfast M<sup>r</sup> Donald went away."—*Washington's Diary*.

"I staid two days with General Washington at Mount Vernon about six weeks ago. He is in perfect good health, and looks almost as well as he did twenty years ago. I never saw him so keen for anything in my life as he is for the adoption of the new scheme of government. As the eyes of all America are turned towards this truly great and good man for the first President, I took the liberty of sounding him upon it. He appears to be earnestly against going into public life again; pleads in excuse for himself his love of retirement and his advanced age, but notwithstanding of these, I am fully of opinion he may be induced to appear once more on the public stage of life. I form my opinion from what passed between us in a very long and serious conversation, as well as from what I could gather from Mrs. Washington on the same subject."—*Alexander Donald to Thomas Jefferson*, November 12, 1787.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6.

At Mount Vernon: "October 6.—Towards evening M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> [Samuel] Powell of Philadelphia came in."—*Washington's Diary*.

"October 8.—Rid with M<sup>r</sup> Powell to my Plantations at Muddy hole, Dogue run Frenchs & the Ferry. October 9.—Rid with M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Powell to view the ruins of Belvoir. October 10.—M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Powell going away after an early breakfast I rid to all the Plantations."—*Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11.

At Mount Vernon: "October 11.—In the evening Gen. [Charles Cotesworth] Pinkney and his Lady came in on their return to South Carolina from the Federal Convention."—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 14.

At Mount Vernon: "October 14.—A Severe frost this Morning, which killed Pease, Buckwheat, Pumpkins, Potatoo Vines &c turning them quite black."—*Washington's Diary*.



## MONDAY, OCTOBER 22.

At George Town, Maryland : " *October 22.*—Went up to a meeting of the Pot<sup>k</sup> Company at George Town—called at Muddy hole Plantation in my way—did the business which called the Com<sup>y</sup> together—dined at Shutters Tavern and returned as far as Abingdon at Night."—*Washington's Diary*.

" *October 23.*—After a very early breakfast at Abingdon, I arrived at Muddy hole Plantation by 8 o'clock."—*Washington's Diary*.

## SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27.

At Mount Vernon : " *October 27.*—Went to the Woods back of Muddy hole with the hounds—unkennelled 2 foxes and dragged others but caught none—the dogs running wildly and being under no command."—*Washington's Diary*.

## SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28.

At Pohick Church : " *October 28.*—Went to Pohick Church—M<sup>r</sup> Lear & Washington Custis in the Carriage with me."—*Washington's Diary*.

## THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1.

At Alexandria : " *November 1.*—Rid by the way of Muddy hole where the people were taking up Turnips to transplant for Seed to Alexandria to attend a Meeting of the Directors of the Potomack Company—also the exhibition of the Boys of the Academy in this place.—Dined at Lehigh [? Leigh's] Tavern & lodged at Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald's after returning ab<sup>t</sup> 11 o'clock at Night from the performance which was well executed."—*Washington's Diary*.

" *November 2.*—After breakfast I returned home by way of Muddy hole, Dogue Run, Frenchs and the Ferry."—*Washington's Diary*.

## SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 4.

At Mount Vernon : " *November 4.*—After the Candles were lighted M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Powell came in."—*Washington's Diary*.

" *November 5.*—M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Powell remaining here I continued at home all day. *November 6.*—M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Powell crossing the River to M<sup>r</sup> Digges a little after sun rise I accompanied them that far & having my horse carried into the Neck I rid round that and all the other plantations."—*Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8.

At Alexandria: "November 8.—Went up to Alexandria to meet the Directors of the Potomack Comp<sup>y</sup>—Dined at Mr Leighs Tavern and ret<sup>d</sup> in the afternoon."—*Washington's Diary*.

"November 15.—Went to Alexandria to an Election of a Senator, for the district of Fairfax & Prince William. . . . Gave my suffrage for Mr Tho<sup>s</sup> West who with a Mr Pope from the other County were Candidates and returned home to dinner through the midst of the Rain from an apprehension that the weather was not likely to abate in the evening."—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18.

At Mount Vernon: "November 18.—To dinner came Mr Potts his wife and Brother and Mr Wilson from Alexandria—and soon after them Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys."—*Washington's Diary*.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19.

At Mount Vernon: "November 19.—Mr Rob<sup>t</sup> Morris, Mr Gour<sup>e</sup> [Gouverneur] Morris & Doct<sup>r</sup> Ruston came in before Dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.

"November 21.—Mess<sup>rs</sup> Morris's & Doct<sup>r</sup> Ruston went away after Breakfast—with the first two I rid a few Miles—and then visited my plantations at Frenchs, Dogue Run & Muddy hole on my Return."—*Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29.

At Mount Vernon: "November 29.—In Company with Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys Maj<sup>r</sup> Washington & Mr Lear went a hunting, found a fox about 11 o'clock near the Pincushion—run him hard for near 3 quarters of an hour & then lost him. Mr Lund Washington who joined us, came & dined with us and returned afterwards."—*Washington's Diary*.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30.

At Mount Vernon: "I have seen no publication yet, that ought in my judgment to shake the proposed constitution in the mind of an impartial and candid public. In fine, I have hardly seen one, that is not addressed to the passions of the people, and obviously calculated to alarm their fears. Every

attempt to amend the constitution at this time is in my opinion idle and vain.”—*Washington to David Stuart.*

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1.

At Mount Vernon: “*December 1.*—Went with Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys, Maj<sup>r</sup> W. & M<sup>r</sup> Lear a fox hunting, found a fox ab<sup>t</sup> 9 oclock & run him hard till near 10 and lost him.”—*Washington's Diary.*

“*December 5.*—Went out, in Company with Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys, with the hounds after we had breakfasted—took the drag of a Fox on the side of Hunting Creek near the Cedar gut—carried it through Muddy hole Plantation into the Woods back of it—and lost it near the Main Road. *December 8.*—Went a hunting after breakfast; about Noon found a fox between Muddy hole & Pincushion, which the Dogs run for some time in Wood thro which there was no following them so whether they caught, or lost it is uncertain.”—*Washington's Diary.*

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15.

At Mount Vernon: “*December 15.*—A little after Sun rise, in company with the Gentlemen who came yesterday [Messrs. Rumney, Manshur, and Porter]—Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys, Maj<sup>r</sup> Washington & M<sup>r</sup> Lear, went a hunting; but did not get a fox on foot nor is it certain we ever touched on the trail of one.—The Gentlem<sup>n</sup> and Lund Washington (who joined us) came home to dinner & returned home afterwards.”—*Washington's Diary.*

“*December 22.*—After our usual breakfasting Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys, Maj<sup>r</sup> Washington & myself with M<sup>r</sup> Lear went out with the hounds—dragged up the Creek to the Gum Spring and then the Woods between Muddy hole, Dogue Run & Col<sup>o</sup> Masons Quarters without touching on the trail of a fox.—I visited the Plantations (in going out & coming home) except the Neck. *December 26.*—Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys, the Gentlemen of the family & myself went out with the hounds but found nothing, tho much ground was gone over. *December 28.*—Went out with the hounds to day—took the drag of a fox within my Muddy hole Inclosures, and found him in Stiths field (lately Herberts) run him hard about half an hour—came to a cold drag & then lost him.”—*Washington's Diary.*

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29.

At Mount Vernon: “*December 29.*—Rid (the hollidays being end) to the Plantations at the Ferry, Frenchs, Dogue Run, and Muddy hole.”—*Washington's Diary.*

(To be continued.)



## THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

BY HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, PH.D.

The Continental Congress occupies a most interesting and important position in our national and political history. Suddenly brought together to meet a pressing emergency, its membership was made up from the most thoughtful among the men of the country. Few of them, if any, conceived that events would so happen that they would be called upon to adopt a policy which must inevitably lead to establishing a new power among the nations. And yet bold measures followed each other so closely, and in such logical order, that it is frequently difficult to believe that some of the stronger minds did not designedly shape their sequence.

While the Congress has gained special prominence as the directing head of a great war, it was far more of a force than this, although the attributes of its jurisdiction were for the most part gained by reason of its direction of the armed struggle. A single governmental authority with ill-defined powers, it exercised, as occasion arose, the functions of an executive, of a legislative, and of a judicial body, but not always in like degrees of efficiency. Purely revolutionary in its nature, it continued in existence because of receiving the popular sanction to carry out a definite object; but obtaining its support from the people through the cumbrous medium of Colonial or State legislatures, there resulted frequent hesitation and indetermination, and disastrous delay. In addition, public opinion was widely divergent, and to conform to it political insight of no mean order was requisite.

The Congress, too, was the laboratory wherein were performed many experiments in government before a satisfactory national constitution was finally evolved; and the experience there gained in other lines besides those of government was often drawn upon on subsequent occasions.

Through its instrumentality, also, the States were kept in



touch with one another in a manner such as had never before been possible, and men learned to see that there were broader interests at stake than those bounded by narrow State lines. Finding that protection from the common danger was to be obtained by means of the strong arm of Congress, a sentiment for union was aroused which, weak at first, passed through various stages of development until the bonds were at length firmly knit.

If we bear these facts in mind, and make a careful examination of the transactions of the Congress, we can but conclude that, with small exception, we know little of its methods of work, of the nature of the problems that came before it for solution, and of its reasons for solving them as it did.

The investigator who undertakes to clear up these points has at his command such a wealth of original documents that all who have made an examination of them have paused, rather because of the abundance than because of the paucity of the material; for no welcome index is at hand to lighten the labors of research.

Such as may be termed official documents, and which are deposited at the Department of State at Washington, may roughly be divided into two classes: (1) the Journal of the proceedings, and (2) the papers of all kinds other than the Journal.

The Journal affords but little information beyond the mere record of the passage of resolutions, of the receipt of letters, and of the appointment and report of committees. After August, 1777, when the yeas and nays began to be recorded, we may glean, from the frequency with which they were demanded, how, and with what amendments, many of the more weighty resolutions were passed. Although this Journal is our main source of reliance, and is almost wholly in the hand of Charles Thomson,—to whose care and diligence are due the rather orderly preservation of nearly all our revolutionary material, and whose services to the cause of history have never been adequately recognized,—it varies much in the fulness of its report.

In print, exclusive of the Secret Journal, it fills a total of nearly three thousand pages. But, while it requires a half of these volumes to record the events of the first four years, the acts and resolutions of the next ten are crowded into the remainder. It cannot be said, either, that the events of the earlier years overshadow in importance those beginning with the year 1779. We know that this is not the case, and if any additional proof were necessary, the voluminous papers other than the Journal establish this beyond a peradventure.

Beginning with the year 1779, although as many letters were received and as many committees reported as before that time, the printed Journal fails to mention more than a tithe, and soon makes note of them only in special cases, and when immediate action is taken. A careful comparison of the manuscript with the Journal as printed shows that this is not altogether the result of imperfect editing, but that there was also a decided change, at the period mentioned, in the method of keeping the record. As a general thing, the proceedings are more briefly recorded; of many transactions no account at all is kept, and often the only way of discovering when a letter was received or a committee reported is by referring to the endorsement upon the back of the document itself. Nor does the material to be found in the printed Secret Journal fill up more than a portion of the gap.

Contrary to a general supposition, however, there are few matters of very material interest and importance which yet lie buried in the manuscript. The omissions concern a variety of miscellaneous subjects, and occur at odd intervals, beginning with the year 1780. There seems to be no adequate explanation for the exclusion of these items, inasmuch as we gain from them a little additional information upon the organization of the old Federal Court of Appeals in Admiralty cases, which Professor Jameson has so exhaustively studied; some new data relating to the lengthy New Hampshire Grants controversy and the cession of Virginia lands; a point or two upon such matters as the conduct of military

and financial affairs and the regulation of a national post-office; and, finally, many highly enlightening details upon so valuable a matter as the Congressional banquet given on the 4th of July, 1785, to which fifty persons were invited, including Congress, which took place at the hour of five o'clock, and the bill for which was footed by the Board of Treasury.

Of the contents of the other manuscript documents, it is needless to say more than that they contain material upon every subject conceived of by the fertile brain of the American of a hundred and more years ago. They are contained in near three hundred folios of about three hundred pages each, some of which are duplicates or transcripts, and are arranged in a more or less orderly manner, for the most part in the covers of the last century; although the directing hand of the present régime has made some improvements and restorations, out of a hopelessly inadequate fund, in a painstaking and able manner, preserving the original order of arrangement. Of the other documents in print and manuscript at the disposal of the investigator, the majority are well known and are quite too numerous for the preservation of his peace of mind.

With such a mine before us, how much of it has been worked? It requires but brief examination to show that little more than the top-soil has been removed.

The popular, and to a great degree the scientific mind has always been much attracted by the opportunities afforded for recounting the story of successful deeds at arms and of the display of heroism in adversity. In consequence, the purely military features of the Revolution have received such adequate treatment, from nearly every point of view, that only here and there does an obscure point yet await elucidation.

The diplomatic relations of the struggling country with foreign nations have also been given much attention, so that even the large amount of new material, that has recently come to light, will but serve to be corrective of detail rather than make the rewriting of the whole story an absolute



necessity. However, a complete diplomatic history of the Revolution which takes into account the new evidence is much to be desired.

Next to these, the financial affairs have, perhaps, received the most careful consideration, although many think that to the abundant material which has appeared on this subject extensive and important additions and corrections have yet to be made. Then, if we include certain more or less isolated articles upon the history of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation, upon the Ordinance of 1787 and the movements of population westward, and upon the relations of Congress with the Indians, we have embraced the greater part of the printed information at our command.

It is obviously impossible that the Congress, in the fourteen years of its existence, transacted no business other than such as should be classed under the heads enumerated above, and to some of the subjects still awaiting investigation it may be well to direct attention.

First of all, we know little about the manner in which the Congress was organized; what rules for its guidance were adopted; how they were changed and recast as time wore on and new spirits entered the legislative halls, and how custom fixed the rule for as much as was set down in the regular code. For it is well to remember that no one set of rules of procedure held the field for any long period; not a year came but brought with it some alterations, and during 1777 they were made almost monthly.

By closely examining the methods of work of the Congress, and their inception and nature, we can discover—and in no other way—why it was that affairs of the greatest moment were often tabled or committed and left lie unheeded, until the exigency had risen to the point of a crisis. From such an examination we will learn that a body of about twenty-five men controlled the destinies of the nation; that their number often fell below twenty-five, but never rose to more than thirty-five; that their time at even, at morning, and at noon was taken up with such a multi-



plicity of wearisome details that the wonder is not that affairs were delayed, but that they ever accomplished even a small portion of what was brought forward for their consideration. To take an instance at random. On one of the days when the Articles of Confederation were up for exhaustive debate, and when they alone were of sufficient moment to warrant receiving the whole attention of a congress or convention, the subjects claiming consideration were of a most various nature. Beginning with the reading of a voluminous correspondence from different quarters, the appointment of express riders, suggested in one of the letters, was acted upon. Then, as Captain White Eyes had sent a message, his communication was disposed of by reference to the Committee on Indian Affairs, with the assignment to them of sundry duties. Next, the commissioners of Congress in foreign lands were granted an important extension of powers, whereby agents might be summarily dismissed for neglect of or disqualification for office.

No day's labor was ever complete, either, without giving some notice to the affairs of the army. This time the but too frequent complaint of need for arms, ammunition, and clothing reaches their ears, and to the Board of War is confided the trust of making provision for the wants of the army. The Board of Treasury, too, having recommended appropriations, its advice is heeded, and sums ranging from two hundred to fifty thousand dollars are ordered expended, for the most part to pay just debts due to the soldiery. Nor was this all, for standing and special committees were in the mean time busily engaged in the preparation of reports to be submitted for Congressional action. With so much of importance claiming attention, we can readily comprehend what an amount of log-rolling was necessary, and of this we can learn much from the correspondence of the day; for none of the letters are more fruitful of information than those written by certain of the members, who took the oath not to divulge the secrets of the body.

Much is yet to be learned of the economic activity of the time and of the part played by the Congress in originating

and developing the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country. The details of the various methods—some devious, some not—for gathering supplies not alone of military stores, but of clothing, cloths, blankets, and provisions,—articles so necessary to the very existence of the army,—form of themselves an exceedingly valuable adjunct to the history of the military campaigns. Ordinarily these matters are mentioned, and little more, under the head of the diplomatic negotiations, or are referred to when the results of strategic manœuvres are summed up; but such treatment loses sight not alone of the quantities of supplies gathered from within the country itself, but of their method of collection and distribution, and of the encouragement by bounty given to induce the manufacture of the needed articles.

Then, too, it may not be uninteresting to know how this large body of men were subsisted; in how far they lived on the country in the immediate vicinity, and what were the facilities for obtaining provisions from other quarters. This, in turn, will throw light upon the doings of the commissary and quartermaster departments with their oftentimes unhappy transactions.

The mention of the enterprises of a commercial nature entered upon by the Congress itself calls to mind the participation of the privateersmen in the struggle, for they lent no small aid in accomplishing the successful issue of the war. Something of the value and extent of their contributions may be appreciated when we consider that before the end of 1776 nearly three hundred and fifty prizes had fallen into the hands of these American adventurers, and the rates of insurance had risen, in England, to twenty-five per cent. So large was the amount of booty obtained in this way, and so great were the attractions offered, that the rage for privateering is frequently assigned as the cause of the deficiencies in the battalions of Congress and the States.

In view of the fact, too, that the army and its doings have proved the all-absorbing topic of research, it is somewhat remarkable that we know so little in a definite way of the means resorted to to bring it together and to prevent its

disintegration. What cajoling and coaxing were required, as we are often told, to prevent men from going home before their terms of enlistment had expired, the while their crops needed sowing or were rotting in the fields. Whether desertions were due to a lack of patriotic feeling, or whether individual independence of action had become so much of a principle that men would brook no interference with their free choice of serving their country or their families as to them seemed most fit?

Quite as, if not more, important are the accounts of the necessity for an early resorting to bounty giving and drafts to fill up the regimental quotas; for in dealing with these measures Congress, both by special legislation and by urgent recommendation to the States, early took an active hand. Such being the case, we are able to rectify one of the most wide-spread of false impressions,—namely, that Congress as a body, and some of its more celebrated members, were averse to long terms of enlistment. On the contrary, the Congress was willing and anxious to get an army for a long period or for the war, and took steps with such an end in view some time before the Declaration was agreed to. But the adoption of such a policy was wrecked by the opposition of the people. Their objections arose from a diversity of opinions, and varied in different parts of the country. Here they held back for the worldly motive of ability to obtain greater pecuniary reward in other directions, there the elements of ignorance of and inability to appreciate the critical import of the particular period must be given due weight when we seek to reach an impartial decision; for communication was slow and often sorely impeded, and it took a long time before the people of one State knew what those of another had accomplished. As a result, many of the evidences of lukewarmness were due, as Washington put it, to lack of means whereby to draw forth the resources of the country.

Nor can we admit that men held off because of a deep-seated dread of the power of standing armies. In this time-worn argument a strange confusion of thought is easily discernible, for there is a wide difference between a foreign



army sent to enforce irritating legislation, and which must of necessity cause hostility, and one raised from within the country and receiving the sanction for its existence from the popular will. In the one case there is oppression, in the other representative force or revolution.

Closely related to the organization of the army is that of the humane hospital corps, for those were not the days of the Red Cross Brotherhood. Its services were of great assistance, and its arrangement was many times changed before the point of efficiency was reached. Nor were enmity and jealousy always absent from the council board of those charged by Congress with the execution of its desires.

The relations with the Indians afforded the opportunity for much instructive study, for the Congress changed its policy towards them with the frequency of the change in the character of its own membership. Sometimes war was waged against them, now they were enlisted to fight in the cause of liberty, and again measures were passed looking towards their pacification and education.

These are some of the principal subjects that occur to us from an examination of the Journal, but their number could, with little effort, be greatly extended; for in making a close study of the doings of the old Congress from the point of view of the members themselves, we are enabled to put quite a different face upon its transactions. By taking up the Journal day by day, by following the correspondence as it was received, and by noting the appointment and the reports of the hundreds of committees, we can learn to see events as they appeared to the members, and find the explanation for many of the most incomprehensible of their actions. Supplementing this with such other information as is accessible, it is possible to put into the old Congress something of the breath of life, to "cover with flesh the dry bones," and to give it more of a human and, perhaps, a trifle less of an heroic character.

In such wise we are enabled to discover that many of the tendencies which were subsequently crystallized into actu-



ality under the Constitution here first had their origins, or were here given additional development. By this we mean not merely the growth and development of institutions like the executive departments of the government, but we have reference to the larger questions of the relation of the States to the centralized government, such as it was, of the refusal of Congress to take part in any of the affairs connected with the regulation of the internal police of the States, of the early stand on the question of separation of church and state, and of the refusal to become sponsor for any one sect or religion, favoring all equally.

Besides, there were such matters as appeals to Congress to take in hand controversies between States and individuals within other States, over which the smaller bodies soon appreciated that they had no jurisdiction; as the insistence by Congress, before the period of confederation, on the absolute control of foreign negotiations, and as the avowal that upon the shoulders of this body rested the burden of providing for the common defence and the general welfare.

Closely connected with all these is the matter of rotation in office, and the changes in the character of the membership of the Congress,—changes which, since the results of recent Congressional elections in this country, we can perhaps better appreciate, making it possible to account for them in much the same manner as those in the character of the House of Commons within recent years are explained. For, with the adoption of the new Constitution, with the growth of the dignity of Statehood, and with the extension of the franchise came the spread of democracy and democratic ideas, which, receiving an impetus at this period, was further impelled by the elections of 1800, until finally launched by those of 1828.

We know how good men constantly fail of re-election in our own day; is it not likely that majorities, amid the excitement of those times of dissatisfaction with the failure to put an end to the ravages and conquests of the enemy, were quite as fickle or perhaps as desirous of change as are those of our own time?

And was it not due to these changes in the make-up of Congress, as well as more directly to the multiplicity of affairs needing attention, that the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, of whose origins so little is now to be found in print, was put off so long as it was? And ought we not, in considering the shortcomings of these Articles, to make due allowance—as is often done when mention is made of the first constitution of the French Revolution—for the fact that one and the same body, amidst the fatigues and perplexities of governing the country, was called upon to devise a new plan of government for it?

These subjects are all worthy of the most careful consideration and study; and while there has been no desire to belittle or undervalue in any way the many contributions made to a better understanding of the period, the thought occurs that as this was a body called into being by reason of exceptional circumstances, which lived a life of great usefulness, and died while witnessing its nobler offspring rise to take its place, should not this body have its story related as that of a special phase of our history in many ways dissociated from, and in still more connected with, preceding and succeeding events? For, as Professor McMaster tells us, after a skilful comparison of the Continental Congress with the Long Parliament and the National Assembly, “The memory of the Continental Congress is bound up with that portion of our national history which we contemplate with feelings of peculiar pride: with the sacrifices and the sufferings, more cruel than the grave, of the eight years of war; with the poverty, the struggles of the six years of peace that preceded the organization of the Federal government. The republics which the Long Parliament and the National Assembly set up have long since disappeared from the face of the earth. The republic which the Continental Congress set up still endures.” To us a history of the transactions of this remarkable body of men, the Continental Congress, seems most desirable, and to its preparation somewhat as outlined above have been devoted the better part of the past three years.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT  
JOHN BELL TILDEN, SECOND PENNSYLVANIA  
LINE, 1781-1782.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN BELL TILDEN PHELPS.

(Continued from page 63.)

*October 21.*—This afternoon the prisoners marched out of town, under the care of three divisions of militia.

Division Order of the Day: The Baron Steuben feels himself particularly happy in complying with the requests of His Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, in presenting his warmest thanks to the officers and soldiers of his division for the great trial and allacrity with which they performed the several duties assigned them during ye siege against York. He ever entertained ye highest oppinion of ye troops, but ye spirit and bravery which was so conspicuous on the present occasion has given him additional confidence in them and secured his warmest and lasting friendship. He cannot be too thankful to Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Wayne and Gest for their gallant behaviour on all occasions and the great assistance they afforded him during ye whole of ye operations. He also wishes Col<sup>l</sup> Butler, Stewart; Majors Hamilton, Wills, Edwards; the officers under their command, to accept his best thanks for the good conduct shown in opening the second parallel, which he considers as ye most important part of ye siege. He takes pleasure in assuring them it was performed with a degree of bravery and dispatch that exceeded his most sanguine expectation. He cannot conclude without expressing in ye highest terms his approbation respecting Capt. Walker who performed double duty in the trenches, by mounting with his company in addition to the services he rendered him as aid de camp, which was as great as to entitle him to his sincere acknowledgements.



*October 22.*—A number of our gentlemen from ye northward who arrived on ye 18 inst. came to see us. At 12 o'clock M. our Line went on duty at York and Gloucester. I had a very troublesome guard; Walk around town, find it in a most ruined condition; but one small house under the bank of the river escaped without being damaged by our shot. On ye 18th inst. we had on ye second parallel ye following batteries ready to open on the British, had they not agreed, which we much wished they would not, viz. N° 1, from ye right, one iron 18 pounder, 2 howitzers, 2 mortars, and 2 brass Royals. N° 2. Ten 18 pounders (iron), three inch mortars, one 8 inch howitzer, and 2 brass Royals. N° 3. Two 11 inch mortars and 2 brass Royals. N° 4. Four 18 pounders (iron). N° 5 and 6. Four 18 pounders and two brass 24s in each. N° 7. Six brass 24 pounders. N° 8. One 8 inch howitzer, eight 13 inch mortars and two brass Royals, besides several others I did not minutely examine. We had near ninety pieces of ordnance ready to blaze away.

*October 23.*—Breakfast with Mr. Mead, a staff officer and two or three British company. Col. Tarleton was dismounted in the street by the rightful owner of the horse he rode. Relieved at 1 o'clock by the Maryland Line.

*October 24.*—Received a return of prisoners taken of the garrison at York and Gloucester: 1 Lieutenant General; 1 Brigadier General; 2 Colonels; 12 Lieut. Colonels; 14 Majors; 83 Captains; 132 Lieutenants, 55 Ensigns; 4 Cornets; 2 Chaplains; 15 Adjutants; 20 Quarter Masters; 14 Surgeons; 22 Mates; 445 Sergeants; 9 Bombadiers; 6 gunners; 154 matrosses; 187 —; 5780 rank and file.

Hospital department one Surgeon and Field Inspector, three Surgeons, ten Mates, two Chaplains, two Purveyors, four Stewards, two W<sup>d</sup> Masters, nineteen Assistants, two Carpenters.

Commissary Department: one Commissary of Prisoners, four Deputy Commissaries of Issues; one Commissary of Forage, two Assistants, two Clerks; three —; two Coopers, one labourer. Total 7025.



*N.B.*—This return is exclusive of the Warranted Department, which adds upwards of one thousand to the list of prisoners, one hundred sail of square rig'd vessel and upwards of 300 pieces of ordnance, eighty of which were brass. During ye siege the enemy lost 600 men killed, deserted and made prisoner. A very heavy rain about 8 o'clock P.M. I being out, and my tent open, my bed was wet as water.

*October 27.*—Our brigade furnish the guards and fatigue in York—myself on ye fatigue. The French troops under ye command of Gen<sup>l</sup> De St. Simon embark.

*October 28.*—Relieved from York at usual hour. Receive a quantity of good spirits from a Capt. Sanderson, lately commanding a British transport. Some rumors of a British fleet appearing in our Capes.

*October 29.*—This day our brigade went on fatigue to demolish ye works we threw up when his Lordship had possession of ye town. This evening our officers received orders to make out lists of the clothing they wanted to ye amount of £20. Virginia currency. Its credited that ye enemy with twenty-six sail of ye line are in ye bay and that the French had slip'd their cables and gone in quest of them.

*October 30.*—Our brigade relieved from fatigue by two regiments of infantry. One officer of each battalion to get ye clothing for their respective officers.

*October 31.*—Our brigade for guard and fatigue in York. The officers desired to complete their purchases of clothing.

*November 1.*—Mount the division guard. Our clothing divided regimentally.

*November 2.*—Relieved of guard at 9 o'clock A.M. Yesterday Capt. Stevenson purchased for the mess 34 lbs sheep £2. 11. 9, and 4 gallons and 3 quarts of Rum at 20/ Virginia currency; and 50 lbs Sugar, 20 lbs Coffee, 2 lbs Tea, in Pennsylvania currency.

*November 4.*—The issues of clothing compleated. I received the following articles: 2 pieces of linen; 1 Hat; 4 yards Cassimer; 2 pieces of Nankeen; 2 Hdkfs.; 1 pair silk, 1 pair wostered, 1 pair thick twist and 1 pair thread

Stockings; 1 yard mode and lace; 1 Epaulet; 1 pair of shoes; soap, thread and 1 pair sleeve buttons. Orders for the Pennsylvania Line and Maryland Line to march at day-break.

*November 5.*—The march delayed until 11 o'clock on account of clothing not yet delivered to ye men. Take up our line of march at that hour and proceed 9 miles on the road to Williamsburg, where we pitch our tents.

*November 6.*—The troops take up ye line of march at sunrise, proceed through Williamsburg to Byrd's Ordinary, 19 miles—march ye sick this day.

*November 7.*—Take up line of march at daylight and encamp at New Kent Court House.

*November 8.*—The troops take up the line of march at sunrise, and pitch our tents a half mile beyond Bottom's Bridge [Henrico County], where we arrived at 3 P.M.

*November 9.*—Take up ye line of march at daylight and proceed to Richmond, where we encamp to ye left of ye Town on ye river bank, a very pretty situation. The cold weather which accompanied us from the commencement of our march still continues. Major Hamilton sups with us.

*November 10.*—The Maryland brigade begins to cross ye James river. Capt. Stevenson goes to Hannover. Major Hamilton with us. Sick all day.

*November 11.*—Recovered from my indisposition. The Maryland brigade having crossed yesterday with their baggage, the artillery receives orders to begin to cross at reville.

*November 12.*—The military stores are being crossed over—our delay owing to bad craft. Take a walk to town and pay a visit to Capt. Stevenson who is very ill.

*November 13.*—Division Orders: First Pennsylvania regiment will at ye beating of ye troop, strike their tents, load their baggage and move down to ye water side where they will embark, and cross ye river with all possible dispatch.

The regiment crossed, after which some ammunition wagons and the Commissary wagons followed.

*November 14.*—Col. Craig's battalion cross this morning

and baggage. At 3 o'clock P.M. our battalion begins to cross with their baggage, which was completed in three hours. March through Manchester and encamp one mile from ye river. Recross the river after dark with Lieut. Dixon, spend the evening at Gen<sup>l</sup> Wayne's Quarters. A company of fifteen ladies and only eight gentlemen dance to a very indifferent fiddle. Broke up at 3 o'clock A.M. Receive \$12<sup>50</sup> from Capt. Stevenson, who returned yesterday sick from Hanover.

*November 15.*—Cross the river at 8 o'clock A.M., arrive at Camp as ye General beat. The troops take up ye line of march at 9 o'clock A.M. Encamp at Hosborns, a small village thirteen miles from Manchester.

*November 16.*—Take up line of march at 8 o'clock; arrive at Appomatox at 2 o'clock, pitch our tents. I command the rear guard. Capt. Patterson comes to camp, who we all thought was lost. Dismissed my guard, no unpleasing circumstances, as it rained in ye night.

*November 17.*—The troops begin to cross the Appomatox at daybreak, all our troops and baggage were over by 3 o'clock P.M. Passed through Petersburg and encamped a quarter mile beyond town.

*November 18.*—Lay still this day, a very fine one; take a walk to town in ye afternoon. Lieut. Read of ye Third Battalion badly wounded by a horseman at night.

*November 19.*—The General beat at daybreak; the troops marched at 6 o'clock, passed Dinwiddy Court House one mile and encamped.

*November 20.*—The General beat at daybreak, the Assembly at Sunrise, when ye troops march and cross Notaway river. Encamp two miles from it, marsh lying left.

*November 21.*—The troops halted yesterday an hour to play a number of tunes on ye drum and fife, for some country girls, a dancing same evening. The General and Assembly beat as usual, ye troops march by ye Right 15 miles. The country pretty agreeable, being well stocked with oak and hickory, a sight not common in Virginia.

*November 22.*—We marched by the left at sunrise. Very



unwell ye latter part of ye day and at night a severe bit of shaking.

*November 23.*—The General beat as usual, ye troops take up ye line of march by ye right and proceeded to Allen's Creek. My indisposition continued all night and this day. Gen<sup>l</sup> St. Clair informs us that ye enemy have evacuated Wilmington.

*November 24.*—The troops take up ye line of march by ye left and proceed to Roanoke, which our line being in front soon cross with the baggage and encamp two miles and a half from it—Taylor's ferry.

*November 25.*—Remain on the ground to wash. A very heavy rain all ye latter part of the day; our tents very disagreeable; ye mess move out of camp a mile to a country house where we are tolerably well accommodated i.e. feather beds &c. The artillery crossed the Roanoke today.

*November 26.*—A fine day; employed in cleaning clothes and arms. Indian meal introduced again. Slept out of camp.

*November 27.*—The Maryland troops crossing ye river. Orders for the troops to march at sunup.

*November 29.*—Did not march yesterday on account of the rain. The tents being wet we did not march until after sunrise. I command the sick of the Brigade. Soon reached our ground near Williamsburg and encamp in ye woods. Some manœuvres.

*November 30.*—Troops take up line of march at sunrise—march by the left. On ye van guard with Capt. Wilkin. Encamp near Harrisborough.

*December 1.*—The troops march as usual by ye right. The guard being dismissed Capt. Wilkin and self proceed in front of ye troops to a Gen<sup>l</sup> Parsons; much disappointed in our expectations; he is a man owning upwards of one hundred thousand acres of land and living in a mean hut. The troops encamp in front of his house. The road amazing bad, owing to rain yesterday and this morning. Each officer draws two gallons of spirits, the field excluded.

*December 2.*—At sunrise the troops march by the left and



proceed to — Ordinary over bad roads. The troops encamp a small distance from his house. A number of deer seen.

*December 3.*—The troops proceed by the right to Caswell Court House and encamp. A deer killed by one of the officers of our mess.

*December 4.*—The General beat at daylight, the troops march at sunrise by ye left. Halt to get water. It began to snow very fast, which accompanies us nine miles to our encampment in ye woods, and continues all night. Our tents did not arrive until dark, and all the time we stood in the snow shivering and crowding over a smoky fire. When our tents arrived pitch them, scrape the snow, now half a foot deep, away with our feet. Make a fire which soon warms us, make tea and retire to bed. Sleep more comfortable tonight than sometime back. Rice's farm.

*December 5.*—Lay on ye ground, the day too wet to have our clothes washed. Order to march tomorrow at the usual hour and leave our sick and some of our wagons. A detachment under ye command of Major J. Moore, consisting of 150 privates properly officered, left as a convoy to ye Ordinance Stores &c., which incommoded us much.

*December 7.*—The troops take up the line of march agreeably to the orders of yesterday. Cross the Haw river at High Rock Ford, which we were obliged to wade, which was a rather cooling affair, and encamp on ye south side.

*December 8.*—The General beat at daybreak, the troops marched immediately after and proceed to Reedy Fork, over which we made a bridge for the troops. The width not exceeding ten or twelve yards, yet ye water entered our wagons. Marched to Guilford Court House, a place remarkable for ye action between Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene and Cornwallis, and encamped on part of the battle field.

*December 10.*—Not having our horses shod and wagons repaired we remain on ye ground. A most disagreeable day, ye wind blowing the fire and smoke about that it was almost insufferable. Get our clothes washed which we much wanted. Walk out after retreat with some officers to

see Mr. Dixon to his quarters (a poor hut of a place), who was obliged to remain behind on account of his having the rheumatism very bad.

*December 11.*—March immediately after the Assembly and encamp near Mr. Idles.

*December 12.*—The troops march as usual, the day very cold, and cross a number of streams. Encamp near Mr. McCrearys. Drink punch at Major Edward's, made with sumac berries.

*December 13.*—March at sunrise; proceed to ye Yadkin; our wagons forded some distance above ye ferry, which we were late in crossing, having but two boats. Encamp a short distance from ye river. The country since we entered Carolina very good tho' inhabited by an idel set of people, and very few of the houses equal ours built near Morris-town.

*December 14.*—Troops march at usual hour, roads good. Pass through Salisbury, a small, sorry looking place, and did not see one genteel looking person in it. Encamp half a mile from the town.

*December 15.*—March as usual and encamp at Mr. Taylors, where I take command of the cattle guard and proceed 8 miles further to Mr. Pipers, to remain over night.

*December 16.*—Leave Pipers at 11 o'clock A.M. Take quarters in the rear of ye troops and encamped on Rocky Run.

*December 17.*—Relieved last evening, send my guard home and remain in ye house over night. A wet day the troops did not move. A General Court martial sits.

*December 18.*—Troops march at sunrise and pass thro' Charlotte, a small town and much inferior to Salisbury. Encamp half a mile from it.

*December 19.*—Cross two branches of Sugar Creek, encamp in South Carolina on ye Catawba Tract, in ye rain.

*December 20.*—Troops march as usual. Obligated to encamp near Twelve Mile Creek, the water being too high to ford with our wagons. Orders to march in the morning.

*December 21.*—At 12 o'clock M. cross Twelve mile Creek

and pass through a very poor country and encamp on Wax-saw Creek. A number of British are here on parole.

*December 22.*—At daylight crossed Waxesaw Creek, Gills and Bear Creeks. Encamped on the south side of the third creek, on Major Barclay's farm. Command part of ye Camp guard in rear of wagons. The road very bad.

*December 23.*—March at sunrise and pass through a piney country, the roads sandy and level. See numbers of wagons broken and ruined, ye effect of Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates's retreat. Encamp one mile on ye south side of ye Flat Rock. At this place a number of men were cut to pieces by Tarleton's Corps on their retreat.

*December 24.*—The troops march through the rain, the roads very sloppy. Encamp within two miles of Camden, near ye ground where Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates was nearly surprised.

*December 25.*—Remain on ye ground, a fine day and much devoted to washing. Take a walk to town in ye afternoon and found the place much destroyed by the enemy, who had fortified it pretty strongly.

*December 26.*—The Pennsylvania Line only take up the line of march at ye usual hour, pass thro' Camden and cross the Wateree, (which with the Congaree forms ye Santee) and encamp on the south side of the river.

*December 27.*—The Line march as usual. The four last miles almost one continued swamp (or cane brake), the water and mire for ye most part half leg deep. Encamp near Reynold's Mills. Nothing but Pine trees. The Maryland troops join us about dusk.

*December 28.*—The Pennsylvania Line take up ye line of march. Cross a number of bad swamps which impede our march very much. Encamp half a mile from the Congaree. The Maryland Line marched at 9 o'clock and encamped 8 miles in our rear.

*December 29.*—The Line after Troop call proceeded by ye right to McCord's Ferry on ye Congaree. The troops and baggage were crossed by noon, when the Maryland Line appeared and began to cross. Encamp four miles from ye Ferry near Col. Thompsons who lives very genteely. Ob-



serve Palmetto trees growing at ye ferry and the moss hanging very thick from all the trees—so thick as to form a pleasant shade. The day very warm, the inhabitants begin to garden.

*December 30.*—At 9 o'clock the troops march by the right. Cross several swamps, and encamp near Witstone's Mill.

*December 31.*—The troops march by the left. Encamp half a mile from Orange Court House, containing a good gaol and two houses. Crossed a number of swamps. Walking into town saw a number of Indians and militia commanded by Gen<sup>l</sup> Sumter.

*January 1, 1782.*—March by the right, crossed twenty three very bad swamps, the shoalest reached the knee. Encamped on a narrow strip of dry land. Burn nothing but Pine Knots, which make the brightest day appear like evening.

*January 2.*—March at sunrise by ye right; halt at Governor Rutledge's farm to get water and breakfast. Moved within 4 miles of Saw Mills. After night fall a Captain's guard was sent back to bring up some ammunition wagons that had fell in the rear, lest the Tories, who are very numerous, should take them. The Tories fired on part of ye guard who were left with one of the wagons.

*January 3.*—March delayed until the arrival of ye wagons, when the troops took up the line and proceeded thro' ye Saw Mills, which are built on the Edisto (a fine stream)—eight yards in different frames work at the same time, besides a corn mill. The mills being on opposite sides, the breast of the dam affords an excellent bridge over which our open wagons crossed, the covered ones being too high cross at a ferry some distance above. Encamp five miles from head-quarters on a pretty hickory ridge, a very uncommon circumstance. The roads horrid bad the greater part of ye way, with mud and water to the knees. The weather since we left Camden has been very fine, resembling the month of May in ye North, everything looks green and ye frogs croaking.

*January 4.*—Arrive at headquarters Round O at noon;



the roads much like yesterday, on which account we march very slow. Fortunately find a good dry place for our encampment—the country adjacent being almost in every part covered by water at this season. Five hundred and nine miles since we left Richmond.

*January 5.*—At last we are blessed with a morning sleep and undisturbed by the General beating. The day very fine and so warm that I threw off my coat and went about in my shirt sleeves.

*January 6.*—A fine day and we dig wells six feet deep and find water. An aleigator was killed today by a soldier six feet long.

*January 7.*—Today exceeding warm, make up a bedstead. I am ordered on command with Major Hamilton, Capt. Seely, Claypool and Lieut. McCullough with 100 men, and at 3 o'clock march to join Col. Laurens. The roads tolerably bad, the country on each side being covered with water and abounding with wild fowl of divers sort. Take quarters at Mr. Orwell's where we are used politely by him and his lady. What I often heard of I saw here, a black girl waiting on ye table clothed in only a short petticoat.

*January 8.*—March at 8 o'clock, pass Pond Pond Church, (the country might be justly called Pond Pond), cross the Edisto at Parker's Ferry, join Col. Laurens five miles from the ferry and build huts of rails which we cover with straw.

*January 9.*—Make an addition to our hut; very bad off for want of furniture. Obligated to eat rice; have a pretty good dish of Coffee for supper. Among ye detachment, Carolina, three companies; Maryland three companies; and Pennsylvania, two companies, 244 rank and file. Dispatch two of our valets to head quarters. A major and colonel deserted from Charleston on 8th inst.

*January 10.*—Spend the day in reading Spanish novels. Our valets arrive this afternoon—bring tents which relieve us very much.

*January 11.*—Informed of ye Pennsylvania Line moving down to Jacksonburg on 9th; Col. Laurens command move this afternoon to Col. Steven's five miles. Have a dance

there this evening; some very rich ladies but not handsome.

*January 12.*—Take a ride this morning to Jacksonburg where I found our lads under marching orders; get what things I wanted and return to my command, which I find have also received marching orders. Take up line of march at sunset, wade a number of swamps knee deep, and halt after marching nine miles. Near Col. Lee's infantry. Just preparing for a sleep when we received orders to march immediately, so at 12 o'clock we marched rapidly for Stono river. After marching 'till daylight, through mud and water up to ye creek, find it impracticable to pass on to James Island, which was our design and to surprising the enemy which we would certainly have done, if we had had good guides.

*January 13.*—Move up two miles from ye river, lay in ye woods all day and eat potatoes. Our boys not coming down with our bedclothes, we pass the night horridly, it dropping a little rain and very cold.

*January 14.*—Our boys bring down something to eat and we remain on our ground 'till sunset when we march to Stono ferry, 2 miles, and lay in the woods without any covering—very cold and pass the night a few degrees worse than ye last. The enemy evacuated ye Island Sunday night [13th inst.] at 12 o'clock.

*January 15.*—March down to ye waterside and begin to cross, by Col. Laurens's orders, when by the time the half of the battalion had crossed orders were countermanded and the troops recrossed. Major Hamilton with half of ye detachment remain on ye Island. We return to our old ground. Capt. Seely who went on ye Island yesterday returned with some Tories and horses.

*January 16.*—Major Hamilton returns from the island much fatigued. March at 9 o'clock A.M. to Stono Church, (Sandy Hill), a fair building though much destroyed.

*January 17.*—March at 9 o'clock A.M. to Drayton's Cow Pens, one and a half miles; ye mess take possession of ye dwelling house and live pretty tolerably. The weather cold with rain since 12th inst.

*January 19.*—Awakened this morning by a great noise which proved to be a number of negroes belonging to the farm preparing rice. Dressed myself and went to the barn, where I saw a sight entirely new to me; thirty negroes male and female naked, some shelling the rice, others pounding and cleaning it.

*January 20.*—Dined with Captain Morrow by invitation.

*January 21.*—Dr Hartley dined with us on an extraordinary bad dinner. Capt. Seely and myself invited to dine with him tomorrow at his grandmothers Mrs. Williams.

*January 22.*—Dined at Mrs. Williams' in company with a number of other officers. The lady showed a great profession of regard for us and extended a hearty invitation to her house. The Doctor, a very modest youth, was not wanting on his part.

*January 24.*—The enemy it is said has received a reinforcement of 300 Hessians and some British troops.

*January 25.*—Dr Hartley again visits the camp, and a number of the officers dine with him.

*January 26.*—A Lieut. Stephens came in from ye British and remained with us last night. He told us a number of things—I do not like him.

*January 27.*—Spend ye day in reading comedies. Lieut. Stephens went to head quarters; returned and remained with us over night. He goes to the Congaree.

*January 29.*—The weather continues cold. It is said that the enemy at ye Quarter House were reinforced by 1100 men.

*January 31.*—The Delaware and Maryland troops hang their meat on ye parade—confine ye orderly sergeant and several men.

*February 1.*—Rain continues, and a small quantity of spirits was sent to us by the citizens. Deserters come in every day.

*February 3.*—Dine with Capt. Morrow, who made an elegant punch. The troops are under marching orders.

*February 4.*—Receive a case of brandy, a present from Capt. Saunders. March at 10 o'clock A.M. to Cainacres; the



road excessively bad. Build our huts near Mr. Warrens, where Col. Lee's warriors are quartered.

*February 5.*—Breakfasted with Capt. Neil, dine also. Desertions take place freely from the enemy.

*February 6.*—Ride 12 miles to Ashley ferry, but was disappointed in my errand. Dr. Guilder, of the Delaware Line, fights and wounds a Mr. Barryford, a member of the South Carolina Assembly, in consequence of ye doctor lameing him on January 12 just before we marched on the parade.

*February 7.*—Col. Thompson, late Secretary to Lord George Germain, commanding ye enemies Horse, came out as far as Beacon Bridge, five miles from us.

*February 8.*—March at 3 o'clock P.M. 4 miles; lay out in the rain covered with a great coat, and sleep tolerable.

*February 9.*—March at day light, 12 miles through mud and water up to our knees, and return a different road, equally as bad, to the ground we left this morning. Draw a piece of beef and some rice; broiled my meat on a stick and with difficulty boiled the rice.

*February 11.*—Orders for ye Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina troops on ye lines to repair to their respective brigades at headquarters. Sup with Capt. Neil and spend the evening at whist.

*February 12.*—March at 8 o'clock A.M., to Sandy Hill Church, 9 miles, the roads awful.

*February 13.*—March at 8 o'clock; join the army at 11 o'clock A.M. at Pond Pond. Spend the evening with the North Carolina officers.

*February 14.*—Nothing remarkable for a fine day. Some of the North Carolina officers breakfast with us.

*February 19.*—Employ Hogen (a tailor) of Capt. Seely's company to make up my cassimers. Exercise the troops today, which I commanded.

*February 23.*—The tailor finished my clothing, viz two pair of breeches and one jacket.

*February 26.*—Relieved of picket duty on the left flank of ye army. Exercise the troop in ye afternoon. Officers on duty get a gill of rum.



*February 28.*—A General Court martial: Three soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line were tried for desertion and sentenced to suffer death; a soldier of ye North Carolina Line, for ye same, sentenced to death; a soldier of ye Maryland Line, for plundering sentenced to death. The General approved ye sentences and ordered their execution tomorrow at 10 o'clock.

*March 1.*—The criminals sentenced yesterday were executed. General orders for a review tomorrow.

*March 2.*—A heavy rain attended with thunder and lightning, which causes the review to be postponed to Monday. Orders of the day: The General hopes that ye dreadful example that was given the army yesterday, for ye crimes of plundering and desertion, will prove a seasonable warning for others to avoid a conduct which brought those men to such a shameful and disgraceful end. Let no false hopes of avoiding punishment induce others into such villanous conduct. It is painful to ye General to be under ye disagreeable necessity but he will be as inflexible in that, to those who behave ill, as he will be just and generous to those who behave well.

*March 4.*—Troops reviewed today at 10 o'clock; performed some movements, and fired blank cartridges (which alarmed the inhabitants). A number of ladies honored us with their presence.

*March 5.*—Nothing but bad weather. Rode about 13 miles down ye country, remain over night at Mrs. Williams', Sandy Hill, spend the evening very agreeably in company with a few ladies, especially pleased with Miss R——.

*March 6.*—Leave Mrs. Williams' at daylight and arrive at camp before Troop beating and mount the camp guard.

*March 11.*—General orders for the Pennsylvania Line to form two battalions.

*March 14.*—The officers who were supernumerary, set off for Pennsylvania today, viz. Capt. Wilkin, Lieuts. Shister, Dubb and Dixon.

*March 17.*—Being St. Patrick's Day each officer drew one

quart of liquor, the men one gill. We had a regimental dinner by contributing our mites, and spend the day and evening very sociably.

*March 18.*—Aroused at reveille beating to drink good spirits with some of our lads who just came in from ye country, the effect of which was a headache.

*March 21.*—Informed by an officer of Col. Lee's Legion that Capt. Randolph, with a party of his men had taken a galley with 18 men from ye British. Orders for ye troops to march tomorrow.

*March 22.*—Bring in my guard and prepare for marching. At 9 o'clock A.M. the troops march and encamp half a mile from Stono Church, on very good ground. The roads were exceedingly bad.

*March 23.*—This being good ground, we expected to remain here some time, therefore began to build chimneys to our tents. Orders in the evening to march at 9 o'clock tomorrow, a great mortification to some of us who went to the trouble to make brick chimneys which we got from Stono Church.

*March 24.*—The army take up ye line of march—encamp one mile from ye Cross Roads and two from Beacon's bridge. Walk down to the infantry and visit Lieuts. Moon and LeRoy, who lay within one quarter of a mile of ye bridge, drink some grog and return.

*March 25.*—Copy of General Orders of March 22d. Head Quarters Sandy Hill :

The General presents his thanks to Capt. Randolph of ye Partisan Legion, for ye enterprise, spirit and decision discovered by him and ye party under his command in the capture of the Allegator galley of two 12 pounders, six 4s, two 3s and a number of swivels, on ye night of ye 18th inst., when one Captain, two lieutenants, one gunner, two mates, and twenty four sailors, with three negroes were taken; two sailors killed—his party consisting of thirteen men only.

General orders for ye drawing a number of shoes for ye troops, twelve pairs to each company.

*March 27.*—Mount ye right flank guard. It and the Provost Guard being near Gen<sup>l</sup> Gists headquarters, the officers dined there.

*March 28.*—Relieved from guard. On ye evening of ye 26th, a command was ordered out by Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene with secret orders, and Capt. Wilmot of ye Maryland Line given command. He was also allowed to choose a subaltern. We became acquainted with every circumstance by the Brigade Major of our Line, endeavouring to prevent partiality. We are filled with the thought of our being slighted. Write to Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene.

*March 31.*—Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene's reply was received on ye 29th. Our determination of sending in our resignations to him gains strength.

*April 1.*—Mount picket at Slands Bridge four miles from camp—one half the way a swamp, half leg deep, and many streams to cross.

*April 2.*—We send our reply to Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene. General muster of ye troops who are to be paid and receive clothing. The enemy reduced to a desperate situation are preparing to come out to fight us—I have little faith in this report.

*April 5.*—Extracts from General Orders: At the General Court Martial of which Major McKee is president held ye 2<sup>d</sup> inst. was tried Capt. S. Jones of the North Carolina Line for scandalous and infamous behaviour unbecoming the officer and gentleman. The Court having weighed the matter, are of opinion that the charge against Capt. Jones is malicious and vexatious, and do therefore honourably acquit him. Although the General does not disapprove the sentence of the Court, he cannot help observing, that the words made use of by Capt. Jones with respect to Governor Martin seem extremely indelicate; that expressions of such a nature, applied to Civil Officers in high station or authority have a tendency to injure the service, and certainly unworthy the person using them on any occasion in well bred men.

*April 6.*—Mount the Provost Guard at Gen<sup>l</sup> Gist's quarters; dine with the General.



*April 8.*—Capt. Thompson very ill used concerning his command, which was given by Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene (in the absence of Capt. Stevenson) to another officer.

*April 10.*—Capt. Patterson who commanded the picket at Beacon's bridge, had one of his patrols taken off by the enemy. A command was sent out after them, but they were too fleet for us.

*April 13.*—The army was drawn up at 9 o'clock, and fired three rounds per man, by platoons, divisions and battalions. A General Order for Capt. Thompson to take command of C. Jackson's company. Capt. Thompson having returned from Headquarters and found there how unjustly Col. Mentges has represented him, challenged him to a duel. The infantry move in ye rear of the army.

*April 14.*—Capt. Thompson finds that he is mistaken in supposing Col. Mentges had injured him with the General—so the matter lays dormant. The enemy moved out to-day and captured Lient. Carrington of ye Partizan Legion near Dorchester, and returned the same day.

*April 20.*—Use some precautions fearing another mutiny; have confined Sergt. Gosnell.

*April 21.*—This morning Capt. Neil of ye Partizan Legion, commanding thirty dragoons, fell in with one of ye British negro Captains and his Troop, when he charged and put them to flight. On his return he met with a large body of ye British horse, who proved too much for him; his men all got off except five or six. Two officers and twenty men came in from the British with their arms.

*April 22.*—Sergeant Gosnell shot and many more confined.

*April 24.*—Alarmed this morning with the intelligence of the enemies intending to visit us. The troops paraded, then strike tents, load baggage &c. Great noise and little Wool!

*May 2.*—A number of transports under convoy of four or five frigates have certainly arrived at Charleston, and from our accounts are empty.

*May 12.*—Early this morning a command went from our army under Major Eggleston; besides our infantry and



horse. Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene went with them down to the enemies picket and tried by every means to draw the enemy out, but without success. Took two officers prisoners and then returned. One of ye Officer's waiters being drunk, rode into ye enemies picket without noticing his mistake, until he was asked what he would take for his horse, his great coat &c, they thinking him a deserter from us—when he turned his horse about and rode off through a heavy fire.

*May 21.*—Every body full of Peace. Part of ye business of ye Flag yesterday was to inform Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene that Gen<sup>l</sup> Leslie would make no more excursions, but act entirely on the defensive. 'Tis generally believed there is something on ye carpet. The Charleston paper informs us that ye French fleet has been beaten by the British fleet under Rodney—the French sustained a great loss, the British very little.

*May 23.*—Was bled this morning by D<sup>r</sup> Davidson, for a pain that had taken its seat in my breast.

*May 27.*—Disappointed in not being able to obtain horses to convey me to the hospital. My fever not quite so bad as yesterday. By a letter from Gen. Wayne we learn that ye enemy came out of Savannah, 400 infantry and 50 horse; that when he was informed of it got between them and the town, and whilst they were repairing some causeways completely surprised them. Their cavalry was so close pressed, that they dismounted and took to ye swamp; the infantry (Provincials and Hessians), threw away their arms, and all took to the swamps. Fifty were killed and wounded, a Lieut. Colonel taken, forty of their horses and two hundred stand of arms fell into Gen. Wayne's hands.

*May 28.*—Procure horses, Capt. Patterson and self set off in an old chair to ye hospital. Informed on our way that ye Enemy were out with a number of horse; a party of our horse met them on their return and captured an officer, five men and seven horses. We quarter in an old coast house, and then walk down to the Doctor's quarters, and saw an allegator on our return.

*May 30.*—Much dissatisfied with D<sup>r</sup> Reed at his neglect

in not giving me medicine. The Doctor pays us a visit this afternoon, but no medicine.

*May 31.*—I feel very unwell this morning and very uneasy. Our house cleared of a number of South Carolina officers, very unsociable fellows. The Doctor brings me some medicine; my fever very bad.

*June 4.*—Visited by the Doctor and Capt. Henderson. The mosquitoes so intollerable that we get a pair of sheets from the Doctor to use instead of a pavilion.

*June 14.*—Orders in camp to arrange some method to deliver the clothing to us officers. Informed that orders had been sent by the Comet at Charleston to Savannah to prepare for its evacuation.

*June 17.*—Captains Finney and Brown arrived at the hospital from Savannah and informed us that the town had been evacuated yesterday and that Gen. Wayne had marched in and taken possession.

*June 18.*—Very uneasy that I cannot go to camp yet; my disease being no better.

*June 19.*—Informed that Savannah is not yet evacuated, the commanding officer wishing to make terms with Gen. Wayne or the Assembly, favorable for ye Tories.

*June 25.*—Some rain last night, and the day cooler than yesterday. My boy brought my flute and music to me. Mrs. LeRoy acquaints me that I received of ye late articles for clothing  $1\frac{1}{2}$  yards coarse blue cloth, two yards of lining and one pair of silk stockings.

*June 27.*—Heard some imperfect account of a number of Indians arriving at Gen. Wayne's camp, on their way to Savannah; that a number of them were killed and a large quantity of furs and pack horses captured.

*July 4.*—The symptoms of my disorder return. A Feu de Joy in camp for the celebration of our Independence. The officers of the army dine with Gen. Greene, and the field officers with ye Governor.

*July 7.*—Three more officers come here from camp sick; the troops very sickly.

*July 9.*—Heard that our army encamped at Ashley Hill.

*July 23.*—The report of this day acquaints me, that ye French fleet fell in with 140 British transports and captured between eighty and ninety sail.

*July 26.*—Capt. Zeigler who passed the night with us, stated that the army has been without salt for five days and without beef three days.

*July 30.*—Informed of ye army marching down to James Island, their design not known.

*August 1.*—Capt. Patterson and self walk to Dr Harrison's and dine there with Miss Harrison. After dinner walk to Mrs. McCants and remain there over night. Hardly exchange a word with her daughter who appears to be very bashful or . . .

*August 2.*—Informed by Col. Pinckney that a number of British transports have arrived at Charleston and that the garrison is certainly preparing to go off. That a French fleet is coasting near New York. We walk home in the afternoon, met the Lieut. Governor, who politely requests our company with him tomorrow, which we accept.

*August 3.*—Walk over to the Lieut. Governor at 12 o'clock and dine there with several South Carolina militia officers. The French troops have marched northward.

*August 6.*—Lieut. Finney and self walk down to the hospital and dine there. They are preparing to move nearer ye army this week.

*August 9.*—Yesterday the enemy evacuated the Quarter House and demolished it and the adjacent works. Gen. Wayne's troops are moving up from Savannah.

*August 11.*—Dine at Capt. Saunders, where I am genteely entertained over night, owing to the rain.

*August 12.*—Capt. Saunders very kindly send us to Mrs. McPhersons in a chair, where we breakfast. We walk from thence to ye Light Infantry camp and dine with Capt. Irwin. At the hospital everything topsy turvey, so sleep very indifferent this night.

*August 14.*—Sergeant Rampy died of malignant fever, the hospital full of our men—Lieuts. White and Collier of our Line very sick here. Deserters are constantly leaving the



enemy—there will be but a flimsy amount of ye British should they remain much longer. Some people from the town inform us that they are shifting their cannon and stores.

*August 18.*—Make my exit from the hospital and join the army at Ashley Hill fifteen or sixteen miles from Charleston. Find my company very much reduced by sickness.

*August 21.*—Have the Governor's guard. Deserters are continually leaving the enemy.

*August 27.*—Informed that yesterday the lightening had killed four men of ye Light Infantry Corps and struck two speechless. Omit mounting my guard owing to being not well.

*August 28.*—Col. Laurens with a command of fifty men and one howitzer, at Cambahee fell in with a party of ye enemy, attacked them without waiting for ye arrival of Gen. Gist with the infantry, who was two miles in ye rear. The enemy being four times his number soon routed him, himself killed, Capt. Smith who commanded the howitzer wounded and also Lieut. Smith of the Virginia Line. General orders mention twenty four missing.<sup>1</sup>

*November 6.*—The incorporation takes places in our Line—have command of the levies. Capt. Stotesbury, Lieut. Allison, Tilden, Weitzel, McKnight and Adjutant Reed.

*November 7.*—Gen. Greene detains the retiring officers in camp by refusing them a wagon and other affairs necessary for the journey. The levies he says cannot leave him yet.

*November 8.*—Col. Mentges requests Lieut. Reed for assistant; I do duty as adjutant.

*November 10.*—Lieut. Markland returned from the lines says the Augustine fleet has arrived. Lieut. LeRoy returns to camp very unwell, though better than he has been during his absence.

*November 12.*—The retiring officers set out for Pennsylvania. Receive three half Johnnies from Gen. Greene. General Orders for the Pennsylvania levies to march tomorrow morning and draw clothing.

<sup>1</sup> Portion of diary from August 30 to November 4 missing.



*November 14.*—March at 9 o'clock; pass Bacon's bridge and take quarters at Mr. Stevenson's.

*November 15.*—March before sunrise; no water fit to drink until we arrive at Mr. Ravenells, where we feed our horses. March to Martin's Tavern and take quarters.

*November 16.*—March before sunrise. Take quarters at Eutaw's, famed for the advantage Gen. Greene had there over the British. Have the ague bad.

*November 17.*—Unfortunately lose one wagon horse of our team. March at sunrise, proceed to Lawrences ferry, the post illy supplied.

*November 18.*—Cross the ferry early; rain all day; roads very sloppy. Take quarters at Mrs. Richardson's, treated very politely.

*November 19.*—March at daylight. Rain all day and cold. Quarter at Mr. Geniards, at high hills of Santee.

*November 20.*—March before sunrise, cold and raining. Reach Camden, live in a vacant house.

*November 21.*—Shift my clothes and dine on invitation at Mr. Curfholds. Sup with Mr. Kershaw, who treats us very politely.

*November 22.*—March at sunrise; pass no inhabited town; take a snack at Ridgely's Mills. Pitch our tent a mile north of the Flat Rock. I acting as Quarter Master obliged to take a cow from one of the inhabitants, a disagreeable task.

*November 23.*—March at daylight, not a house on the road. Pitch our tent near a miserable hut at the ground famed by the defeat of Col. Beuford.

*November 24.*—March at sunrise and proceed to camp Branch and pitch our tent near another poor hut. The people living in it it is impossible to describe. Passed the line.

*November 25.*—March at sunrise and take quarters at a brick house, Clear Creek. Press beef.

*November 26.*—March at the usual hour, pass Pipher's Mills and quarter at ——. Odd adventures.

*November 27.*—Move off at sunrise and proceed to Salisbury; take lodgings at the widow Roans.

*November 28.*—Remain in town ; dine with Col. Chambers ; after dinner walk with Dr Allison and McKnight to a dancing school. The master very polite, dance three or four dances with the angels, and walk home with my partner. Fortunately we are invited to spend the night at Mr. Hughes ; the glass circulates freely. Some girls arrive, we dance 'till perfectly tired, and the old gentleman invites us to breakfast. Go home very sociable.

*November 29.*—Breakfast with Mr. Hughes. March at 10 o'clock and pitch our tent in the woods, poor place.

*November 30.*—March at sunrise and take quarters in Moravian town, [Salem] a very neat place for Dutch, buy apples and cider on the road.

*December 1.*—March at 11 o'clock from Salem, put up at ye cross roads.

*December 2.*—March at sunrise, pass Guilford Court House, take quarters one mile south of it.

*December 3.*—Rain all night and continues all day. March at sunrise, cross Reedy Fork and the Haw River, and take quarters near it.

*December 4.*—Rain, march as usual, the roads very bad, quarter at Mr. Stubbfields, who appears very genteel.

*December 5.*—March at daylight, cross the Dan river at Dix's ferry, and take quarters at Robinsons, six miles from the ferry, Pittsylvania, Virginia.

*December 6.*—Last night Mr. Allen and self slept two miles off the road at Mrs. Mays, the lady very clever. March early, quarter at Peytonsburg.

*December 7.*—Remain in town. Ride with Dr Allison to ye country and get fowls for our entertainment. At night attended a hop, horrid music and miserable dancers. Two ladies very agreeable. Our cook gives us a very good supper.

*December 8.*—Remain in town all day procuring provisions, and have a dance.

*December 9.*—March early, take quarters at Jones's Ordinary. Two or three of us disappointed, determined to get tipsey, get religiously so and play the mischief.

*December 10.*—March at sunrise, cross Staunton Coles ferry, quarter at Jones's Ordinary, Charlotte Court House.

*December 11.*—March early, some little difficulty in ye road, but arrive at Prince Edward's Court House before sundown. Mr. Venables.

*December 12.*—March at daylight and cross the Apomatox, breakfast at Col. Nash's, and proceed to Mr. D——.

*December 13.*—Give one hundred lashes to two of our men for theft. March a disagreeable road to Cumberland old Court House, and quarter a mile from the court house.

*December 14.*—Lieut. North and self dress and set out for a relation of his on ye James river, used very politely and play whist in the evening.

*December 17.*—Take leave of the good family, cross the river, Mr. Bowling directs us to the road. Arrive at Mr. Todds, spend the afternoon there and night at Parkers.

*December 18.*—Ride after breakfast, stop at Bowswells Ordinary.

*December 19.*—Ride early and breakfast at Orange Court House. Overtake the troops at breakfast. Quarter at Raccoon ford on the Rapidan for the night.

*December 21.*—March after sunrise; the roads bad, the snow chiefly gone. Put up at Germantown.

*December 22.*—March early, roads indifferent. Put up at the Red House, Prince William County.

*December 23.*—Move after daylight and proceed to Mr. Adams' four miles from Leesburg. Dined at Col. Davis's, in Loudon.

*December 24.*—March at daybreak, cross the Potomac, and quarter at Billmeyer's Inn, Frederick county, Maryland.

*December 25.*—March pretty early and enter Fredericktown. The road very bad. Billet our men and quarter at Capt. Morris' Inn.

*December 26.*—Remain in town; great quantity of rain fell during the night and today; the streets horrid dirty.

*December 27.*—The troops march after two o'clock; cross the Monocacy and quarter at the tavern on the north side of it.

*December 28.*—March early; morning cold; roads miserable; quarter at Taneytown; good inn.

*December 29.*—Move off before sun rise, the roads rough; pass through Littlestown and put up at McAllisters. Drink coffee with Col. McAllister and passable daughter.

*December 30.*—Snow all day; proceed on foot to York and get quarters for the men. Visit Mr. Chambers' family and received with a great deal of friendship.

*December 31.*—Set off for Darrington; very cordially received by Capt. Stevenson's family.



## DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

(Continued from page 86.)

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

"HEAD QUARTERS, 11 November, 1777

"DEAR SIR :

"Your Favors of the 9<sup>th</sup> & 10<sup>th</sup> Instant I have duly received. I think we may reasonably Hope, that, from the good disposition of the Troops in your Quarter, & the Zeal & activity of the officers and men, join'd to the present very advanced & cold Season, which must greatly retard if not prevent the Operations of the Enemy; Matters may Terminate with you agreeable to our Expectations, this must have the greatest Influence upon the Conduct of Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe & force him to adopt disadvantageous or disgraceful Measures.

"Gen<sup>l</sup> Knox informs me that he has sent down a person to get an exact return of the Ammunition which you now have, & of what may be want'd, & that he has sent down 17 Waggon's loaded with Ball, which you will receive about this time.—A Waggon with 20,000 Musket Cartridges will be immediately despatch'd to be deliver'd to the Militia (if you see fit) by your order only.—It is greatly to be wish'd that all firing could be prevented except where there is a real Necessity & the distance such as might promise a good effect.

"I have wrote to Gen<sup>l</sup> Potter ordering him to take every Step by which he can assist you & distress the Enemy on Province Island—he may alarm them & draw off their Attention from Fort Mifflin if nothing more.—You are acquainted with the reasons why a greater Force is not sent to annoy them in that quarter. I am &c

"G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON."

BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER TO WASHINGTON.

"Nov<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1777

"SIR

"I have just Received Intelagance of 38 sail of the enemy fleet coming up the River the latters was wrote five oclock yesterday evining altho the[y] are dated as of this day. the fiering yesterday was from the enemys Battereys on province Island near the River Banks I Believe the[y] have dun little damige if any I Riceved your excelanceys of the 10<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup>. as for my doing any thing that can be of us[e] to the fourt—I can't conseve how I can do it. I am &c.

"JA<sup>s</sup> POTTER."

BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER TO WASHINGTON.

"SIR

"Yesterday I sent Col. Rankan and Capt. Livis to give me an account of the fiering. Rankan is Returned, and says that about eight o'clock there was an Attact maid on Rid Bank which continued one hour and a half. about 11 o'clock the Attact Began and continued upwards of one hour, and about 3 o'clock the[y] attact<sup>ed</sup> again and Continued about 3 Quarters of an hour about one quarter after 3 o'clock the[y] Began again and Continued about one hour and a half and after the small Arms seased, the cannaiding Continued about 3 minits, and all seased. Col. Rankan is confidant that the fourt is ours yet and says he will wiger his hors against a gill of Whisque. I hope your Excelancey will have Glorious Accounts from Rid Bank. I am &c

"JA<sup>s</sup> POTTER.""Nov<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1777 ten o'clock."

JONATHAN RUMFORD TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER.

"WILMINGTON 9<sup>ber</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 77"D<sup>s</sup> GENERAL

"This will acquaint you with the loss of a 64 Gun Ship—Wednesday last, shee was drawn up with springs to her cables to fire on forte Mifflin, alias mud Island, but as Heven would have it, the Springs broke or by some means gave

way. The Ship ran a Shore n'r [M]anto Crick. Our People Erected a small Batery on Billings Port & soone sunk the Ship—there is now three Ships more going up one of which a 64. I am &c.

“JON<sup>d</sup>. RUMFORD.”

MAJOR EVANS TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER.

“WILMINGTON, Nov<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1777

“DEAR SIR :

“Having Just arived at this place I had account of thirty Eight large ships lying at or near reedy Island yesterday with a number of troops on board some say 3 some 4 & 5 thousand, the ships are all now standing up the River by this place now five of the Clock, therefore thought it my indispensible duty to give you the earliest intelligence that you might provide yourself accordingly. I am &c.

“GEO: EVANS, Major M.”

JONATHAN RUMFORD TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER.

“WILMINGTON Nov 11<sup>th</sup> 1777

“DR. GENERAL

“I am acquainted by Cap<sup>t</sup> Hugh Montgomery who is Just come from the River Shore that hee Counted thirty Eight Sales of Vessels Cheifly ships & that hee heard from M<sup>r</sup> Whitehead Jones these had Ten Solders landed & came to his House who acquainted him That there was a fleete now in the Delawar with Several Thousand Brittish Soldears on Borde. The Ships are Now Passing by I therefore send you this Inteligance & am &c.

“JON<sup>d</sup>. RUMFORD.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“WOODBERRY 11<sup>th</sup> November, 1777

“SIR

“Cap<sup>t</sup> [Samuel] Treat of the Artillery and one Man besides was killed this Morning. The Enemy have battered down a great Part of the Stone Wall. The Pallisades and Barracks are prodigiously shattered. The Enemy fire with

Twenty four & thirty two Pounders. Upon these, and other Considerations, Col<sup>o</sup> Smith is of Opinion that the Fort must be evacuated. A storm would not be dreaded; But it appears impossible for the Garrison to withstand point blank shot. I am now going to consult the Baron & Col<sup>o</sup> Greene. I expect we shall cause an evacuation this Night. I am &c.

“J. M. VARNUM.

“N.B.—The Evacuation may enable us to take Billingsport.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“WOODBERRY, 11<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 12 o’Clock P.M. 1777

“SIR :

“I am this Moment returned from Fort Mifflin—Every Defence is almost destroyed. Poor Col<sup>o</sup> Smith is on this Shore, slightly wounded.—I have ordered the Cannon, least in use, to be brought off. Lt Col<sup>o</sup> [Giles] Russell of Col<sup>o</sup> [John] Durkee’s Battalion commands. I have ordered the Garrison to defend at all Events ’till your Pleasure can be known. Nothing shall be wanting to support them, which we can give—They cannot hold out more than two Days.—Col<sup>o</sup> Smith urges an Evacuation still; at least, to continue a small Garrison only, w<sup>h</sup> might be bro’t off occasionally, I cannot accede to the Measure, as long as we have lost but few Men.—The Enemy have pass’d seven Boats this Evining between the Fort and Province Island.—The Cannonade is renewed; If as great Injury should take Place to morrow as to Day, we may be obliged to relinquish the Place.—I wish to know your will—The Fort shall be held, at all events, ’till then.

“Your Commands of this Day, just come to Hand. I am much obliged.

“At Red Bank, an Eighteen Pounder burst—one man killed and several wounded; at the two Gun Battery, a Serg<sup>t</sup> killed and one wounded.

“The Baron ought to know whether he shall go farther than this, as he is extremely unwell. I am &c

“J. M. VARNUM.”



COLONEL SMITH TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

“SIR

“I am clearly of your opinion to keep the fort to the last extremity, which in my opinion may as well be done with 100 as 500 men. By tomorrow night every thing will be levelled—our block houses next the enemy are almost destroyed—the N. West Block has but one piece of cannon fit for service—one side of it is entirely fallen down—they have begun on that next Read’s House & dismounted two pieces—the Pallisades next the meadow are levelled; the small battery in front of the gate torn up—the [a word that is illegible] battery torn up also. The wall is broke thro’ in different places. In fine should they storm us I think we must fall. However, as it is your opinion I will keep the garrison tho’ I lose mine and my soldiers lives. I hope the night may prove sufficiently favorable to get out some of our cannon; and then should we fall, you may still defend the River. I am now without 18 cartouches—must beg you will send me 300 which will serve me to-morrow—it must be done in the night. I would advise the garrison to be withdrawn except about 50 men, who could just keep up the same fire that is done now, and might escape in case of a storm—This would be my advice. ’Tis true I fight for glory, but at the same time must study the general good. I am &c

“SAM SMITH.

“FORT MIFFLIN, 11 Nov. 1777.

“N.B.—Reflect if they make the attack that their cannon will be placed against our Block house, in which case no man can stay in them. I expect to see the whole of the N. W. Block house fall every minute. If you should be of my opinion send boats in the first place to get over the cannon, and before day take off the men leaving as I mentioned.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “General Dickenson, to whose Discretion it was left to take the Command of our Militia now under General Newcomb, or to continue on his present station as he should conceive most for the Publick Interest, has preferred the latter, on account of a Plan he has formed to make a Descent on Staten Island, which he says is a favorite scheme of his; and

WASHINGTON TO FRANCIS HOPKINSON AND JOHN WHARTON.<sup>1</sup>

“HEAD QUARTERS, 12 November, 1777

“GENTLEMEN :

“I have your fav<sup>r</sup> of the 10<sup>th</sup> and am only sorry that I did not sooner know my request of sinking the Frigates had been complied with. The delay of the Resolve of Congress, from the time you first applied for their advice, was what led me into a mistake, and I am obliged to you for the genteel manner in which you excuse me. I am perfectly satisfied with the measures which you have taken to secure the shipping and desire when you have no further occasion for Men that they may be disposed of as directed in my former letters. I am &c<sup>2</sup>

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER TO WASHINGTON.

“I received your Excelanceys favour of yesterday at 10 o’Clock last night. I was out Reconnitring, the Shipping are com up. the number of soldiers I cant assurtain.

“As to the marching of the Militia the[y] were all at Head Quarters before I Rec<sup>d</sup> your Letter. as for my Harrassing the Enemy the sitation of the pleace is such that I can do Little, and my numbers so Trifling, that I cant prevent there coming over the Bridge, they are alarmed on the Island, and have strenthened that place with men and works and cannon there will be mutch more difiequalty in Redusing it than would have been eight days ago,

“I am sorey that Gen<sup>l</sup> [John] Armstrong is under a mistake from which he expects to derive considerable Advantage to the Cause. From the frequent Complaints I have had of General Newcomb’s Inactivity and utter want of all Discipline, I have sent for him to this place to account for his conduct to General Forman; & hope his friends here will embrace that opportunity to persuade him to resign a Post, which most of them seem now convinced he is incapable of discharging either with Honour to himself, or Advantage to the State.”—*Governor William Livingston to Washington*, November 11, 1777.

<sup>1</sup> Some letters of this date are printed in my “Writings of Washington,” Vol. VI. pp. 187, 188.

<sup>2</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman.

in Regard of my givin Interruption to the enemy in Bulding there Bridge, I drove there gaurd three times down to the warf, but my men were oblidged to Run back again the ground on the other side commands that on this side and they soon drive us off with there cannon—If it is agreeable to your Excelancey I could wish some other officer was to take the command here.

“I will do all in my power to get a Communication with Ridbank But cant vew it in such an easy light as some Gentlemen do.

“I am your Excelanceys &c

“JA<sup>s</sup> POTTER.

“Nov<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1777.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER TO WASHINGTON.

“SIR

“I am sorey to Inform your excelancey that Last night in the night the enemy got two Briggs and one sloop up past the Island on the side nixt the Island, and this day they were unloading them at the Lowast ferrey in Schulkill, there has been a verey hevey fiering this day at the fourt from the Battereys on the Islands the fourt seldom Returned the fier the Galleys went lower down the River [ ] and fired on the ships.

“I hope I will Receive Accounts tomorrow from Red bank this Evining I have Received the within closed from a gentleman that was in the City several days he assures me that I will get Intiligance from two good whigs in the City—I have just Received a letter from George Reed, Esq<sup>r</sup> of the Dalawer State Informing me that there Militia hav Destroyed 6 Vessels in Duck Creek with provisions going to the enemys shiping and Taken a number of the Treaders he can give no Account of the numbers of soldiers that were in the fleet that came up—sum says there did not appear to be meney on Board. I am &c

“JA<sup>s</sup> POTTER.

“Nov<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1777 9 oClock

“P.S.—We have Taken five Prisners this day and will send them to your Excelancey tomorrow.”



MAJOR FLEURY TO WASHINGTON.

“EXCELLENCEY

“in my quality of engineer in chief at fort mifflin I think that my duty obliges me to informe you of the present situation of the fort.

“the Fire of the enemy has been successfull enough to spoil our three Block houses, and dismount the canon of all, except two. the great lockes [logs?] of which we had covered them are not strong enough to preserve the inside of the block houses, and we have none others to mend them.

“some of our Palissades at the nordside are broken, but we can mend them every night.

“in all the fort is certainly yet in state to be defended, but the garrison is so dispirited that if the enemy will attempt to storm us, I am afraid that they will succeed. they are so exhausted, by watch, cold, Rain & fatigue, that their Courage is very Low, and in the Last allarme one half was unfit for duty.

“I have informed Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnam of the situation of the fort, and how small was the garrison considering how large is our enclosure.

“I think it necessary for my honour to put under your eyes the same observation, to not be thought guilty in case of bad event. I am excellency &c

“FLEURY.

“10 o’Clock 12 9<sup>ber</sup> 1777”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“WOODBERRY, 12<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> Sunset 1777

“SIR.

“The Garrison holds out; tho’ the Enemy continue to batter with great Success upon the Works, but few Men are killed and wounded. The Troops are extremely fatigued. I shall send one Hundred fresh Troops this Night, & all that I have tomorrow Night, if the Fort should remain defensible. The most fatigued will be taken from the Garrison.—



Col<sup>o</sup> Smith will be unable to return to his Command for some Time; It is a misfortune, but, Col<sup>o</sup> Russell will command with Spirit, & Col<sup>o</sup> Durkee will go in tomorrow Morning, should Col<sup>o</sup> Russell be much fatigued. Inclosed you have Major Fleury's opinion.<sup>1</sup> I am anxious to hear from you. Have no particular Intelligence save that Forty sail of Vessells with Troops, on Saturday last, entered the Delaware.—Should the Enemy continue their Cannonade the Island will be lost: however, the Garrison will continue 'till your Excellency shall order otherwise. I am &c.

“J. M. VARNUM.”

COLONEL SMITH TO WASHINGTON.

“WOODBERRY, 12 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR:

“I yesterday unfortunately rec<sup>d</sup> a Contusion on my Hip & left Arm, both which give me much pain. I imprudently went into my Barracks to answer a Letter from Gen. Varnum & a Ball came through the Chimney & struck me on the Hip so forcibly that I remained senseless for some time. however I am happy to find myself much less hurted than I at first imagin'd & Hope in 5 or 6 days to be again fit for duty. Coll. Russell now commands in fort Mifflin. The troops there are worn out with fatigue, watchings & cold. All the Guns in the Block Houses are render'd unfit for service & the Houses almost destroy'd. the Pallisades were renew'd last Night & this Day destroy'd again. the other Guns on my two Gun Battery render'd unfit for service. An 18 p<sup>r</sup> next to the right of the Battery dismounted, the New Well very much injur'd, the whole of the Garrisons Heap of Ruins. this Night Gen. Varnum intends removing some of the heavy Cannon. We shall perhaps be able to keep the fort three days, in which Time it will be levell'd to the Ground. Yesterday Cap<sup>t</sup> [Samuel] Treat was kill'd by a Ball which came through the Grand Battery & this Day his

<sup>1</sup> This opinion is not different in detail from that submitted to Washington, p. 241, *ante*.

Lieut. [John] George wounded, so that there are now but 2 Artillery Officers in Garrison. if they attempt a storm, I fear the Garrison must fall. Such weather as this the Gallies can give no Assistance. I Have advis'd the Garrison to be withdrawn, except the Artillery & ab<sup>t</sup> 50 Men who could keep up the same fire that the whole can. But to be prepar'd & in Case the Enemy attempt a Storm they might set fire to every part & withdraw. Gen. Varnum waits your Order. I have the Honor &c.

“SAM SMITH.”

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 13 November, 1777

“SIR :

“I wrote you two Letters yesterday ; the first contained positive orders to maintain the Fort on Mud Island at all events, the second in consequence of subsequent advices from you gave discretionary powers to evacuate the post, and a copy of it was sent to guard against miscarriage ; I refer you to its contents and repeat that I would have a Show of defence kept up as long as possible by such a number of men as you shall judge necessary. The importance of delaying the farther progress of the Enemy and preventing their making a lodgement on the Island is too obvious to need my insisting upon it. In addition to the perseverance of the Garrison, I think an Enterprise of a more active nature might be carried into execution in concert with a detachment from the Fleet. I mean a Descent upon Province Island for the purpose of spiking the Enemy's Cannon and levelling their Batteries—which would considerably embarrass the Enemy and gain us a great deal of time. This is proposed however only by way of consulting you upon the subject : you will be best able, being on the spot, to judge of the practicability of such a Scheme. Volunteers and pick'd Men would be most likely to do this Service effectually : and as a Stimulus to their Courage and Exertions I promise ample Rewards in case of Success. I would have Fort Mercer strengthen'd as much as Circumstances will allow—it may be put in such

a condition as to require a greater Sacrifice than the Enemy can afford to make in attempting it. I am &c

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“P.S.—Present my Compliments to Col<sup>o</sup> Smith. The Contents of his Letter are fully answer’d by this to you.”<sup>1</sup>

MAJOR FLEURY’S JOURNAL.

“Nov. 13<sup>th</sup> at night.—The Enemy have kept up a firing part of the night—their shells greatly disturb our workmen, and as the moon rises opposite to us, her light discovers to the Enemy where we are. As long as my Workmen would remain with me, I employed them in covering the two western Blockhouses with Joist within and without and filling the interstices with rammed Earth. I have closed the breaches made in our Palisades, with Planks, Centry-boxes, Rafters, and strengthen’d the whole with earth—General Varnum has sent me neither Ax, Fascine, Gabion nor Palisade, altho he promised me all these Articles, I suppose it has not been in his power—it is impossible however with watry mud alone to make works capable of resisting the Enemys 32 Pounders.

“14<sup>th</sup> Day light discovers to us a floating battery of the Enemy, placed a little above their grand battery, and near the Shore ; it seems to be a Bomb-battery.

“Fort Mifflin is certainly capable of defence if the means be furnished—if they supply us from Red-bank with Tools, Fascines, Palisades, &c all which they may do in abundance—the Fire of the Enemy will never take the Fort, it may kill us men but this is the Fortune of War. and all their bullets will never render them masters of the Island, if we have courage enough to remain on it—but they are removing our Cannon from the grand battery under pretext that it is necessary to raise a battery on the Jersey side to keep the Enemys shipping at a distance—but what signifies it, whether their Fleet be at the point of Hog Island or a quarter of a mile lower—will they not by taking this

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.



Fort have the Channel of province Island open, for their small Sloops and other light vessels—will they not drive the Gallies from the River—Fort Mifflin is the important Object, it must be maintained and furnish'd with means of defence. Men, Earth and Fascines to cover them—Our new Garrison consists of 450 Men—what can they do in a circumference of works so extensive as ours—being weak everywhere, they could make a defence nowhere and the Fort would be carried—The apparent Project of the Enemy is to debark on the Island; either to risque a Storm, or to establish a battery on the old ferry wharf, or nearer if they can—what means have we of hindering them—with a Garrison so feeble, can I make any advantageous Sallies—can I dislodge the Enemy—if I raise a battery against them will it not serve against ourselves in case of attack—for without a sufficient number to defend it, it must be given up—our grand Battery has 19 Embrasures and 8 cannon, two of which are dismounted—we must have Artificers to make Wheels—Fascines and Palisades for breaches. Gen' Varnum supplies us scantily—We must have men to defend the Ruins of the Fort—our Ruins will serve us as breast-works, we will defend the Ground inch by inch, and the Enemy shall pay dearly for every step—but we want a commanding Officer, ours is absent and forms projects for our defence at a distance.

“P.S.—As the Light becomes clearer, I perceive the Enemys floating battery, not to be a mortar battery but that it contains two 32 Pounders—we are going to raise a Counter battery of two eighteen Pounders taken out of our River battery—which will now have no more than 7 Guns, the Wheels of two of which have been disabled by the Enemy's Cannon. We are so much neglected that we have been 7 days without wood, and at present have only cartridges of eighteen pounders for a Piece of 32 which does considerable mischief to the Enemy.

“14<sup>th</sup> at 7 oClock. The Enemy keep up a great Fire from their Floating Battery and the shore.

“I repeat it, our Commanding Officer issues orders from



Woodberry—if he were nearer he would be a better judge of our Situation.

“Our blockhouses are in a pitiful condition, but with fascines I hope to cover two pieces in each lower story which will be sufficient to flank us. I say again the Enemys fire will not take our fort. if they attempt a storm we shall still have a little parapet to oppose to them, but we must have men to defend it.

“Novem̄ 14<sup>th</sup> at noon.

“We have silenced the Enemy’s floating Battery, I know not whether we have dismounted her Cannon, or whether her present Station exposes her too much, but the firing from her has ceased. I suspect that she is destined to land men on this Island.

“Their grand battery is in little better condition than our block-houses—We have open’d an embrasure at the Corner of the Battery, and two pieces here joined to two others on the left which we have reinstated, throw the Enemy into disorder.

“I repeat it—their fire will kill us men, because we have no cover, but it will never take the Fort, if we have sufficient courage to keep our ground—but a stronger Garrison is indispensibly necessary, we are not secured against Storm, if the Enemy attempt it—I fear they will succeed—in penetrating a Circumference of 1200 Paces defended only by 450 men and half ruined Palisades—A boat which this day deserted from the Fleet, will have given the Enemy sufficient intimation of our weakness—they will probably attack us or attempt a Lodgment on the Island which we cannot prevent with our present strength.

“Tonight an Attempt is to be made on the floating battery of the Enemy.”<sup>1</sup>

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“WOODBERRY,  $\frac{1}{2}$  p<sup>t</sup> 4 Mor.

“14 Nov. 1777

“SIR

“One Hour since, all was pretty well in Fort. Three killed yesterday, and seven wounded. Our greatest misfor-

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.

tune has been, that so high, we could get nothing across the River. However it is now calm, & the time improving. I have sent all the fresh Troops into the Fort & shall, in every Respect pursue your Orders signified 12<sup>th</sup>, 5 oClock P.M. The Garrison may continue for some Time. Possibly we shall keep the Island. To day we shall open upon their Shipping with three Guns from the lower Battery. I am &c.

“J. M. VARNUM.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“WOODBERRY,  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 P.M. 14<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR :

“Your Favor of yesterday is received. Major [Simeon] Thayer has the Command at Fort Mifflin at Present. Inclos'd you have his Sentiments. I have continued nearly four hundred Rank & File in the Garrison. All Col<sup>o</sup> Smith's Troops are brought to the Main to get a little Rest. I have no more Troops fit for Duty. I am very happy that a tolerable Prospect of holding the Post appears—Last Evening my whole Company of Artillery went into the Fort. Capt. [James] Lee commands. He is brave and good.—It is very unhappy that the Wind has been so great ; However, we shall be now [better] able to send supplies, than for several Days.—An Attempt upon Province Island is desirable, but impossible for us, who have no Troops, but fatigued ones, & those in less Force than the Enemy's upon that Place. As your Orders appear discretionary, in some measure, we shall risque many things in attempting to keep the River.—I think we may hold the Island till such Time as you can send us five Hundred Troops to make a second Relief.—If that cannot be done, we will endeavour to hold it.

“The large Howitz we want very much. I am &c.

“J. M. VARNUM.

“N.B.—I am now going with Col<sup>o</sup> Smith to Fort Mifflin, & shall be able, in the Morning, to give you a particular acc<sup>t</sup>.”

MAJOR THAYER TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

"FORT MIFFLIN, Nov. 14, 1777

"SIR

"By this I would give you to understand that the cannonade we have here we value not, nor can conceive how any one would dream of delivering up so important a post as this at present; from Cannon we have nothing to fear, if there should be no sudden storm. If, Sir, you will send us a reinforcement tonight of 100 or more men, it will certainly be a great means of the salvation of this garrison. A floating battery of the enemy appeared this morning. We have silenced her for the present. I am &c

"SIMEON THAYER Com<sup>d</sup>.

"P.S.—A Boat with a number of men deserted from our fleet but this minute—they may give some unfavorable account of our state, and insinuate some notion of our evacuating the fort. All well—none hurt since my arrival here—The garrison in good spirits."

CAPTAIN LEE TO WASHINGTON.

"N<sup>o</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 77

"SIR:

"I have just returned from the lower counties on Delaware. In our excursion thro' that country, the several landings on the river were visited, but to our satisfaction, we learned that the intercourse between the inhabitants & fleet was totally broke up. Lord Howe has positively forbid the least connexion under severe penalties.

"I should have proceeded down as far as Dover, in order to destroy some small craft, that were employed in furnishing the enemy with fresh provision fuel &c, from Duck creek, but this business being completed by Gen Patterson, I concluded the route unnecessary, & returned to my former station. Thirty eight sail of Transports arrived in the Delaware while I was down & joined the fleet off Chester. It was expected they had troops on board from N. York, but



none could be discovered as they passed up the river. I am &c.

“HEN<sup>r</sup> LEE.”

MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE TO WASHINGTON.

“AT MR MORRIS, Nov. 14<sup>th</sup> 8 oClock P.M. 1777

“DR. SIR.

“We have just returned from reconnoitering the grounds about Darby, the Islands below and up to the middle ferry—we purpose to go out again in the morning—from the present view Darby appears the only eligible position for the army for the purpose of their crossing the river. It is the opinion of several of the gentlemen that the enemy may be kept dislodged from the Islands by detachment, others are of opinion that it would be dangerous unless the party was covered, by the Army, but all are of opinion, it is practicable either the one way or the other and considering the good consequences that will result from it, it ought to be attempted. Darby is not the most eligible post I ever saw, but it is not so dangerous as to discourage the attempt to relieve fort Mifflin.

“The flag was flying at Fort Mifflin at sunset this evening, there has been a very severe cannonade today.—inclosed is a letter from Col<sup>o</sup> Greene respecting the condition of the fort. The enemy have got up two or three vessels into the Schuylkill, they were attempting to get up a two and thirty gun frigate, between hog Island and Province Island—by the best observation we could make her guns were taken out and follow’d her in a sloop.—She did not get up, but what was the reason, I know not.—The Commodore should be directed to sink a vessel or two in the new channel as soon as possible, and the fort encouraged to hold out to the last.—There is but one bridge over the Schuylkill and that is at the middle ferry. I examined the river myself from the falls to the mouth.

“The enemy have got a chain of redoubts with Abatis between them from one river to the other, part of this is from information and part from my own observation—The



Schuylkill is very deep and rapid, too deep for foot to ford it—the bridge at Matteson's ford is not in so great forwardness as I could wish, the commanding officer sais it will be done in three days—but a bridge of waggons can be thrown over for the foot to pass if that should not be done.

“The enemy are greatly discouraged by the forts holding out so long, and it is the general opinion of the best of the citizens that the enemy will evacuate the city if the fort holds out until the middle of next week.

“There is plenty of forage in this country, especially about Darby—we purpose to examine the ground a little more about Darby tomorrow, and if possible return tomorrow evening—From the best accounts we can get there is but five ships with troops on board in the river. I am &c

“NATH. GREENE.”

(To be continued.)

A REGISTER OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND  
DEATHS, 1772-1822.

BY REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D.D.

(Continued from page 111.)

94. Thomas Pilkinton and Jemima Edwards.  
Both of Middletown Chester County  
Pennfs<sup>a</sup>. June 21. 1781.

95. John Childs and Mary Wood.  
Both of Burlington County N. Jersey.  
July 16. 1781.

96. Charles McCarter and Rachel Brown.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Octob<sup>r</sup> 28. 1781.

*Eleven Couple.*

97. Col. Felix Winbert of Engineers and  
Altathea Garrison of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Feb<sup>y</sup> 5. 1782.

98. Moses Chamberlaine and Sarah Canby.  
Both of Goshen Chester County Feb<sup>y</sup> 14. 1782.

99. Benjamin Thompson and Rachell Howell.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. April 29, 1782.

100. John Young and Sally Rogers. Both of  
Providence Rhode Island. Sep<sup>t</sup> 5. 1782.

101. James Dunn and Sarah Hodges.  
Both of Maryland. Eastern Shore.  
Dec<sup>r</sup> 25. 82.

*Five Couple.*

102. Richard Paul of Elizabeth Town and  
Phebe Cahoon of Newark, New Jersey.  
May 4. 1783.

103. John Kidd and Rebecca Oldfield.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. June 30, 1783.

104. Enoch Northup and Mary Holmes.  
Both of Lower Dublin Phil<sup>a</sup> County.  
July 17. 83.

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105. Simon Ray Ward and Sarah Gardner.  
Both of Rhode Island. Sep<sup>r</sup> 8. 1783.

106. John Gray and Elizabeth Bergen.  
Both of New York. Novem<sup>r</sup> 21. 1783.

*Five Couple.*

107. Sam<sup>l</sup> Stockton of Springfield N. Jersey.  
and Ann Wood of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Feb<sup>r</sup> 18. 1784.

108. John Alexander and Ann Reynolds.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. March 25. 1784.

109. W<sup>m</sup> Browne of Philad<sup>a</sup> and Joanna  
Burman of Greenwich Township,  
Gloucester CF., New Jersey. April 22. 1784.

110. Joseph Burn and Hannah Williams.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. June 15. 1784.

111. Samuel Talbert and Hannah Ackley.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. July 15. 1784.

112. Jacob Humphrey of Montgomery Town-  
ship and Jane Charlesworth of Philad<sup>a</sup>.  
Octo<sup>r</sup> 17. 1784.

113. Rev. Elhanan Winchester and Mary  
Knowles. Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. October 18. 1784.

114. George Graham & Rebecca Jackson.  
Both of Biberry. Phil<sup>a</sup> County. Octob<sup>r</sup> 27. 1784.

115. Samuel Atkinson & Rhoda Osborne.  
Both of the Northern Liberties. Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Dec<sup>r</sup> 30. 1784.

116. Elisha Gordon & Elizabeth Francis.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup> 30. 1784.

*Ten Couple.*

117. David Shakespear & Elizabeth Davis.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. January 20. 1785.

118. George Sweetman & Kezia Britton.  
Both of Bristol. Pennfylv<sup>a</sup>. February 11. 1785.

119. Jacob Meyer of Delaware State, and  
Esther Musgrave of Chester County.  
March 23. 1785.

120. Davis Read & Elizabeth Steel.  
Both of Chester County. March 24. 1785.

121. D<sup>r</sup> Dan<sup>l</sup> De Benneville & Elizabeth Coate.  
Both of Moors Town N. Jersey.  
April 14. 1785.
122. John Steel & Mary Riffett.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. April 28. 1785.
123. William Ferrill & Dinah Byles.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. June 5. 1785.
124. John Cochran & Kitty Rush.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. August 8, 1785.
125. John Adams of Burlington County  
and Elizabeth Town, of Northern Liberties.  
Oct: 12. 1785.
126. John Hamilton of Philad<sup>a</sup> & Phebe  
Burns of Burlington County. Nov<sup>r</sup> 2. 85.
127. Enos Gibbs & Elizabeth Burrows.  
Both of Gloucester County, N. Jersey.  
Dec<sup>r</sup> 18. 1785.
- Eleven Couple.*
128. John Gullen & Sarah Willder.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Feb<sup>r</sup> 9. 1786.
129. Tobias Rudolph of Head of Elk  
Maryland, & Martha Milnor of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Feb<sup>r</sup> 14. 1786.
130. Samuel Jobson & Elizabeth Finney.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. March 19. 1786.
131. Joseph Hayes, of Blockly Phil<sup>a</sup> County.  
& Jane Wilday of Lower Merion, Montg<sup>r</sup>  
County. April 11. 1786.
132. Obadiah Soley & Mary Wood.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. May 8. 1786.
133. Samuel Osler, of Gloucest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup> N. Jersey,  
& Ann Moore of Philad<sup>a</sup>. May 11. 1786.
134. Martin Thomas & Rebecca Esty.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. May 25. 1786.
135. Edward Hannon & Hannah Flowers.  
Both of Lower Chichester, Chester County.  
May 31, 1786.



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136. W<sup>m</sup> Walker of Lower Chichester, and  
Ruth Gibbons of Weston, Chester County.  
June 1. 1786.
137. Joseph Woodman of Newp<sup>t</sup> R. Island  
& Lydia Foster of Phil<sup>a</sup>. July 10. 1786.
138. Thomas Conarroe & Peggy Riley.  
Both of Lower Chichest<sup>r</sup> Chest<sup>r</sup> County.  
July 11. 86.
139. Anthony George & Elizabeth Raser.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Sep<sup>t</sup> 10, 1786.
140. John Ely & Elizabeth Bennett.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Sept. 14. 1786.
141. James Malin, of Chester County, &  
Margaret Richards of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Sep<sup>t</sup> 28, 86.
142. Richard Wells & Tabitha Tolbert.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Sep<sup>t</sup> 28. 1786.
143. Nathan Sheppard & Martha Mulford.  
Both of Cohansey. Nov<sup>r</sup> 7. 1786.

*Sixteen Couple.*

144. George North & Sarah Evans.  
Both of Chester County. Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Friday Jan<sup>y</sup> 12. 1787.
145. W<sup>m</sup> Matlack of Charleston S. Carolina  
& Hannah Carmalt of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursday  
March 22. 1787.
146. Nathaniel Brown & Kitty Williamson.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Wednesday April 25. 1787.
147. James Hanlon & Margaret M<sup>c</sup>Daniel.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Wednesday June 6. 1787.
148. Robert Clark & Phebe Roland.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday June 12. 1787.
149. John Barlow & Phebe Bolton.  
Both of Montgomery County Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Tuesday June 19, 1787.
150. Henry Molier & Esther Lucas.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday June 26. 1787.
151. Thomas Rofs, Esq<sup>r</sup> of Chester County &  
Mary Thomas of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Saturday  
June 30. 1787.

152. Hiram Cochran of Baltimore and  
Susannah Walters of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Sunday  
July 1. 1787.
153. John Smith & Ann Wall.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Monday Aug<sup>t</sup> 6. 1787.
154. Samuel Neff & Elinor Helvesten.  
Both of Oxford Township. Philad<sup>a</sup>  
County. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 14. 1787.
155. David Christie & Rebecca Carmalt.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Aug<sup>t</sup> 16. 1787.
156. Thomas Watkins & Ruth Howell.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 23, 1787.
157. Andrew Maines & Hannah Willson.  
Both of Burlington County, N. Jersey.  
Tuesday Sep<sup>r</sup> 25. 1787.
158. William Martin & Elizabeth Middleton.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Oct. 25. 1787.
159. Robert Douglass of Trenton N. Jersey  
& Mary Lawrence of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday  
Octob<sup>r</sup> 29. 1787.
160. Henry Hofner & Sophia Omensetter.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Monday Nov<sup>r</sup> 5. 1787.
161. Robert Smock & Ann Pennington. Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Dec<sup>r</sup> 18. 1787.
162. W<sup>m</sup> Lucas & Esther Copson.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Friday Dec<sup>r</sup> 21. 1787.

*Nineteen Couple.*

163. John Hart & Margaret Summers.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Wednesd<sup>y</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 9. 1788.
164. Joseph Keen & Margaret Williams.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 24. 1788.
165. Joseph Monrow & Mary Marple.  
Both of Gloucest<sup>r</sup> County, N. Jersey.  
Monday March 10. 1788.
166. Peter May & Catherine Walters.  
Both of Montgom<sup>y</sup> County, Pennfylv<sup>a</sup>.  
Wednesday March 12. 1788.

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167. Herman Yercas of Bucks County &  
Elizabeth Tomkins of Montgom<sup>y</sup>.  
Thursday March 27. 1788.
168. W<sup>m</sup> Applegate & Jane Chester. Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Wednesday, April 9, 1788.
169. Henry Towne & Sarah Gutrage. Both of  
Philad<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday, April 29. 1788.
170. Thomas Thompson & Amy Jones. Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursday, May 29. 1788.
171. Harding Williams, of Kent C<sup>y</sup>, Marylan<sup>d</sup>  
& Rebekah Dickinson of Philad<sup>a</sup>.  
Sunday June 8. 1788.
172. Peter Gravenstine & Ann Kinsey.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Aug<sup>t</sup> 7. 1788.
173. Silas Crispin & Esther Dougherty. Both  
of Lower Dublin, Phil<sup>a</sup> County, Sunday  
Oct<sup>r</sup> 12. 1788.
174. Richard Coles & Hannah Sayre. Both  
of Roads Town, Cumberl<sup>d</sup> Count<sup>y</sup> N. Jersey,  
Saturday Octob<sup>r</sup> 18. 1788.
175. Elisha Evans & Rebecca Jolly. Both of  
Upper Merrion Township, Montgom<sup>y</sup> C<sup>y</sup>,  
Wednesday Nov<sup>r</sup> 19. 1788.
176. Jacob Keen & Elenor Esty. Both of  
Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Dec<sup>r</sup> 25. 1788.

*Fourteen Couple.*

177. Jacob Fry & Margaret Springer. Both  
of Tawamansing Township, Montg<sup>y</sup> County,  
Tuesday Feb<sup>y</sup> 3. 1789.
178. Thomas Parsons & Hannah Scollar.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Feb<sup>y</sup> 3. 1789.
179. Stephen Ogelby & Margaret Guttrey.  
Both of Bristol Township, Phil<sup>a</sup> County,  
Saturday Feb<sup>y</sup> 28. 1789.
180. Sallows Shewell & Mary Shields.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Saturday May 2<sup>d</sup> 1789.
181. Charles Dougherty & Jane Taylor.  
Both of Sweedsborough, Gloucester Coun<sup>y</sup>  
N. Jersey. Wednesday June 10, 1789.

182. Hugh McLaughlan & Eliz<sup>h</sup> Scott.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Wednesday. July 15, 1789.
183. John Fraser & Ann Draper. Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursday July 23, 1789.
184. Thomas Holmes of Waterford Townsh<sup>p</sup>  
Gloucest<sup>r</sup> County, N. Jersey & Mary Turner  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Saturday Oct<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1789.
185. John Jackson & Ann Moore. Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Dec<sup>r</sup> 31. 1789.

*Nine Couple.*

186. Matthew Mannen & Eleanor Eagar.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday. Jan<sup>y</sup> 5. 1790.
187. Lot Evans of Gloucester Township &  
County, New Jersey, & Maria Robinson  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday March 4, 1790.
188. Jonathan Pearson & Mary Jones,  
Both of Lower Merriion, Montg<sup>y</sup> County,  
Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Saturday March 13. 1790.
189. Thomas Shallcrofs & Mary Alberger,  
Both of Oxford Township, Phil<sup>a</sup> County  
Sunday March 14. 1790.
190. John Kaign & Lydia Skadan,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday March 23<sup>d</sup>. 1790.
191. John Miller & Catherine Baker,  
Both of Montgom<sup>y</sup> County, Pennsylv<sup>a</sup>.  
Wednesday April 14. 1790.
192. Charles Wilson & Ann Mofsman,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday May 9. 1790.
193. Charles McGrady & Sarah Bristoll,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday June 6. 1790.
194. Samuel Burns & Ann McKinley.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>y</sup> July 7. 1790.
195. John Raboteau & Susanna Groff.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Sep<sup>t</sup> 5. 1790.
196. David Jenkins & Ann Zane.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Sep<sup>t</sup> 26. 1790.
197. Samuel Davis, jun<sup>r</sup> & Mary Smith,  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Oct<sup>r</sup> 7. 90.



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198. James Miles & Rebecca Holton.  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Oct. 14. 90.
199. William Saxton & Elizabeth Saxton.  
Both of the Northern Liberties,  
Philad<sup>a</sup> County, Sunday Oct<sup>r</sup> 24. 90.
200. John Armitage of Huntingdon Town-  
ship & County, State of Penn<sup>t</sup>,  
& Elenor Siddons, of Cheltenham, Mont-  
gom<sup>y</sup> County, Tuesday Nov. 2. 90.
201. David Smith of Ridley, Delaw<sup>re</sup> C<sup>y</sup>  
& Ann M<sup>c</sup>Dougall of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Sunday Nov. 7. 1790.
202. George Brown & Charity Hoops. Both  
of Goshen, Chest<sup>r</sup> County. Sat<sup>y</sup> Nov. 13. 90.
203. Benjamin Sweeten & Elizab<sup>h</sup> Coates.  
Both of Gloucest<sup>r</sup> County. N. Jersey. Monday  
Nov. 15. 90.
204. Jacob Keyser & Catherine Wise. Both  
of Montg<sup>y</sup> County. Penn<sup>t</sup>. Tuesday Nov. 30. 90.
205. William Holmes & Elizabeth Miles.  
Both of Waterford Township, Gloucest<sup>r</sup> County.  
N. Jersey. Friday Dec<sup>r</sup> 17. 1790.

*Twenty Couple.*

206. Lewis Foight & Sarah Ludgate, Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Feb<sup>y</sup> 24. 1791.
207. Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Kean & Mary Gribbel.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wednesday March 2<sup>d</sup> 91.
208. Arthur Vanse & Mary Moore, Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Wednesd<sup>y</sup> April 13. 1791.
209. Isaac Cleaver & Mary Davis; he of  
Montg<sup>y</sup> County & She of Chester D<sup>o</sup>.—  
Tuesday May 10. 1791.
210. John Folwell & Ruth Vernon, he of  
Southampton & she of Philad<sup>a</sup>.—  
Tuesday May 31. 1791.
211. Ludwig Glofs & Elizabeth Weldon,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day, July 3. 1791.
212. W<sup>m</sup> Adair & Mary Daugherty, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday July 28. 1791.

213. George Bart & Sarah Collier, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Thursday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 25. 1791.
214. John Colbeirt & Margaret Walters,  
Both of Montg<sup>y</sup> County, Penn<sup>a</sup>,  
Wednesday, Sep<sup>t</sup> 7, 1791.
215. Abraham Gordon & Sarah Kittera.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Sunday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 27. 91.
216. Jonathan Carson & Susan Bonsill,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Sunday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 27. 91.
217. George Fox, of Salem County, N. Jersey,  
& Lydia Bildervack, of ditto, Tuesday.  
Dec<sup>r</sup> 13. 1791.

*Twelve Couple.*

218. John Engle & Elizabeth Winter,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wednesd<sup>y</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 22. 92.
219. Samuel Brown & Williamina Rit-  
tenhouse. Both of Montg<sup>y</sup> County,  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursday March 22<sup>d</sup> 1792.
220. Isaac Morris & Elizabeth Griffith,  
Both of New Britain, Bucks County,  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursday April 5. 1792.
221. W<sup>m</sup> Chancellor & Grace Conrow, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday, April 12. 1792.
222. George Pfeiffer, M.D. & Mary Williams,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> June 23. 92.
223. George Carskadan & Rosanna Mounty.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wednesd<sup>y</sup> July 4. 1792.
224. John Bowker & Sarah Woollard.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day, Aug<sup>t</sup> 19. 1792.
225. W<sup>m</sup> Moore & Mary Prodley. Both of  
Philad<sup>a</sup>, Thursday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 30. 1792.
226. James Walker & Margaret Prody.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 30. 1792.
227. John Borton of Burlington County,  
& Abigail Bishop of Gloucester County,  
State of N. Jersey, Wednesd<sup>y</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 12. 92.

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228. James Ferguson, of Philad<sup>a</sup> & Rebecca  
Buckley, of Gloucest<sup>r</sup> County, N. Jersey.  
Thursday, Nov. 8. 1792.

229. Nathaniel Bayne, of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Elizabeth  
Rodman, of Burlington, New Jersey.  
Thursday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 6. 1792.

230. Job Pugh, of Chester County, & Ruth  
Brooke, of Montg<sup>y</sup> County, State of  
Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Thursday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 20. 1792.

231. James Pritchard & Martha Hughes,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 31. 92.

*Fourteen Couple.*

232. Ignatius Cooper & Abigail Wilkes, Blacks,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 10. 1793.

233. W<sup>m</sup> Holsten & Rebecca Lounsbury,  
Both of Pilesgrove, Salem County ; N. J.  
Saturday, Feb<sup>y</sup> 16. 1793.

234. Joseph Carson & Sarah Belfsonet,  
Both of Bristol, Pennf<sup>a</sup> Wednesd<sup>y</sup>  
April 3. 93.

235. Rowland Parry & Esther Carter,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Saturd<sup>y</sup> April 13. 93.

236. John Servofs & Elizabeth Kinsey.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> April 27. 93.

237. Samuel Hamilton & Elizabeth Clunn,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday, May 2. 93.

238. Simon Webb & Elizabeth Fry. Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Saturday, May 25. 93.

239. Peter Sutter of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Sarah Caru-  
thers of Woodberry, N. Jersey. Thursd<sup>y</sup>  
June 13, 1793.

240. Henry Plaine & Christiana White,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day, June 23. 93.

241. Jonathan Walter & Jane Price,  
Both of Lower Merion, Montg<sup>y</sup> C<sup>y</sup> Pennf<sup>a</sup>—  
Lord's Day, July 7. 93.

242. Francois Stile & Julia Baldesquy,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day, Aug<sup>t</sup> 25. 93.

243. John Braley & Hannah Esher,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday Sep<sup>t</sup> 2. 1793.
244. Edward Newton & Eve Livingston,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wednesda<sup>y</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 18. 1793.
245. Jacob Trebolet & Charlotte Plain,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wednesd<sup>y</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 18. 1793.
246. W<sup>m</sup> Gibbons & Mary Baker, Both  
of Penn's Neck, Salem County, New  
Jersey, Tuesday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 8. 1793.
247. Thomas Foster Doggett of Liverpool,  
Nova Scotia, & Elizabeth Green of Phil<sup>a</sup>,  
Thursday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 17. 1793.
248. Mathew Vollens & Mary Rowen,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Tuesday Nov. 12. 1793.
249. William Holmes & Margaret Vollens,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Tuesday. Nov. 12. 1793.
250. W<sup>m</sup> Murfin of Cumberland County,  
N. Jersey, & Leah Fortner of Phil<sup>a</sup>—  
Monday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 23. 1793.
251. Daniel Jodon & Anna M<sup>c</sup>Neal,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Tuesday Dec<sup>r</sup> 24. 93.

*Twenty Couple.*

(To be continued.)



## JOHN ROBERTS OF MERION.

[The original of the following record is in possession of the Roberts family of this city, in the handwriting of John Roberts of Carnarvonshire, Wales, the progenitor of the family in this country.]

“An account of *John Roberts* left to my Posterity.

“A short account of John Roberts formerly of Llyn, being son of Richard Roberts, and Grand-son of Robert Thomas Morris, who lived at Cowyn, in the Parish of Llanerngan, and County of Carnarvon; my Mother, being Margaret Evans, daughter of Richard Evans of the Parish of Llangian and county aforesaid. Being convinced of God's Everlasting Truth about the year 1677, not by man nor through man, but by the Revelation of Jesus Christ in my own heart, being about thirty miles from any Friends or Meeting, in that time when I was convinced, but coming into acquaintance with Friends near Dollgella and near Bala in Merionethshire I frequented their meetings while I abode in those parts, but by the Providence of God, in the year 1683 I transported myself with many of my friends for Pennsylvania where I and they arrived, the sixteenth day of the ninth month, One thousand six hundred and eighty-three, being then thirty-five years old; and settled myself in the place which afterwards I called Pencoid in the Township of Merion, which was afterwards called so by them, being the first settlers of it, having brought with me one servant man from my native land, and fixed my settling here I took to wife Gaynor Roberts, daughter to Robert Pugh (or ap Hugh) from Llwyndedwydd near Bala in Merionethshire, her mother being Elizabeth William Owen, one of the first that was convinced of the Truth in that neighborhood. So leaving this account for our Offspring and others that desire to know from whence we came and who we descended from and when we came to settle unto this place

where we now abide, being then a wilderness, but now by God's blessing upon our endeavors is become a fruitful field. To God's name be the Praise, Honor and Glory, who is worthy of it for ever and for ever more."

The same was entered in the records of Merion Meeting, as the following from the minutes of the meeting show :

"MERION PREPARATIVE MTG.

"11 mo. 5. 1704.

"John Roberts brought in an account to this meeting of his place of abode in his native country being Llun in Caernarvonshire, convincement and removall to this Country, marriage and other remarkable passages of his life, in order to be entered upon Record.

"Whereas John Robert in ye county of Carnarvon hath declared his intention in order to his removal to Pennsylvania in America we thought it convenient to certify in his behalf that he is one th<sup>t</sup> owned and received the truth for these 6 years past. Hath walked since blameless in his conversation and servicable in his place—also that he is free from all contracts of marriage and matrimony to a certain knowledge of good reputation amongst his neighbors acquaintance and relations where he lived.

"From the Mens Meeting at Penllan ye 18 of 5th month 1683.

"RICHARD PRICE

"ROBERT OWEN

"CADD ELLIS

"EVAN REES

"ROBERT EVAN

"ELLIS DAVID

"HUGH GRIFFITH

"MORRIS HUMPHREY

EDWARD GRIFFITH

THOMAS PRICHARD

DAVID JONES

WILLIAM MORGAN

GRIFFITH JOHN

ROGER ROBERT

EVAN OWEN"

RECOLLECTIONS OF PHILADELPHIA NEAR  
SEVENTY YEARS AGO.

The southern branch of Dock creek took its rise, near where the public Alms House, now stands, and took its course down Spruce street, to the corner of eighth; then entered the lot there, and proceeding nearly N. E., passed through, what is now Washington Square, (then the Potter's Field). Leaving about one quarter of that square separated from the rest, a very unsightly piece of ground, which was filled up with many cart loads of brick bats, stones, and all kinds of rubbish, which, bye the bye, is one reason of the difficulty of raising trees on that part of the square. From thence, the said branch took its course through the middle of what is now the Jail yard, crossing Walnut above fourth street, and fourth above, what is now, Harmony Court. Joining the main branch a little to the westward of where Girard's Bank now is. This branch in its passage left a portion of firm land at, and near, the corner of Fourth Street, whilst a very unseemly piece of broken ground, called Beaks' Hollow, offended the eye, just to the north of it. Old Beaks kept a tavern at the N. W. cor. of Fourth and Walnut, at which hung a sign with the redoutable Hudibras, painted on it, with such fierce & frightful lineaments, as if to frighten the youngsters of that day from all Republican ideas, & endear his Gracious Majesty of Britain to their tender hearts. Just below Fourth St., in this said hollow, lived Cutty Creamer, who kept cows, and used to send his dhr. Guly, with milk to his neighbors. On the hill adjoining Walnut Street, he had a small Peach Orchard, but how he kept the fruit from being taken by us boys I know not.

At that time there was an apple orchard at the N. W. cor. of Fourth and Spruce Streets.

The other, or main branch, which formed Dock Creek, took its rise between Arch and Race Streets, about Eleventh



St. Crossed Arch at Tenth St., and running nearly parallel to it, a little to the south for several squares. It then wound its way further southward. It crossed Market St. near Fourth, and passing back of the Indian Queen tavern, crossed Chestnut St. at Hudson's Alley, joining the other branch, as mentioned before, back of Girard's Bank, to which place the tide then flowed.

I might tell of the Dock Creek, being open to Third Street (a foul place, especially when the tide was out), and concerning the green Common, which extended in some places from Eighth St. to the Centre Woods; how that famous forest was cut down by the British Troops, and how there was but one brick house on Market above Fifth Street, but I have to proclaim the names of the great men who then ruled the destinies of this "Queen of Cities."

James Hamilton, an old bachelor, was then Governor, and a very great man he looked like. He had a town house where he came when he met the Assembly. It was situated on Walnut Street adjoining the peach orchard, mentioned before, and part of it is still standing. I believe he always lodged at his Country Seat, which seat was no other than Bush Hill, much noted during the Yellow Fever of 1793, and is now Macauley's oil Cloth factory.

I remember when George the Third was to be proclaimed, as I then thought; my sister led me by the hand to 2nd St. opposite the old Court House, on the platform in front of which, stood the said Governor, bedizened with gold-lace in such a manner, as made me gaze with astonishment. He was surrounded by his Council "all good men and true." The Secretary, Joseph Shippen, read the Instrument, nothing of which I remember but the words "Caribbee Islands," which makes me suspect I had mistaken a Proclamation of Peace, for a Proclamation of the commencement of that good, but deluded, Prince's reign.

William Allen, who lived in Water Street near Market Street, was Chief Justice. I used occasionally to stroll into the Court and hear him address the Jury, which gave me but a poor opinion of his Oratory.



B. Chew, the King's attorney, appeared to be a keen and severe speaker, which might have been occasioned by his office of Public Accuser. J. Galloway and J. Dickinson were my favorite pleaders; the first, perhaps, because he was the head of the party to which my friends belonged,—but the other was really a beautiful speaker.

Speaking of party, I may just mention, there was as much scuffling and pushing, to get into the General Assembly, then as now, notwithstanding, the pay was but 6 shillings a day. The tickets were all to be written; and for three days before the Election, the boys at our school, who were capable of it, did no other business but write votes, which occasioned us to be mighty politicians, supposing it to be the greatest consequence for us to write much that our party might triumph.

After these things, a most puissant Constable, called Alek Carlyle, a most formidable man, who inspired the children of our good city, and a large portion of the grown folks, with a marvellous dread of his prowess; but there was a member of his own family, who filled him with almost as much fear, as he did other people.—Being a near neighbor I am well acquainted with this fact.

BENJAMIN KITE.

12 mo. 19th—1828.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

## MILITIA TRAINING.—

## TAKE NOTICE

That you are hereby required personally or by sufficient substitute, to appear at my quarters, at Ja<sup>s</sup> Kerr's, Dock St<sup>t</sup>, properly armed and equipped for service, at the hour of 9 o'clock, A.M., on the 14th day of December instant, to march when required.

Appeals to be heard at Isaac Watkins's Tavern, Market Street, on Thursday the 20th day of January next, 1808, at 10 o'clock, A.M. Given under my hand this 4th day of December, A.D. 1807.

JOHN SCOBEEY  
Captain.

ADMIRAL PENN'S MONUMENT.—In the *Quakeriana* for November of 1894, W. H. Summers, of Beaconsfield, writes,—

"When in Bristol a few weeks ago I entered St. Mary Redcliffe Church and examined Admiral Penn's monument. It is certainly very difficult to decipher the inscription, but I was able, even without a glass, to read the disputed words 'and those Penns of Penn in the County of Bucks . . .' I have learned from the Rev. J. Grainger, M.A., vicar of Penn, that under the northwest corner of the nave of Penn Church there is a large vault, made in the last century, which contains six small coffins containing the remains of the following children :

"1. William, son of the Honorable Thomas Penn, Esq., Proprietor of Pennsylvania, and the Right Honorable Lady Juliana Penn, his wife, died February 14, 1753, aged seven months.

"2. Thomas, son of the above, died September 5, 1757, aged two years and one month.

"3. William, son of the above, died April 24, 1760, aged three years, nine months, and six days.

"4. Louisa Hannah, daughter of the above, died tenth day of June, 1766, aged nine years, ten months, and nineteen days.

"5. William, son of Richard Penn, Esq., one of the Proprietors of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Hannah, his wife, died February 4, 1760, aged twelve years and eight months.

"6. A little coffin with only the letter P on it.

"What possible motive can be suggested for the construction of this vault and these interments in it, if these Penns of Stoke had nothing to do with the Penns of Penn?"

DOCTOR CASPAR WISTAR.—The following extracts from a letter of Margaret Wistar Haines contain several incidents of interest during the yellow fever epidemic of 1798.

"Doctor Wistar is pretty clever, I went in his yard to look at him out of the two pair of stair window. His spirits are very low, and he is yet doubtful—had 2 or 3 doctors called in this morning to consult about his turning so yellow, but they say that some turn yellow at their

first being taken & others when the disorder is going off, that their advice was for him to take something strengthening. He is in want of some peaches but they must be very nice ones. I have sent to Phebe Pemberton yesterday & got 5 or 6 but I can't get any more, have sent to old Luke Morris & asked Timothy. Now if you can get him a few at Forest's or Antony Johnson's, it's soft ones he wants & they must be very nice indeed or they may not be sent. I want to know whether R. . . . thinks there would be any at J. Cooper's if we were to send. . . . They want very much to get nurses for them, they give 3 dollars a day but can't get good ones nor enough of them. It is thought that the Nurses at Bushill are often in Liquor & the Negro nurses can't read so that there are but poor doings."

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.—The following letter in the original is in the possession of Mr. George M. Steinman, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania :

" CAMP 5 MILES BELOW NEW ORLEANS, }  
" 10th February, 1815. }

"SIR—In my last I informed you that the enemy was at hand. They have paid us a visit, the result of which you no doubt have saw in the paper. I think I hear you say, why have you not wrote sooner? Excuse the delay, it was not neglect. The duties I had to proform and my situation would [not] admit of an earlier communication. At present it is hardly worth my while to enter into detail on the subject of our campaign, but I think I can give you a more correct account than any you have saw in the papers.

"On the 23rd December (in the evening) we were called to arms and marched to this place. About 9 o'clock that night we attacked the enemy in this camp. We were about 1,500 in number; they near 5,000 strong. The engagement lasted near two hours; ceased without any apparent advantage on either side, except in the number of killed and wounded. We had not more than 30 killed and as many wounded; 30 or 40 were made prisoners. Their loss was stated to have been 250 killed, perhaps double that number wounded, and we got 30 prisoners. A few hours after the engagement we were reinforced by Gen'l Carroll and the Tennessee Militia. Before daylight we fell back about a mile and threw up a breastwork across the plain from the river to the swamp. Our numbers daily increased, and we are at present in this quarter 12,000 strong. The next morning after the battle the enemy received a reinforcement of 2,000 men, and in the course of that day and night augmented to about 10,000. On the 28th they attempted storming our works. They commenced by throwing congrave rockits, balls & bumshells which was returned from our batteries with such effect as to keep them out of reach of our small army. A heavy cannonading lasted from sunrise until about 3 o'clock in the evening of that day. We only lost 3 killed and 2 or 3 wounded. Their loss must have been considerable. A scattering fire was kept up from both armies until the morning of the 1st January. On that morning they made another attempt more vigorous, but equally unsuccessful with the first, and more fatal to themselves. A cannonading was kept up from both sides until the 8th. On that morning they were determined to go to Orleans in spite of all opposition. A quarter of an hour before daylight a rocket was thrown from right to left of the enemy's camp. This was the signal to move forward. We were prepared to receive them and they advanced like desperadoes under the most destructive fire from 18 pieces of artillery, until they came within musket shot. The action then became general



from right to left, and for one hour and forty minutes every object appeared enveloped in blaze, and nothing was heard but a peal of thunder. Notwithstanding they advanced to our breastwork and many were kil'd in the act of getting over here. Lord Wellington's best troops, the pride of Great Britain, was forced (for the first time in their lives) to retreat, leaving the field covered with their dead. They retreated to their fortifications from whence a heavy cannonading was kept up and returned from our side until about 12 o'clock. A flag of truce was then sent up and all hostility was ordered to cease to 3 o'clock the next day. In the engagement the enemy lost their Commander-in-Chief, Lord Packingham; Maj. Gen'l Gibbs & 500 men (including a number of other officers) kil'd. Maj. Gen'l Kean was mortally wounded. 150 were taken prisoners, about 200 were taken off the ground wounded, a number of which have since died. The number of wounded which they got off is not known, but it must have been great. It is said that their loss on that day was upwards of 2,000 kil'd, wounded and taken, and strange to tell we only lost six men kil'd & eight wounded. The loss of the enemy is estimated at 3,600 men since they landed. Ours cannot be more than 70. I could say much more on the subject but will keep the ballance for another communication, least the enemy should not furnish fresh matter. They have disappeared for the present. I will only add that I never had my clothes off from the 23rd December to the 25th January, and very seldom off my feet during that time night or day.

"Remember my love to sister Letitia and remember me kindly to all my friends, and for yourself accept the best wishes of

"Your Brother

"GEO. C. ALLEN.

"MR. JOHN ALLEN."

INTERESTING LETTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.—The originals of the following letters are in the collection of George Steinman, Esq., of Lancaster, Pennsylvania :

"LANCASTER, 22nd June 1775

"DE SIR.

"By the Bearer I received your favor of this day and am of opinion as soon as the Battalions are formed in the whole of the County it may be proper to inform the Congress of their number and the names of the field officers, but, however, shall take the advice of the Committee on the same. Col. Thompson of Carlisle is appointed Colonel of the Battalion of Riflemen by the Congress.

"I am with Esteem

"Yours &c

"WILLIAM HENRY.

"TO COL. PETER GRUBB."

"MONTREAL, June 22d 1776

"MY LORD

"I am sorry to report to your Lordship that Lieutenant Colonel Christie, on all occasions holds forth a conversation, tending to destroy that harmony and subordination, so necessary for the Kings service, and shews so strong a desire to excite Cabals that I cannot omit desiring your Lordship will be pleased most humbly to present my request, that this officer be removed out of the Province. I yesterday desired Lieutenant General Burgoyne would acquaint him with my intentions to solicit this favor from His Majesty.

"What share Mr Christie had in the intreagues and disorders worked up in Canada prior to my first appointment to any command here, may



be learned from the Governors letters, giving an account of the factious state of the Province in the year 65 or beginning of 66.

"I am with great regard and esteem

"Your Lordships most obedient and

"most humble servant

"GUY CARLETON.

"LORD BARRINGTON."

"Nam of the Officers and Servants of the Regiment light Infanterie of the Brunsc Troops, Lancaster Jun 26<sup>th</sup> 1781.

|                      |                         |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| "Lieutenant Cruse,   | { Bartholomaeus Voger,  |
|                      | { Heinrich Tornan.      |
| "Lieutenant Glade,   | { Franciscus Wagener,   |
|                      | { Heinrich Ebiling.     |
| "Lieutenant Rohr,    | { Philipp Schneider,    |
|                      | { Heinrich Stöhr.       |
| "Lieutenant Rhenius, | { Leopoldt Gressemeier, |
|                      | { Christian Reinecke.   |
| "Chirurgion Kunze,   | Heinrich Schulze.       |

"P. W. L. RHENIUS, Lieutenant and Adjutant."

PENN PORTRAITS.—Mr. Roger Fry, a professional artist and a Cambridge lecturer (son of Sir Edward Fry, of the English Court of Appeal), has made the following analysis of the several portraits of William Penn:

"Bevan's ivory medallion of William Penn appears to me to be a characteristic likeness, and gives the impression of having been taken direct from life.

"The portrait in Heemskerck's contemporary painting of a Quakers' meeting, at Hampton Court, reproduced in the engraving, is clearly a somewhat caricatured version of the same face.

"The life-sized marble bust in possession of R. Pearsall Smith has the same strongly-marked features, and is also evidently a characteristic portrait.

"Benjamin West seems to me to have used one of these two original types in his picture of the Treaty Tree, only that he has lengthened the short and protruding nose and given rather more distinction to the curves of the mouth; but the general treatment, especially of the mouth and jaw, is clearly based on these authorities.

"On the other hand, as far as I can judge from a photograph of the copy of the so-called portrait from Blackwell Grange, I should say that we have a totally different type of face with none of the characteristics of the Penn family. It has a large and massive nose, which would give a straight or slightly aquiline profile, whereas the other portraits of William Penn all agree in giving him a very small and retiring nasal bone and a very large and protruding nasal cartilage. Similarly the proportions of the nose and forehead to the lower part of the face are inverted, the other portraits of William Penn having a large and prominent forehead, a small nose, and a large jaw, with heavy double chin. This portrait, on the contrary, shows a small and retiring forehead, a large nose, and a comparatively small lower jaw and slight double chin.

"With regard to the portrait of William Penn as a young man in armor, I should say that we have a very much conventionalized version of a face that might have grown later into the ill-proportioned but

characteristic face of the two medallions. The nose is protruding at the base, but the nasal bone is better marked and less retiring, and the double chin has not yet developed. But it would be rash to attach much importance to the actual forms in a likeness which, to judge from the meaningless drawing of the eyes and mouth, was clearly done according to a fixed formula.

"The Lely picture of Admiral Penn, although, after the manner of Lely, also somewhat conventionalized, shows features which have a family likeness to those of the two medallions. The nose especially, although better proportioned than the ears, has the same insignificant nasal bone and the same protruding cartilage. The curves of the mouth show the same fullness, but the double chin is absent."

JOURNAL OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF PLANTATIONS AND TRADE, LONDON, ENGLAND.—The following circular was recently sent to the members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and we are pleased to learn that the responses are gratifying to the committee.

"DEAR SIR:

"The Historical Society of Pennsylvania wish to have extracts made from the Journal of the Commissioners of Plantations and Trade and of a portion of its correspondence now deposited in the Public Record Office, London, the official depository of British archives. To do this it will be necessary to raise by subscription about two thousand dollars a year for five years, and for this object you are hereby invited to subscribe. Subscriptions for any amount will be gladly received, and such subscriptions can be terminated at any time the subscriber may see fit, and are not binding on his estate.

"Of the importance of these papers you can judge when you remember that the Board of Commissioners of Plantations and Trade was first established in 1660, and continued its work down to the close of the American Revolution. To this body everything of importance affecting the relations of the Colonies and the mother country was referred, and its action, in many cases, was final. It will thus be seen that it is impossible to gain an intelligent understanding of the history of our Colonial period without consulting this vast collection. Partial extracts from it have been made by order of the States of New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina, so far as they relate to their own Colonial history, and are printed in their archives. Mr. Bancroft also obtained some extracts of a more general character to aid him in writing his history. No attempt, however, has yet been made to copy the Journals, so far as they relate to the Colonies, which Hon. the late Noel Sainsbury, for many years the chief officer of the Public Record Office, considered the most valuable portion of the series, as they form an index to the whole. These are the invaluable documents which it is now proposed to copy, together with such other papers in the collection as relate to Pennsylvania and Delaware.

"As the Journals of the Board of Plantations and Trade relate to all the Colonies and to the West Indies, and no copy of them exists on this side of the Atlantic, the one our Society proposes to make cannot fail to attract the attention of students from all parts of the country. Apart from the information it will furnish our members and others, it will serve to extend the reputation of our Society in a most creditable way.

"If such an enterprise can be successfully carried out, it will not only mark an onward step in the line of research which this Society has adopted, and which many of its most active members have for a long

time earnestly advocated, but it will also prove one of the most important undertakings which has been attempted for years in the department of American history.

"Yours respectfully,

"CHARLES J. STILLÉ,

"*President of the Society.*

"JAMES T. MITCHELL,

"*President of the Council.*"

### Queries.

HALE.—Can any one furnish information concerning the lineage of Joseph Hale, who was prothonotary of the State of Delaware, October 1, 1793, and 1798; register of the Court of Chancery, and clerk of the Orphans' Court, January 18, 1794; and Dedimus Potestationus, January 15, 1811?

THOS. HALE STREETS.

Naval Laboratory, Brooklyn, New York.

CLOWES.—Wanted the place, date of birth, and some account of parentage and life of John Clowes, coroner of Sussex County, 1781, and justice of the Supreme Court (appointed November 2, 1764) of the three lower counties of Pennsylvania. He died about 1769. Also of Peter Clowes, coroner of Sussex County, 1741 to 1744, and sheriff, 1749.

O. H.

SCULL AND FARMAR FAMILIES CONNECTED.—On p. 1140 of Bean's "History of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania," it is "supposed" that these two families were "related." That they were so, certainly, is shown by Major Jaspar Farmar's will (No. 20, Book A, p. 25, Philadelphia Will Office), proved 11 mo. 2, 1685, in which he leaves a legacy to his "sister Alice Scull." I cannot find this mentioned in G. D. Scull's "Genealogical Notes." (See also Pennsylvania Genealogical Society's Abstracts of Wills.)

P. S. P. CONNER.

Philadelphia, June 11, 1895.

DAVID BROWN, M.D.—Information is wanted in regard to David Brown, M.D., who is said to have come to Philadelphia from Cumberland, Rhode Island, about 1773-4. He sailed twice to Africa as surgeon on slave ships. He brought from Rhode Island his children Cynthia, James, Abigail, and David. When did he leave this city, and to what place did he go?

A. H. C.

GAUNTT.—Wanted the names of *all* of the sisters and daughters (with their husbands) of Peter Gaunt, who, coming to New Jersey in the seventeenth century, there left descendants. Similar particulars are requested in regard to the daughters of the said Peter's sons.

Xox.

ROBERTSON.—Colonel R. S. Robertson, of Fort Wayne, Indiana (ex-lieutenant-governor of that State), is compiling a genealogical history of the Robertsons in Great Britain and America, upon which he has been engaged for more than fifteen years, and accumulated much of interest regarding the name. He invites correspondence with the descendants



of any American family of the name, with the fullest data possible to furnish.

Information is wanted in regard to Gilbert Robertson, who was British consul at Philadelphia soon after the war of the Revolution. Did he leave a family in Pennsylvania?

Who was the "Mrs. Robertson" mentioned as at the famous ball given in Philadelphia during the Revolution?

Who was the "Captain Robertson," commander of the "Andrea Doria," who received the first salute to the flag at St. Eustatius? He was said to be from Pennsylvania. Lossing gives the name *Robinson*.

CAPTAIN MICHAEL WHITLEY.—Can any one give the location of a monument in memory of Captain Michael Whitley and other Revolutionary soldiers killed at the battle of Germantown? V.

WHITE.—Information is requested of the ancestry of Robert White, who married Jane or Jean, daughter of Colonel Richard McAllister, of York County, Pennsylvania?

MARY A. P. WHITE.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

D<sup>B</sup>E.—I have lately come into possession of two pewter dishes, and would like to ask if any one knows anything about the marks on them.

Each one is marked on the rim D<sup>B</sup>E, and on the backs they are marked with a circular stamp enclosing an elephant, the name Thomas Lanyon around the edge of the circle. M. M.

BLAIR—CARSON.—Alexander Blair was married to Rachel Carson, in the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, September 20, 1774. Information is requested relating to the ancestors of the Blairs and Carsons.

Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

J. C. BLAIR.

COLONEL ANDREW TODD, of Trappe, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, said to have been a soldier of the Revolution and to have been engaged at the battles of Germantown and Brandywine. Can this statement be verified? What service did he render? When and why was he called colonel? The undersigned will be grateful for a reply.

Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

FISHER.—Wanted information of the descendants of James and William Fisher, grandsons of John Fisher, who came to Pennsylvania in 1682 with William Penn. They removed from Chester on the Delaware to west of the Susquehanna some time in the first half of the eighteenth century. A. W. S.

### Replies.

SEMPLER (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIX. p. 130).—David Sempler was States Attorney in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, in 1779. At the January Quarter Sessions of that year he moved for the admission of Samuel Erwin and Michael Huffnagle. This David Sempler was admitted to the Washington County, Pennsylvania, bar in October, 1781, and to the Fayette County bar in March, 1784.

Steele Sempler was admitted to the Washington County bar, October, 1781, to the Westmoreland County bar, October 6, 1791, and to the Alleghany County bar, March 12, 1792; died in 1813.



Cunningham Semple was admitted to the Alleghany County bar, December 3, 1798. I understand he died in Butler County, Pennsylvania. Alleghany, Pennsylvania. ISAAC CRAIG.

PENN FAMILY (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVI. p. 246).—A note at the above reference refers to the omission by Mr. Lea of the important words, "and those Penns of Penn in ye C. of Bucks," in his "copy," so called, of the inscription to Admiral Penn at Bristol.

According to a correspondent of *Quakeriana*, No. 8, p. 121 (October, 1894), Mrs. Webb's copy of this part of the inscription, duly spaced, is as follows:

"To the just memory of | Sir William Penn, | Knight and sometimes General, | born at Bristol, Ano 1621, | Son of Captain Giles Penn, several years Consul for the English in | the Mediterranean, of the Penns of Penlodge in the county | of Wilts, and those Penns of Penn in the | county of Bucks; | and by his Mother from the Gilberts in the County of Somerset | originally from Yorkshire. | "

The article in *Quakeriana* is written in support of the theory of Penn's descent from the Penns of Penn Manor, which is defended on heraldic, monumental, traditional, and some documentary evidence.

T. S.

THE PALATINES OF BLOCK ISLAND (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XI. p. 243).—At the March meeting of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Mr. Henry H. Edes communicated a letter from Peter Faneuil to Peter Baynton, merchant of Philadelphia, dated April 24, 1740, in which he refers to "two unfortunate Palatine women that were sometime ago wrecked on their voyage to your place [Philadelphia]." Block Island is not mentioned by Faneuil, but circumstances point to the shipwreck there. A. M. F. D.

ABRAMS—JONES (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVIII. p. 271).—Genealogical data relating to the Abrams family may be obtained by corresponding with Mrs. M. M. Walker, 1617 Green Street, Philadelphia.

### Book Notices.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES. A collection of papers prepared for the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. Vol. I. Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1895. 416 pages.

The Montgomery County Historical Society, which was organized in 1881, has, through its Committee of Publications, made a selection of the papers and sketches prepared by such of its members who are interested in historical research, and incorporated them in the volume before us. A portrait of the first president of the Society, and illustrations of old churches and maps, add to the interest of the text. The Society numbers sixty members; the entrance fee is one dollar and the dues fifty cents a year.

REGISTER OF MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. Boston, 1895. 117 pp.

We are indebted to Walter Kendall Watkins, Esq., of the Publication Committee, for a copy of this handsomely printed book, containing a register of the officers and members of the Massachusetts Society, with the service claims of their Revolutionary ancestors. The value of the

register is further increased by the report of the Tablet Committee, with illustrations of the tablets placed to mark historic sites, and a register of the officers of the General and State Societies. The Society numbers upwards of three hundred members.

THE GERMAN PIETISTS OF PROVINCIAL PENNSYLVANIA. By Julius Friedrich Sachse.

There is one feature in the religious history of the Province of Pennsylvania—the Pietistic societies—which has not been given much attention by our historians. Forced by the continual wars on the continent of Europe, by the distress they entailed, but above all by religious oppression, these people, many of them of gentle blood and liberal education, sought and found in Penn's domain that freedom which had been withheld from them at home. Prominent among them were John Klepius, the Falkners, John Seelig, Conrad Matthaëi, and Christopher Witt, a famous physician and magician. Their principal seat was near the romantic banks of the Wissahickon. The first volume of this work, now going through the press, covers the period from 1694, the year of the arrival of Klepius in Philadelphia, to 1708, and, among others, will contain chapters giving a history of the Pietistic sects, Klepius's diary, the Rosicrucians, on Koester, Reynier Jansen, Conrad Matthaëi, the "Woman in the Wilderness," the "Mystics of the Wissahickon," the "Hermits of the Ridge," and the Sabbatarians. Mr. Sachse has devoted many years to the study of Pennsylvania sect-life, and in his forthcoming work we look for the subject being exhaustively treated. Upwards of two hundred illustrations, maps, and title-pages, in addition to twenty full-page photogravures, will be added to the text.

MERION IN THE WELSH TRACT, WITH SKETCHES OF THE TOWNSHIPS OF HAVERFORD AND RADNOR. Historical and Genealogical Collections concerning the Welsh Barony in the Province of Pennsylvania, settled by the Cymric Quakers in 1682. By Thomas Allen Glenn. Price, \$8.50.

The announcement of the approaching publication of this work will be hailed with pleasure by the numerous descendants of the Cymric Quakers who settled on "The Great Welsh Tract," which includes within its limits the ancient townships of Merion, Radnor, and Haverford, near Philadelphia. In addition to the history of the old "Barony," there will be inserted genealogies of the principal colonists, which will include, among others, the families of Roberts, Owen, Bevan, Cadwalader, Lewis, Evans, Ellis, Lloyd, Jones, Thomas, Aubrey, Rees, Williams, and Wynne. The text will be embellished by the introduction of old letters and documents, fac-similes of manuscripts, coats of arms, and illustrations from rare prints and photographs taken in Wales. The work is the result of many years of research in this country and Wales, and from the well-known care which characterizes all the historical and genealogical work of Mr. Glenn, we look for an interesting and authentic history, which has long been wanted. The edition is limited to five hundred copies. Orders should be sent to the author at Ardmore, Pennsylvania.

THE FRENCH IN AMERICA DURING THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1777 TO 1783. By Thomas Balch. Vol. II. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1895. Pp. 252.

In the English translation of the second volume of "Les Français en Amérique," by Edwin Swift Balch and Elise Willing Balch, the accom-

plished son and daughter of the author, we have comprehensive sketches of the French regiments and a list of the officers of the army and navy who took part in the war of American Independence, either as volunteers with a commission from Congress, or in the French expedition. The admirable biographical sketches and notes by the author entailed much research in the archives of the Ministry of War and family papers, and are especially valuable to biographers and historians. English readers will be glad that another and important gap in the history of our Revolution has been so acceptably filled. Typographically the book is attractive, and is neatly bound.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REGISTER for June comes to us enlarged in form, and is an attractive number. The special feature is the article on "The Siege of Louisbourg in 1745," for which chapters have been written by John Austin Stevens, Admiral Roe, Walter K. Watkins, F. Senter Frisbie, and G. C. Gillespie, and the text is generously illustrated with portraits, views, maps, plans, and autographs. A roster of the troops who composed the expedition, obtained from the British War Office, is appended. "The Third New Hampshire Regiment at Bunker Hill," by Captain Charles B. Dahlgren, and "Some Colonial Families" (Taylor, of Virginia) are interesting contributions. The proceedings and celebrations of the patriotic hereditary societies are very full; the minutes of the meeting of the General Society of Sons of the Revolution, held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, April 19, are from the stenographer's notes. Extra copies may be had at 120 South Sixth Street, Philadelphia.

A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR. By John Bach McMaster. Vol. IV. Pp. 630. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The fourth volume of Professor McMaster's history opens with the year 1812 and closes with the beginning of 1821, when "the long struggle over Missouri passed into history;" but these nine years are so fruitful of important events that it is impossible for us to more than glance at some of them. The general failure of the campaigns on our northern border, through incompetency and jealousy, was more than compensated by the brilliant naval victories of Perry, Hull, Bainbridge, Decatur, and other officers, and by Jackson's victory on the Mississippi, of which the historian gives spirited descriptions. The questions of the fisheries and boundaries, long subjects of contention, and the tariff, are graphically treated, and the chapter on population, pauperism and the efforts to suppress it, the temperance question, modification of the penal laws and law of debt, the penitentiary system, the organization of Bible and missionary societies, the condition of the free negroes and the colonization movement, and other economic measures, are instructive. Probably the most interesting chapter to Pennsylvanians is that which treats of the internal improvements of the country and their development, in which the Commonwealth's position is pointed out as an enviable one, for, says Professor McMaster, "the United States led the world, but Pennsylvania led the United States." The volume is illustrated by excellent maps of the seat of war on the northern frontier, on the Mississippi, and in West Florida; limits under the fishery treaty of 1818; and in showing in five degrees of density the distribution within the territory east of the one hundredth meridian of the population of the United States in 1820, and numerous diagrams of cruises of our men-of-war and naval fights.







E. HEMSKIRCK PINX.

# THE QUAKERS' MEETING

L. BOWLES EXC.  
LONDON, SOLD BY J. BOWLES AT MERCERS HALL IN CHEAPSIDE.

THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. XIX.

1895.

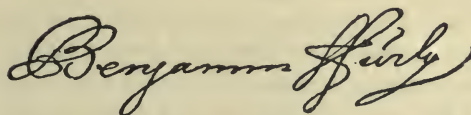
No. 3.

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BENJAMIN FURLY.

BY JULIUS F. SACHSE.

 the friend of  
William Penn and  
promoter of the first German emigration to America, was a  
native of Colchester, England, where he was born April 13,  
1636.<sup>1</sup> He began life as a merchant there, and became  
identified with the early Quakers. Subsequent to the year  
1660 he immigrated to Amsterdam,<sup>2</sup> but afterwards made  
Rotterdam his permanent home, where he engaged in the

<sup>1</sup> According to a Dutch account (Unger, in "Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje," 1890, p. 114), he was born at Rotterdam, of English parentage. There is, however, nothing to substantiate the above claim, as the learned writer evidently confuses Benjamin Furdy with his son Benjohan.

<sup>2</sup> Berhard Croesens, "Quaker Historie, von deren Ursprung bis auf jüngsthin entstandene Trennung." Berlin, bey Johann Michael Rudiger, 1696, p. 644. The title of the English edition reads, "The General History of the Quakers &c. Being written originally in Latin by Gerard Croese." London, 1696.

Two editions were printed in Latin,—“Gerardi Croesi Historia Quakeriana,”—viz., Theodore Boom, 1695, and Amstelodamie, anno M.DC.IVC.

mercantile and shipping business, his first establishment being in the *Scheepmakershaven*.

Although an Englishman by birth, he soon became identified with the land of his adoption, and married "Dorothe Graigne," a Dutch maiden.<sup>1</sup> His eldest child by this marriage was a son Benjohan, born January 6, 1681. Furly, by his honesty and industry, became known as one of the leading merchants of Rotterdam, and removed his residence and warehouse to the *Haaringvliet*,<sup>2</sup> then the chief commercial centre of the city. He, however, did not confine himself exclusively to his commercial life and to the accumulation of wealth, but continued his interest in literary pursuits, and, as Croese intimates,<sup>3</sup> "to thoroughly perfect himself in the various branches of learning," he cultivated the society of the leading critics and scholars of the period, and subsequently became a patron of letters.

His house became the rendezvous of such learned men as Leclerc, Limborch, Algernon Sidney, Edward Clarke, and Locke, and his library, with its wealth of manuscripts and rare imprints, was one of more than local reputation, being frequently quoted and consulted by *littérateurs* from different parts of Europe, two notable instances of which were the visits of Ludolph Küster and Zacharias von Uffenbach, accounts of which have been preserved. Benjamin Furly also took an active interest in the religious questions of the day, taking the side of the Separatists, as opposed to the established churches, and his home in Rotterdam upon frequent occasions was the scene of devotional meetings at which George Fox, Keith, William Penn, and others were prominent participators.

At an early age he became convinced of the Quaker doctrine, and became one of the most active champions of that Society upon the Continent. He was a prolific author, writing with equal facility in English, German, Dutch, and French.

<sup>1</sup> "Archief der Gemeente," Rotterdam.

<sup>2</sup> The "Haaringvliet" is one of the numerous basins or canals that form the harbor of Rotterdam.

<sup>3</sup> "Quaker Historia," p. 645.

His zeal in the doctrine he had embraced is attested by the publication of his numerous controversial writings, together with those of Fox and Penn, which were translated by him and printed at his expense.

Furly afterwards became the chief agent of William Penn on the Continent for the sale of his newly acquired lands in America. His wife having died in 1691, he married, on December 10, 1693, Susanna Huis, the widow of one Jacobus van der Lijt.<sup>1</sup>

Benjamin Furly died in March, 1714, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and was buried, as befitted a man of his standing and wealth, in a tomb (No. 175) in the centre aisle of the St. Laurentius or Groote Kerk, formerly the cathedral church of Rotterdam.<sup>2</sup> Four children are known to have survived their father,—Benjohan, John, Arent, and a daughter Dorothy; all, presumably, issues by the first marriage.

It has been questioned whether Benjamin Furly became a Quaker before or after his settlement in Holland. We know that he was a man of marked and peculiar religious views, and that from his first arrival in Holland he was in sympathy with the so-called Separatists; and from the fact that members of his immediate family in England were among the early followers of George Fox, it is probable that he was convinced prior to his immigration to Holland.

According to a Dutch account, it would appear, however, that he did not join the Society of Friends until after his residence in Rotterdam. If this be true, it must have been prior to the years 1659–60, as in those years he, together with John Stubs, assisted in the compilation of George Fox's

“A Battle-Door for Teachers & Professors to learn Singular & Plural: You to Many, and Thou to One: Singular One, Thou; Plural Many, You.”

It was a folio of fifty-seven sheets, printed in thirty languages, of which, among others, his grandson says that the

<sup>1</sup> “Archief der Gemeente,” Rotterdam.

<sup>2</sup> “Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje,” Vol. II. p. 114.



Chaldee, Syriac, Welsh, and French portions were written by Furly.<sup>1</sup> Croese, in his "*Historia Quakeriana*," distinctly states that "Benjamin Furly had this clever and ingenious work printed at great expense, and that Fox, although he knew of these thirty tongues but a single one, yet poses as the author." George Fox, in his journal, mentions that this work was finished in 1661, and that Benjamin Furly took great pains in compiling it.

During the next fifteen years Benjamin Furly published a number of controversial works in the interest of the Quakers, prominent among which may be named the following:

"*Die Sache Christi und seines Volks.*" (German.) (The Cause of Christ and His People Justified.) By W. Ames. The large preface is by B. Furly. 4to, 1662.

"*The Light upon the Candlestick.*" By W. Ames. The English translation is by Furly. 4to, 1663.

"*The World's Honor detected &c.* By a Friend to Truth who is no respecter or regarder of persons, called a Quaker." B. F[urly]. 4to, 1663.

"*Eine Beschirmunge d'unschuldigen,*" etc. (Dutch.) By Wm. Caton, with a postscript by Benjamin Furly. 4to, 1664.

"*Coppe van een Brief.*" (Dutch.) 4to, 1666.

"*A Recantation by Benjamin Furly.* Given in Rott[er-dam] in 1669." (This is in relation to the hat controversy.)

"*Anthoniette Bourignon ontdeekt, ende haeren Geest geopenbaert uyt haere Druckten,*" etc. (Dutch.) 4to, 1671.

"*The Universal Free Grace of the Gospel asserted,*" etc. By George Keith. (Part by B. Furly.) 4to, 1671.

"*A Letter to George Whitehead, about the Hat Controversy.*" 8vo, 1673.

"*Missive aan de Nederlanse Natie.*" (Dutch.) (A Message to the Dutch Nation), by William Penn. Translation, with a large preface and conclusion, by Benjamin Furly. 4to, 1675.

In the Archives of Rotterdam there is preserved a document written in Hollandese, in which Furly, together with Symon Jansz Vettekeücken, makes the following appeal to

<sup>1</sup> "Original Letters," etc. Preface, p. 79.

# A Battle-Door

FOR  
TEACHERS & PROFESSORS  
TO LEARN  
Singular & Plural,

*You to Many, and Thou to One: Singular One, Thou  
Plural Many, You*

Wherein is shewed forth by Grammar, or Scripture Examples, how several Nations and People have made a distinction between *Singular* and *Plural*. And first, In the former part of this Book, Called *The English Battle-Door*, may be seen how several People have spoken *Singular* and *Plural*; As the *Apharsathkites*, the *Tarpelites*, the *Apharsites*, the *Archevites*, the *Babylonians*, the *Sufanchites*, the *Dehavites*, the *Elamites*, the *Temanites*, the *Naomites*, the *Shuities*, the *Buzites*, the *Moabites*, the *Hivites*, the *Edomites*, the *Philistines*, the *Amalekites*, the *Sodomites*, the *Hittites*, the *Midianites*, &c.

Also, In this Book is set forth Examples of the *Singular* and *Plural* about *Thou*, and *You*, in several Languages, divided into distinct *Battle Doors*, or *Formes*, or *Examples*; *English*, *Latine*, *Italian*, *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Caldee*, *Syriack*, *Arabick*, *Persick*, *Ethiopick*, *Samaritan*, *Coptick*, or *Egyptick*, *Armenian*, *Saxon*, *Welch*, *Mence*, *Cornish*, *French*, *Spanish*, *Portugal*, *High-Dutch*, *Low-Dutch*, *Danish*, *Bohemian*, *Slavonian*. And how Emperors and others have used the *Singular* word to *One*, and how the word *You*, <sup>you</sup> came first from the Pope.

Likewise some Examples, in the *Polonian*, *Lithuanian*, *Irish* and *East-Indian*, together with the *Singular* and *Plural* words, *thou* and *you*, in *Sweedish*, *Turkish*, *Muscovian*, and *Curlandian*, tongues.

In the latter part of this Book are contained severall bad unfavoury Words, gathered forth of certain School-Books, which have been taught Boyes in *England*, which is a Rod and a Whip to the School-Masters in *England* and elsewhere who teach such Books.

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*George. Fox. John Stubs. Benjamin Furley*

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LONDON, Printed for Robert Wilson, and are to be sold at his Shop at the  
Signe of the Black-Spread-Eagle and Wind mil in Martins le Grand, 1660.

the burgomasters and regents of Rotterdam for the protection of the Quakers who were then holding meetings in that city. This interesting document, in the handwriting of Benjamin Furly, is dated July 8, 1675, and was photographed by the writer during the past summer,—1894.

## TRANSLATION.

*“ To the Burgomasters and Regents of the City of Rotterdam :*

“The people of God, mockingly called Quakers, who have taken up their residence in this City, cannot refrain from making known, with christian respect, unto you, as Magistrates of this City, that now twice, to wit;—yesterday, within and without their regular meeting place, where they

Psalm 62, 2.      come together to wait in silence upon the Lord,  
they have been treated and handeled with vio-

lence and annoyance by divers sort of men, not only young but also of greater age, which is so publicly known that the thrown-in window-panes and the broken doors and benches are clear witnesses thereof. All the which they make known unto you not so much for anxiety for their persons and goods, as they well know that the same God is

Job 38. 11.      living yet, and shall live unto eternity, who  
hath set limits to the sea and hath said hitherto  
shalt thou come but no further, and who can prevent the

Psalm 2. 1, 4.      raging of the people when it pleases him : but  
to avoid thereby the blame, such things having  
befallen them, of not having made known the same to you,

Matt : 6. 2, 12.      for your discretion, and above all for the mani-  
festation of God in your consciences which  
dictates to every one to do unto others as he would have

Eccles : 10,-8, 9.      others to do unto him, because with what meas-  
ure he metes, it shall be measured to him again.

In the name of all signed by us

“ BENJAMIN FFURLY

“ SYMON JANSZ VETTEKEÜCKEN

“ At Rotterdam the 8th day  
of the Month which one  
calles July, 1675.”



When, two years later, Penn, accompanied by Robert Barclay, George Fox, Keith, and others,<sup>1</sup> made his celebrated tour through Germany and Holland, it was this same Benjamin Furly who met them upon their landing.

George Fox records that the party was becalmed when a league from the shore, and that William Penn and Robert Barclay, understanding that Benjamin Furly was to come from Rotterdam to the Briel to meet them, got two of the sailors to lower a small boat and row them ashore; but before they could reach it, the gates were closed, and there being no house without the gates, they were forced to lie in a fisher's boat all night. As soon as the gates were opened in the morning they entered and found Benjamin Furly, who brought them to Briel, where the Friends received them with "great gladness."

The party arrived at Rotterdam on the same day, Saturday, July 28, 1677. The next day—First day (Sunday)—two religious meetings were held at the house of Furly, who then lived in the Wynstraat, the latter and John Claus acting as interpreters. The next fortnight was spent in visits to various towns in Holland. On the 7th of August the company divided up into two parties, when Keith, Barclay, and Penn left the others at Amsterdam and set out towards Germany, where, as Fox states in his journal, "they travelled many hundred miles, and had good service for the Lord," Benjamin Furly going with them and acting as interpreter for the party, and upon that occasion was largely instrumental in influencing the Germans in favor of Penn. It is further a matter of record, that Furly remained with Penn and Keith during their entire stay on the Continent.

Towards the close of this memorable pilgrimage, four tracts of an exhortative character were written by Penn,<sup>2</sup> designed for distribution among the Separatists in Germany

<sup>1</sup> The party, in addition to the three named, consisted of John Furly, a brother of Benjamin Furly, of Rotterdam, G. Watts, William Tallcoat, Isabella Yeomans, and Elizabeth Keith.—*Journal of William Penn*.

<sup>2</sup> PENNA. MAG., Vol. II. p. 276.



and Holland. These tracts were revised and translated by Benjamin Furly, and printed at his expense after Penn's departure. The German titles are as follows:

"Forderung der Christenheit für Gericht." (A Call to Christendom, etc.)

"Eine Freundliche heimsuchung in der Liebe Gottes." (A Tender Visitation in the Love of God.)

"An alle diejenigen so unter den Bekennern der Christenheit," etc. (To all Professors of Christianity, etc.)

"An Alle diejenigen welche empfinden," etc. (Tender Counsel, etc.)

The above were also published collectively in Dutch under the general title, "Het Christenrijk Ten Oordeel Gedagvaart," etc. Two of the above tracts—"A Call to Christendom" and "Tender Counsel"—were printed separately at the time in English.<sup>1</sup>

It was about this time that the friendship between John Locke, who had been introduced to Furly by Edward Clarke, of Chipley,<sup>2</sup> ripened into intimacy, and the correspondence which ensued lasted until the death of Locke.

Algernon Sidney and the Earl of Shaftesbury were also frequent visitors at the Furly homestead, and the former, at his death, bequeathed to Furly a large silver goblet, which is still in possession of his descendants.<sup>3</sup>

When the grant to William Penn was consummated, and there became a likelihood of a large German and Dutch immigration to Pennsylvania, Penn submitted to Benjamin Furly the drafts of several instruments which he proposed to make the basis for the laws and government of his Province. Furly's comments on these papers, in his hand-

<sup>1</sup> Whiting's "Catalogue of Friends' Books," London, 1708, pp. 119, 120.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Clarke, Esq., of Chipley, near Taunton, was one of the burgesses for that borough in seven Parliaments, from the first of King William, which met in 1690, to the third held by Queen Anne, which was dissolved in 1710.

<sup>3</sup> A drawing of this cup forms the frontispiece to the second edition of "Original Letters of John Locke, Algernon Sidney, and Lord Shaftesbury," London, 1847.

Het CHRISTENRIJK  
TEN  
OORDEEL  
gedagvaart.

Een tedere besoeekingē in de Liefde Gods, aan alle die genē  
die een begeerte hebben om God te kennen, en hem  
Waarheyd en Opregtigheyd aan te bidden, van wat  
Sette, of soort van *Godsdienst* de selve zouden  
mōgen wesen.

Een Missive aan alle die gene, die, onder de betyders der Chri-  
stelijckheyd, afgesondert zijn van de sichtbare *Setten*,  
en *uyterlyke* Gemeenten.

E N.

Een Missive aan al die genc, die gevoelig zijn van  
den dag hārer besoeekingē.

*Alles in d' Engelse Tale geschreven : door*

WILLIAM PENN.

En daer uyt overgeset.

---

Tot ROTTERDAM.

Gedrukt voor JAN PIETERSZ GROENWOUT,  
Boekverkooper, wonende op het Speuy 1678

writing, are among the "Penn Manuscripts" in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In them he suggests the protection of the interests of the German and foreign settlers who it was expected would immigrate to Pennsylvania, and makes a number of criticisms on the laws which Penn proposed, suggesting in some instances the usages followed in Holland.

This interesting document, never before published, is reproduced in its entirety at the end of this paper, and it deserves the careful consideration of every student of Pennsylvania-German history, for it will be noted that Benjamin Furly was not alone concerned about the religious and civil liberty of the prospective immigrants, but of their personal rights as well. This is instanced in the clause granting immunity from arrest and fine to such persons as choose to labor upon the First day of the week,<sup>1</sup>—a suggestion that was made in the interest of the Sabbatarian movement which was then attracting considerable attention in both England and Holland.

Then, again, his suggestions and advice to Penn as to the course to pursue in regard to a possible attempt to introduce negro slavery into the Province<sup>2</sup> is of great interest, as the first public protest against negro slavery in America was made at Germantown in 1688 by some of the German pioneers who came to Pennsylvania under his auspices and bounty.

Subsequent to the grant Benjamin Furly became Penn's most active and useful agent on the Continent for the sale of his lands. How great a factor he was in bringing about the extended German immigration is a matter of history.<sup>3</sup> It was he who negotiated the first land purchase of the Crefelders,<sup>4</sup> and the deeds were dated and delivered by him. It was also through his efforts that passage to America on the "Concord," Captain William Jeffries, was procured for the thirteen pioneer families, consisting of thirty-three Ger-

<sup>1</sup> Section XIX.

<sup>3</sup> PENNA. MAG., Vol. II. pp. 237-232.

<sup>2</sup> Section XXIII.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. II. p. 280.



man emigrants, who were met and welcomed upon their arrival by both Penn and Pastorius.

To encourage further immigration of Germans and Hollanders to Pennsylvania, Furly had printed in English, soon after it appeared, a German and Dutch translation of "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America," published in London, 1681.

Three years later this was followed by "Beschreibung der in America neu-erfunden Provinz Pensylvania." 4to, 32 pp. Hamburg, 1694.

A translation into French was published at the Hague in the same year.<sup>1</sup>

From letters and documents in the Lawrence collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania it appears that in later years there was a well-grounded cause for dissatisfaction on the part of Furly as to Penn's agents in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding Penn's personal efforts in his favor. For this reason Furly gave to Reynier Jants (Jansen), to whom he had previously sold some land,<sup>2</sup> a power of attorney to act for him in Pennsylvania upon his arrival.

This document was subsequently revoked in favor of a similar one granted to the brothers Daniel and Justus Falkner, prior to their departure for America in 1700.<sup>3</sup>

William Penn's personal interest in the protection of Benjamin Furly's claims is shown by his letter of instruction to James Logan prior to his departure from Pennsylvania in 1701, wherein he commands him to prepare a warrant for four thousand acres of land for Benjamin Furly.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An English version of this rare work was printed in the PENNA. MAG., Vol. VI. p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> Deed July 17, 1685. Acknowledged before a notary in Holland. Minute-Book "H," "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, Vol. XIX. p. 598.

<sup>3</sup> For an extended account of the controversy and litigation which subsequently ensued, *vide* "The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania," Vol. I. pp. 145, 167-171, 307, *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Letter dated "25th 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1701," "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, Vol. XIX. p. 219; see also "The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania," Vol. I. p. 171.



Eine  
**WILKES**  
wegen der Landschaft  
**PENNSILVANIA**  
in  
**AMERICA:**

Welche  
Jüngstens unter dem Grossen Siegel  
in  
**ENGLAND**  
an  
**William Penn, &c.**

Sambr den Freyheiten und der Macht / so zu gehöriger  
guten Regierung derselben nötig/  
übergeben worden/  
und

Zum Unterricht derer / so etwan bereits bewogen / oder noch  
mächten bewogen werden / sich selbst darhin .  
zu begeben / oder einige Bediente und Gesinde  
an diesen Ort zu senden / hienust  
fund gethan wird.

Nus dem in London gedrucktem und aldar bey Benjamin Clarck  
Buchhändlern in George-Yard Lombard-Street befindlichem  
Englischen überseht.

Nebst beygefügetem ehemaligem im 1675. Jahr gedrucktem  
Schreiben des obernennnten Will. Penns.

---

Zu Amsterdaim / gedruckt bey Christoff Cunraden.  
Im Jahr 1681.

Een kort Bericht  
*Van de Provintie ofte Landschap*  
**PENN-SYLVANIA**  
genaemt, leggende in  
**AMERICA;**

Nu onlangs onder het groôte Zegel van Engeland  
gegeven aan

**WILLIAM PENN, &c.**

*MITSGADER*

**Van de Privilegien, ende Macht om  
het selve wel te Regeeren.**

Uyt het Engels overgeset na de Cope tot Londen gedrukt by *Benja-  
men Clark*, Boekverkooper in George Yard Lombardstreet, 1681.

**Waer by nu geboegt is de Potificatie van s' Konings Placcact/  
in date van den 2 April 1681, waer inne de tegenwoordige  
Inwoonders van PENN-SYLVANIA, belast word  
WILLEM PENN en zijn Erfgenamen, als volkomene  
Eggenaars en Gouverneurs, te gehoorzamen.**

*Als mede,*

**De Cope van een Brief by den selven W.P. geschreven aan  
zekere Regeeringe Anno 1675. tegens de Vervolginge  
en voor de Vryheyt van Conscientie, aan alle &c.**

---

*Tot ROTTERDAM,*

Gedrukt by PIETER VAN WYNBRUGGE, Boek-Drukker in de  
Leeuwelstraat, in de Wereld Vol - Druk. Anno 1681.

Fac-simile of the Dutch title-page.

[From the original in Carter Brown Library, through courtesy of John Nicholas Brown.]

A number of letters from Furly, addressed to Justus and Daniel Falkner, have also been found among the Lawrence papers before mentioned;<sup>1</sup> the latter was for a time the mercantile correspondent of Furly in America, and of the sons Benjohan and John after their father's death.

In some of these letters Furly expresses his unbounded confidence in the integrity of the two Falkner brothers, in others he characterizes a prominent person in Pennsylvania as a forger and embezzler, and charges him with defrauding him out of his lands in Pennsylvania.

But little has thus far been written or published of the private life and character of Benjamin Furly, who was so important a factor in organizing the German immigration to Pennsylvania, and in procuring for the immigrants the necessary transportation,<sup>2</sup> except that he was an eccentric person of peculiar religious views. His correspondence, however, with Locke, Sidney, Lord Shaftesbury, and others, whose letters to him were privately printed some fifty years ago,<sup>3</sup> shows that Benjamin Furly was a man whose literary attainments were of no mean order, and that he was upon intimate terms with many of the leading scholars and statesmen of the period who labored incessantly to establish civil and religious liberty in Europe.

It further appears that Locke spent much of his time at Furly's house, and as he was particularly fond of children, one of his chief amusements while there was playing with the young folks.<sup>4</sup>

Although usually classed among the leading Quakers of that period on the Continent, and notwithstanding his purse and pen were at their disposal and used in their interests, it

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Lawrence was elected mayor of the city of Philadelphia by the Common Council, October 1, 1728.

<sup>2</sup> A notable instance of his liberality is shown in the case of Kelpius and his band of German Pietists, who left Rotterdam in 1693. *Vide* Croese, "*Historia Quakeriana*," pp. 539 *et seq.*; also "*The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*," Vol. I. pp 44-46.

<sup>3</sup> "*Original Letters of John Locke, Algernon Sidney, and Lord Shaftesbury*," London, 1847.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface, p. 74.



appears that his connection with them was not one of uninterrupted harmony. Croese,<sup>1</sup> states that "Benjamin Furly was an English Merchant, first at Amsterdam, then at Rotterdam, who, together with his merchandize, had addicted himself to the study of learning, and in his favor of these men [Quakers] wrote several little Tracts in Divers Languages. But yet refrained himself from exercising the office of a Teacher or Minister amongst them, alledging this reason for it, that he could safely enough be taught at all times, but could scarce be a Teacher himself without danger. Altho' as time and age teach Men many things, this same man afterwards found fault with and went off from many things in the doctrine and Manners of the Quakers." Just what these differences between Furly and the Quakers were, and when they took place, is unknown to the writer. Joseph Smith, in his catalogue, classes him among such as were dis-united, and returned, but are believed to have again left the Society.

In later years he is credited with being the author of the following works: "Ene Wonderlike voorsegginge tot Rome," etc. (Dutch.) Folio, 1689.

"Copie Van een oude prophetie," etc. (Dutch.) Folio, 1689.

"A Prophecy of St. Thomas the Martyr" (from MSS. of Algernon Sidney). 1709.

"Discernement des Ténèbres d'avec la Lumière." (French.) 8vo, 1710.

"Éclair de Lumière decendent," etc. (French.) 8vo, 1711.

"The Approaching Judgments of God upon the Roman Empire," etc. Translated out of high Dutch by B. Furly. 8vo, 1711.

It can matter but little whether or not Benjamin Furly lived continuously and died within the fold of the Society of Friends,<sup>2</sup> but it cannot be denied that to him more than to any

<sup>1</sup> English edition, Book III., p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> From the fact of his burial within the walls of the chief orthodox church at Rotterdam it would appear that he had renounced Quakerism prior to his death.



other person is due the credit of materializing the dream of Penn, so far as the German element is concerned, for he not only encouraged them with advice and counsel, but with more substantial means in the shape of concessions of land, transportation, and loans of money.

The only trustworthy personal description of Benjamin Furly and his peculiarities that has come down to us is the interesting account given in the Memoirs of Zacharias von Uffenbach,<sup>1</sup> who visited Rotterdam in the year 1710; he had been a classmate, at Halle, of Justus Falkner, one of the early German Pietists in Pennsylvania, and later was an attorney for Furly.<sup>2</sup> He writes,—

“On the morning of November 21, we went *Op-Te Haar- ing Vliet*, to visit Benjamin Furly, an English Merchant, who was the chief of the Quakers in Holland, and possesses a curious stock of Books, mainly *suspectæ fidei*. He lives in a very fine house, and is a man of about seventy years of age, and of peculiar actions. [Sonderbarem wesen.]

“We were ushered into his *comptoir* as it was called, but this appeared more like a library or Museum than a mercantile counting house, as the walls were shelved and covered with books, to the number of at least four thousand. They were mostly on theological subjects, of the *suspectæ fidei* order, and appear to be well suited to Mr. Benjamin Furly’s taste, who is a paradoxical and peculiar man, who soon gave us to understand that he adhered to no special religion.

<sup>1</sup> Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, born at Frankfort, February 22, 1683. From his youth he was known as a lover and collector of books. He first attended the University at Strasburg, later at Halle, where he graduated, after which he made a tour through Northern Europe, Holland, and England in search of rare imprints and manuscripts. He thus accumulated one of the most valuable private libraries in Germany, which contained many works on early American history.

His Memoirs were published at Ulm, in 1753, and contain many notices of books and persons not to be found elsewhere. A partial printed catalogue of this library may be seen at the Philadelphia Library: “*Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana*,” etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* “The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania,” Vol. I.

"Unfortunately we were not permitted to examine any of his books except the original manuscript of the '*Libri Inquisitionis Tolonsanæ*,'<sup>1</sup> edited by Limborch,<sup>2</sup> and this work only after earnest and repeated solicitation.

"It proved to be a *Codex membranaceus in folio constans foliis* 203, and was neatly and plainly written.

"This was indeed a great curiosity, especially as it was found in the possession of a non-Catholic. This was further instanced by the actions of the former Bishop of Utrecht, who upon that account doubted its authenticity, and sent a clerical to compare Limborch's edition with this original. Mr. Furly would not permit this examination until the above clerical assured him that if he found the two works to agree, he would so certify to the fact officially over his hand and seal, which was done, and it is now pasted on the cover of the volume.

<sup>1</sup> The Latin title of this work is given in the catalogue of the "*Bibliotheca Furliana*." Translated it reads as follows: "Book of Maxims; beautifully written on parchment, and bound between two wooden leaves; the autograph itself is written; and everywhere it is subscribed in the hand of the clerks of the Inquisition; beginning only with the year of Christ, 1607, [and going] as far as 1622; and by undoubted indications it is agreed to be the original manuscript, derived from the archives of the Inquisition of Toulouse. The Maxims themselves, as far as can be gathered from the resemblance of the handwriting, are written in the hand of Peter of Clav . . . down to the eighth discourse, which begins fol. 97. The remainder of the book, down to the end, is in the hand of William Julian; James Marquette has written beneath the Maxims almost throughout; [it is] the rarest book of all rarest ones, and of the highest possible price."

The original manuscript was bought in by John Furly at the sale of his father's library, and afterwards sold to Archbishop Secker, who presented it to the British Museum, where it now remains. It was translated into English and published by Samuel Chandler, London, 1731. A copy of this translation can be seen at the Ridgway branch of the Philadelphia Library.

<sup>2</sup> Philippus Limborch was a learned divine, born at Amsterdam, 1633. He embraced the tenets of the "Remonstrants," and first appeared as a public preacher at Haarlem in 1655. He was an able annotator and an esteemed writer, as is shown by the tributes paid him by Locke and Tillotson. He died in 1711.

"Mr. Furly complained that Limborch failed to mention that he had obtained the original Codex from him.

"This," continues Uffenbach, "seemed the more strange to me as it would have added to the value of Limborch's edition if he had made mention where the original of this curious work could be seen, as the Catholics, in time, would throw doubt upon the facts, as it was a thorn in their eyes and a bitter conviction of their spiritual tyranny. As we began to touch upon this subject, Furly complained that the same spiritual tyranny was also still in vogue among the Protestant denominations.

"When I reminded him that in Holland religious liberty prevailed, he denied emphatically that this assumption was true, and he became quite excited over the procedure of the local magistrates against the so-called English New-prophets.

"He admitted that he not only harbored their tenets and had printed their writings with a preface of his own, but had defended them as well before the Magistrates, and endeavored to shield and protect them, yet, notwithstanding all his efforts, these innocent people had been expelled from the country.

"He related all that had happened to these people, here as well as at the Hague. This he did not only in a general way, but he read to us, word for word, a long relation of the facts, that he had just written to Herr Gronovium. This lasted for over two hours.

"I thought that I should die from impatience, and although I repeatedly referred to the subject of his books, and begged him to show us some of the rarest and most curious of the collection, the man was so excited that he failed to notice my request.

"Thus he continued to complain, over and over again, how badly these people were treated, especially Herr Facio, whom he characterized not only as a devout man, endowed with many gifts of the Spirit, but also as a learned man and an excellent mathematician.

"He declared that they were pious and innocent persons ; against whom no accusations could be truly brought, except



that their prophecy of a personal return of Christ at a specified time had not been fulfilled.

"He stated that the clericals had used the following quotations of Scripture, viz.: Deuteronomy xviii., v. 21, 22, against them, and had attempted to convict them as false prophets and deceivers.

"We were astounded that this man, a merchant, should be so well versed in Latin, Hebrew, &c., the more so as he formerly had no means at his disposal, and had only acquired them here of late. We complained that on account of his extended discourse we had failed to obtain an insight to his literary treasures, but even this hint failed and proved of no avail.

"As we were leaving, the honest patriarch led us into a kind of a Cabinet, that gave us an unsurpassed view of the river Maas.

"In his personal appearance," continues Uffenbach, "Benjamin Furly is, as we had pictured him to be, an old, tall, lean, serious man who, although it was already cold and chilly, went about in a thin, threadbare gray coat; around his head he wore a band of black velvet, as he stated for the purpose of keeping his hairs from coming in his face when writing."

After the death of Benjamin Furly, his great library was catalogued and sold at auction October 22, 1714. The following is the title of the catalogue:

"*Bibliotheca Furliana sive Catalogus Librorum, Honoratiss. & Doctriss. Viri Benjamin Furly, inter quos excellunt Bibliorum Editiones Mystici, Libri proprii cujuscumque Sectæ Christianæ, & Manuscriptii Membranei. Auctio fiet die 22 Octobris 1714, in Ædibus Defuncti in Platea Vulgo dicta. Haringvliet. Roterodami, Apud Fritsch et Bohm. 8vo, 1714.*"

Benjamin Furly's two elder sons succeeded their father after his death as merchants and shippers at Rotterdam, and also for a time pressed claims for lands in Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> Benjohan, the eldest son, married Martha Wright,

<sup>1</sup> "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, Vol. XIX.; also "The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania," Vol. I.



a young woman from London, who died in 1713. She was buried September 18; a few weeks later, October 9, her babe was laid by her side. Twenty-five years afterwards, August 7, 1738, Benjohan Furly was buried in the family vault in the St. Laurentian Kerk, beside his wife, child, and parents. Of John Furly nothing is known, except that he became a leading merchant of Rotterdam and London, and left a family.

Arent Furly, the youngest son, who was a great favorite of Locke and Lord Shaftesbury, entered the military service of England, and went with Charles, Earl of Peterborough, to the West Indies in 1702-03, and in 1705 as his secretary to Spain, where his patron was General and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces. Several of the orders dated in the camp before Barcelona in 1705 are countersigned by Arent Furly. According to a letter from Lord Shaftesbury to Benjamin Furly, he died early in the year 1712.<sup>1</sup> He was unmarried.

Benjamin Furly's daughter Dorothy, born July, 1710, married Thomas Forster, of Walthamstow, England, and it was his grandson Thomas Ignatius Maria Forster who published the volume of letters of Locke, Sidney, and Shaftesbury, so frequently quoted in this sketch.

There are but few of the hundreds of American tourists that annually visit the Groote Kerk in Rotterdam, and wander through its broad aisles, who know that in the centre aisle in the nave rest the remains of Benjamin Furly and his kin, the man who was so instrumental in bringing about the first German immigration to America and in securing for the immigrants equal rights and privileges.

<sup>1</sup> "Original Letters," etc., p. 205.

FOR THE SECURITY OF FORREIGNERS WHO MAY INCLINE TO PURCHASE LAND IN PENNSYLVANIA, BUT MAY DY BEFORE THEY THEMSELVS COME THEIR TO INHABIT.

[The following paper, in the handwriting of Benjamin Furly, is among the "Penn Papers" in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is endorsed "B F. Abridgm<sup>t</sup> out of Holland and Germany. Laws of Gov<sup>t</sup> Pense." It contains a series of criticisms called forth by a comparison of the "Frame of Government Signed by Penn April 25 1682, together with The Laws Agreed upon in England May 5. 1682," and a paper called "The Fundamentall Constitutions of Pennsylvania," a copy of which is also among the "Penn Papers." This last is a form of government that Penn, after considerable deliberation, had decided upon as a suitable one for the government of his province, but which was abandoned for what we know as the "Frame of Government." This action does not appear to have been approved of by Furly, and hence his criticisms. As Furly's comments were made upon the "Frame of Government" as finally published, it cannot be claimed that Penn was influenced by Furly in drafting his "Frame," unless it was through a correspondence of an earlier date. There is, however, little doubt that the 21st section of the "Frame of Government," included in the act of settlement passed at Philadelphia, March 1, 1683, which provides for the protection of the estates of aliens, was the result of Furly's suggestion, and a further examination of that instrument, with Furly's criticisms, might indicate an influence in other sections. The paper is interesting as showing how widely and earnestly Penn sought assistance in drafting the fundamental laws for his province, and the attention that was given to the subject.—F. D. S.]

I.

If the forfeitures of forreigners Land do there fall to the Governor, as in England to the King, Let an Article be added to the frame, by w<sup>h</sup> the Governour binds himself, Heirs & Assigns, that in Such cases he will not take any advantage thereat, but freely, & at his charge restore the said Lands to the heirs of the deceased forreigners fro[m] time to time for ever——

or II.

If it will stand in Law, Let a Law be made, declaring every man naturally, by virtue of his purchased, Provided he send one to inhabit there, with full power to subscribe to the fundamentals of the Government.

As it is in the Carolina Constitutions that every one who dos there in person, subscribe shal be thereby naturalized.

One, or both these, must be, or else persons dying after purchase before they can get over with their families to be Denizon'd or Naturaliz'd, their heirs may have their land forfeit to the King.

### Or III.

A lease for 1 or 2000 years must be made them of their Lands, w<sup>th</sup> promise of renewing it at any time to the heirs that may be forreigners.

### Or IV.

If neither of these Ways will secure the Lands payd for, to their heirs, Then there seems to me no other way, but for the Governo<sup>r</sup> to give bond for the paying to their heirs so much mony, as the said Land shall be Valued at, at w<sup>t</sup> time Soever it shall be declared forfeit for want of naturalization——

### V.

That a Law be made, as in the first draught of the Governor, Art:— on declaring all children to have an equal share in the estates of their parents, dying without will.

### VI.

That all wils be so far regulated by Law That the children may not for meer will & plesure, & w<sup>th</sup>out sufficient reason, be disinherited on the One side, nor the Parents deprived on the other side of a power of countenancing & rewarding Vertue, obedience & sweetnes, and discountenancing Vice & refractorynes in their children.

In order wherunto Let the father have the full dispose of the one half of the childrens  $\frac{2}{3}$  parts of the state to dispose of in Legacies, & to such of his children as shal have bin most deserving. And the other half let be firmly establisht upon the children equally, as their Legitime portion.

### VII.

ffor the more speedy peopling of the cuntry & drawing both Rich & Poor thither, w<sup>h</sup> is the indisputable Interest both of the Governor & free-holders Let a Law be made by w<sup>h</sup> the Estates of Executors & Guardians for minors, shal be bound for to al intents & purposes for their tru & faithful administration of the Estates of minors & Orphans, till they have passed their acco<sup>t</sup>s & are legally discharged.

Let no man be permitted to refuse this so necessary charge in a Commonwelth, except as in Holland, he can shew that he hath 7 children to take care of, or be alredy Executor to 3 wills, or hath persons nearer related to him, who in all probability will impose that charge upon him.

This care for preserving the estates of Orphans has bin a great means to draw rich men into Holland.

But they have bin defective in one thing, w<sup>h</sup> much impaires the Validity of their Registers, Viz, that they have not Registered therein

as well the names of all Executors as of all mortgages, w<sup>h</sup> should have bin, seing all the Lands of such Executors are by this Law really mortgaged or bound to make good the Estates of Orphans & minors, whosoever has bought and payd for them, during such minority & Administration—

That purchasers may be secured or at lest warned let the names of all Executors be registred in that book, where their Lands stand enregistred, as a Legall charge upon their Lands.

And when they have accounted & are Legally discharged, Let them be, upon the Register, duly discharged.

And because a due provision made for the Education of youth freely, in all arts, that may tend to the good of the Commonwealth, & for Aged & disabled persons, & orphans, that there may not be a beggar amongst, wil be an incouragement to both rich & Poore.

#### VIII.

Let a certain part of every mans gain, whether husband man, trades man, handy crafts man, marchant or by whatsoever name distinguisht be set apart, and brought into a common Tresury, whether  $\frac{1}{10}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$  or  $\frac{1}{20}$ <sup>th</sup> part of their gain.<sup>1</sup> I say gain, That so the laborios husband man may not, (as in that oppression of Tithes) be compelled to pay, where he reaps not, sufficient to pay for his seed & Labor &c.—

Let this be set apart for these uses. 1. for erecting & maintaining of free schools. 2. for erecting & maintaining of hospitals for aged & disabled men & women, & orphans.

And becaus men whose minds are corrupted by covetousnes may defraud the publick, and bring the charge to ly onely upon y<sup>e</sup> Conscientios.

Let every man that coms there to inhabit engage to the observing of this Law, by a solemn subscription in open Court, upon penalty of being looked upon as a false man never to be recd. as a witness, much less admitted to any place of trust or proffit & the Republick, if it shall ever be made appear that he hath defrauded y<sup>e</sup> public, And to forfeit four times so much ( $\frac{1}{2}$  to y<sup>e</sup> publick Treasury &  $\frac{1}{2}$  to the discoverer) as he had saved, or intended to save to himself, by this vile and false Action.

Thus both rich & poore will see a morall certainty, that, into w<sup>t</sup> state soever they or their posterity shall come, they shall not want for being well provided for, & their children bred up to learning if capable & thereunto inclined. This fund may be employed for the transporting of poor families, that gladly would transport themselves, (but cannot for want of means) if any would but furnish them w<sup>h</sup> so much as is necessary to their transportation & settlement, upon their bonds to repay

<sup>1</sup> MARGINAL NOTE.—And as the Cuntry encreases let y<sup>e</sup> — be kept in each county where it arises.



them again, w<sup>h</sup> a reasonable interest & allowance for their monyes & risico, as they should be able or could agree.

Nor would this any way diminish the stock, but increase it by imploying it upon interest & proffit for the risico, in a way that should bring advantage to the whole Province, & particularly to this fund for the use above mention'd.

And for the Incouragement of any that may be willing to advance mony immediately towards bringing over such honest & industrious families this fund might be ingaged to them as a corroborativ security to the bonds made w<sup>h</sup> the persons that they should so contract with.

## IX.

### CONCERNING JURIES.

Especially where life will be concerned, as in murther & Treason, where the Governor has no Power to pardon.

Let God rather then men be intrusted with that affaïre in the first place, that all corruption in packing of Juries to hurry men out of y<sup>e</sup> world w<sup>h</sup>out just cause may be prevented.

To w<sup>h</sup> purpose let the names of all the free-holders or such as are capable of serving, be written in papers, & let 48 draw, w<sup>h</sup> done let the Prisoner have his liberty still to except giving sufficient Reasons to the Court that so things may go squarely on both sides.

Onely in cases that will touch life, let no man that scruples to pass upon life in any case, be imposed upon—As I myself, & many more to me known do.

## X.

That all causes be first heard in the precinct or provincially court where the defendant resides except he be found within that of y<sup>e</sup> Plaintiff, & be there summoned to answer. And let not any cause be removed thence to any superior court till sentence be past, And that by way of appeal, putting in security for the charges of y<sup>e</sup> suit.

## XI.

That if any man will finally appeal from y<sup>e</sup> last court in the province, to the king, he first deposits in court the sum w<sup>h</sup> he is condemned to pay, and give security to pay treble damages in case he loses his cause before the king.

## XII.

### FOR THE AVOYDING OF NUMEROUS SUITS.

If 2 men dealing together be indebted to each other, upon bills, bonds, bargains or whatsoever it be, provided they be of the same nature clear-

nes & Liquidity.<sup>1</sup> Let the defendant in his answer acknowledge the debt, w<sup>h</sup> the plaintiff demands by bill, bond &c.—defalking what the plaintiff is owing to him upon like bill, bond &c.—That so he that is willing to pay what he owes, to one that is unwilling to do the same to him, may be allowed to defalk w<sup>t</sup> the plaintiff owes him, & pay him the rest, when the Jurie hath examined both their pretences, & found them of one nature.

For what reason in the world is there that if I ow a man £500 upon a bond expired 8 days since—And he owes me £300 upon a bond expired  $\frac{3}{w}$  since——w<sup>h</sup> being demanded he has refused to pay ; in case he sue me for y<sup>e</sup> £500 I ow him, that I shall at same time have my case tryed w<sup>h</sup>out making an other suit of Law of it ?

Much less is there reason, if he ow me £500 upon a bill, & I him but £300— That because he begins to sue me first having arrested me, I shal be Comdemed to pay my £300—And be to seek him when I can find him, to arrest him—for y<sup>e</sup> £500 he owes me, y<sup>t</sup> was due before my bond ?

This brings to my mind to desire that every man, as in holland shal be bound to appear upon summons left at his dwelling, that so no man by skulking may prevent Justice. As I suppose it is here.

Consider further that there are many Christians in holland & Germany that look upon it as unlawfull to sue any man at y<sup>e</sup> Law, as to fight w<sup>h</sup> armes These then having no other fence but their prudence in intrusting none but honst men. If they should prove mistaken, shal be made by a knave to pay £300 when in reality they ought to receive £200. w<sup>h</sup>, if they might in their defence be allowed to alledge by way of answer, they might receive. Or at lest they would be freed from being molested for payment of their bond ; because the same Jury would determine, as well for them, as for their party.

That a way be establisht for making sentences passed by Arbitrators as valid as any other in the cuntry, as in Holland, Thus. The partyes having signed to submitt their matters to such men, Let the compromise be sent to y<sup>e</sup> superior court & their ratification of that act be confirmed by them——

#### CONCERNING PAYING DEBTS.

##### XIII.

Let all Lands & goods be lyable to sale for payments of debts, this is just & honest the keeping any part free (as in y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Law) tends to encourage vile knavery.

##### XIV.

Seven yeers possessions, is too short a time to give an unquestionable right—as in y<sup>e</sup> 15 [16] Law.

<sup>1</sup> MARGINAL NOTE.—That bills, bonds & other specialties be assignable from one to another. But he that receiv<sup>s</sup> such ought first to require of y<sup>e</sup> debtor whether he hath not as liquid, & adjusted a debt to stop, upon the bill, bond &c. that should be transferred to him—

## XV.

That the term Contenements in y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> Law be explaind.

## XVI.

That care be taken that, if deeds sent over to be registred be lost, the persons shall not lose their lands. w<sup>h</sup> must be, by a Register here. Or Copies Notariall sent, or kept here must be admitted.

## XVII.

That in case of murder (L:rs) y<sup>e</sup>  $\frac{2}{3}$  of y<sup>e</sup> state go rather to y<sup>e</sup> next of kin to the sufferer (w<sup>h</sup> may be a poore widdow w<sup>th</sup> many fatherless children) & but  $\frac{1}{3}$  to y<sup>e</sup> kindred of the Criminall—If any difference—But half to each seems as equall—& In case of Treason  $\frac{1}{2}$  to y<sup>e</sup> kindred, &  $\frac{1}{2}$  to y<sup>e</sup> publick Treasury.

## XIX.

The 26<sup>th</sup> [36] Law enjoyning all to abstain from Labour on y<sup>e</sup> first day may prove a vile snare to y<sup>e</sup> conscience of many in this day, who do not look upon that day as of any other then human institution, & may be pressed in spirit (whether right or wrong is not the question) sometimes to work upon that day, to testify agt that superstitious conceit that it is of divine institution, & is the Christian sabbath.

Onely thus far there may a service be in Setting Servants at liberty from the oppressions of grinding, covetos masters &c—that it be declared that no master shall compell his servant to labor on that day because its fit y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> very body of man & beast should have some rest from their continuall labor——

## XX.

That no publick Tax be for longer then a year. w<sup>h</sup> will make y<sup>e</sup> Assembly always necessary. And consequently keep ministers in aw.

## XXI.

That if any man arrest another going out of y<sup>e</sup> Province he be ready w<sup>h</sup> his declaration & evidence the next day & that he put in security—for y<sup>e</sup> charges & dammages sustayned by that stop, if he be found in the wrong.

## XXII.

That a forme of a deed be agreed upon, thats short & plain that we be not bound to the tricks of y<sup>e</sup> Lawyers of England.

And let possession be given & taken as in holl<sup>d</sup> in open court, by the persons themselves or their attorneys.

In holland the mode is thus. The seller takes his hat, & turning y<sup>e</sup>

crown downwards holds it by 2 fingers & his thumb. The buyer likewise takes hold of it, & the seller says that he thereby surrenders to him all his right & title leaving y<sup>e</sup> hat in y<sup>e</sup> hand of the buyer, who afterwards gives it him and there's an end——

## XXIII.

Let no blacks be brought in directly. And if any come out of Virginia, Maryld. ~~or elsewhere~~ in families that have formerly bought them else where Let them be declared (as in y<sup>e</sup> west jersey constitutions) free at 8 years end.<sup>1</sup>

## XXIV.

That the Royalties being not in the deeds expressed be added to the frame as an article, & the liberty of hunting, fowling, fishing exprest in plain terms. And afterwards in the Register. Things securing mens rights & properties cannot be writ too plain.

That w<sup>h</sup> I have now further to add is that I far prefer thy first draught to this last, as being most equall, most faire, & most agreeing with the just

<sup>1</sup> This passage is very interesting if, as the language seems to imply, it proposed, at that early day, the prohibition of negro slavery in Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, Furly has failed to express himself clearly, and his handwriting adds to the obscurity of the passage. The words *in* and *directly* are separate, but it looks as if they were intended to form the one word "indirectly." His habit of leaving spaces between syllables of words of the entirety of which there can be no doubt supports this theory. The importance of the difference between *in directly* and *indirectly* will be seen at once. If no blacks were to be brought *directly in*, and if those coming from Virginia and Maryland in families that had owned them before removing to Pennsylvania were to be free in eight years, the provision was clearly an anti-slavery one. But if the passage means "Let no blacks be brought indirectly,"—that is, let none be brought in but those coming direct from Africa and sold into slavery, and if those from the neighboring provinces of Virginia and Maryland were to be free in eight years,—then the provision was simply one regulating the importation of slaves, and was in the interest of parties engaged in the African slave-trade. This was always a favorite occupation of the Dutch, but Furly's character would not lead us to suppose that he engaged in it. The erasure of the two words "or elsewhere" after Virginia and Maryland seems to imply that it was not Furly's intention to prohibit entirely the importation of slaves; or it is possible that they were struck out to avoid tautology, as they appear again in the next line.

The provision referred to in the West Jersey constitution is at present unknown to us, and if discovered may throw some light on Furly's intentions.—F. D. S.



wise, & prudent constitutions of our Ancestors. And most likely to keep us in a good, & fair Correspondence w<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Nation, w<sup>h</sup>, & y<sup>e</sup> Interest thereof will stand, when that of a few corrupt & guilty Courtiers —will sink, &c—

Indeed I wonder who should put thee upon altering them for these, And as much how thou couldst ever yield to such a thing. Especially after thou wert so much satisfied in them as to charge all thy children, & theirs, to love & preserve them as being y<sup>e</sup> establishmt. of thee their father & Ancestor, as *the discharge of thy conscience to God* the giver of this cuntry to thee & them, & as *they hope to keep it & his blessing upon it.*

As much do I wonder that any of the free holders that had subscribed y<sup>m</sup> w<sup>h</sup> *much clearness & satisfaction* as the Ground & Rule of All future Laws, & Government, promising everyone for himself *that, by Gods assistance* they would remember love & preserve y<sup>m</sup> *to the uttermost of their power*, as fundamentals, *inviolably*, charging their posterity to do the same, *as they hope to enjoy what they should leave them, & the blessing of God with it.*

Who has turned you aside from these good beginnings to establish things unsavory & unjust; as fundamentals to w<sup>h</sup> all Generations to come should be bound?

The 3<sup>d</sup> Constitution, w<sup>h</sup> gives the Assembly the power of making & abolishing all Laws, & whatsoever is the privilege of an English house of Commons, the power of determining how long, within their yeer to sit, Is more fair, & equall then the 29<sup>th</sup> [19] of y<sup>e</sup> new frame, w<sup>h</sup> deprives them of both.

The 5<sup>th</sup> constitution that provides agt. any deputyes betraying his trust in Voting agt. his principals, or Electors, by obliging him to bring instructions. Is in the new, without ground in my judgmt left out.

The 8<sup>th</sup> Constitution w<sup>h</sup> lodges but a consultative faculty in the Councill of 48. [upon] the bills & proposals of y<sup>e</sup> Assembly, & then to propose their deliberations by way of conference to the Assembly.

Is much more faire & equall, in my mind, then the 5 & 7<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> new frame w<sup>h</sup> take from y<sup>e</sup> Gen: Assembly, the whole faculty of proposing any bills, & lodges it solely in y<sup>e</sup> provincially Councill. w<sup>h</sup> seems to be a divesting of the peoples representatives (in time to come) of y<sup>e</sup> greatest right they have. & will lay morally a certain foundation for dissension amongst our successors. And render the patronizers of this new frame Obnoxious to future parliaments. For the people of England can never, by any prescription of time be dispossessed of that naturall right of propounding Laws to be made: by their representatives. Let us then in settling foundations avoid such precipices.

And let the Generall Assembly be restored to those powers & privileges w<sup>h</sup> thy first constitutions do give it, & the Provincially Councill whether of 48. or 72, brought to its place, there allotted to it.

And if upon conference they cannot agree—Let those matters, w<sup>h</sup> can never be many, be reserved to y<sup>e</sup> judgment of god, by Lott or, by the  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the numbers of y<sup>e</sup> provincially Councill & Generall Assembly.

However I would not be misunderstood, as if I judged it absolutely necessary that now, at y<sup>e</sup> beginning there should be an Assembly of 200, & a councill of 72. For I know not but 72, may be a very competent number of Representatives for such a body of people as may be upon the place in our day. And consequently if y<sup>e</sup> people did—once a yeare chuse 72 persons as their representatives after y<sup>e</sup> first yeare (where all freeman may conveniently appear & vote for themselves) it might be enough.

But what I speak is with reference to future ages, when y<sup>e</sup> very frame supposes it may be needfull to have 500 representatives; unto w<sup>h</sup> times this frame shal be as binding, as it is at this day, & whatsoever inconvenience may then [be] found in it, at that day, cannot be removed, without the consent of y<sup>e</sup> Governor, who 500 yeare hence may be such a man, as y<sup>e</sup> present Govern<sup>r</sup> if he could help, would not allow the meanest office of Trust in the Govern<sup>t</sup>.

My earnest intreaty then is that these foundations be not layd as unalterable, as they are, but onely to continue for a tearm of years or for y<sup>e</sup> life of y<sup>e</sup> present governor:

And then be alterable by  $\frac{2}{3}$  of y<sup>e</sup> 2 assemblys as above mentioned.

For to have a great nation bound up to have no laws but w<sup>t</sup> two thirds of 72 men shall think fit to propound. Whereof but 24 shall be yearly chosen, & sit 3 years to be corrupted by a Governor who hath 3 Voyces, that is  $\frac{1}{18}$  of y<sup>e</sup> Quorum is not consistent w<sup>h</sup> the publick safety w<sup>h</sup> is, & always will remain, the supreme Law, & bring to certain destruction all y<sup>t</sup> go about to make it Void.

I should like it much better that they were chosen every 3 months by the Generall Assembly or by the people, y<sup>t</sup> so they might not be so liable to be corrupted by an ill minded, ambitios Governor, for such opportunities do present for mischief in 3 years that do not in 3/m. at lest their designs are not so easily brought to perfection in 3/m. as in 3/years.

Concerning Nomination of Judges &c——

Let y<sup>e</sup> nomination of 2 be by the Gen. Assembly: & election of one by the Prov. Councill. w<sup>h</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> safer way, then to hang the finall election upon one man w<sup>h</sup> if not good & vertuous may make an ill use of it and attract to himself bribers & flatterers w<sup>h</sup> I would never expose my posterity to—

Concerning y<sup>e</sup> committees.

Let them all be subjected to the animadversions of y<sup>e</sup> Gen. Assembly, especially those of Justice, & y<sup>e</sup> treasury.

Finally, if this frame be continued, I desire at lest. That to y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> Article be added the word Onely, & ye words No Negatives. To prevent

that most absurd interpretation of that Article, That because the Governor, has not in terminis renounced a right to a Negative Voice, or not said *Onely* a treble Voice, Therefore he has, to help him at a dead lift right to use a Negative when his treble Voice will not do.

That y<sup>e</sup> Generall assembly have a right of proposing as well as y<sup>e</sup> provincially council.

That to y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> [19] Article be added these words (instead of *as may be*) *as they shall judg* needfull to Impeach such criminalls as they shall judge fit.

That they have right to adjourn or prorogue themselves. And y<sup>e</sup> Prov: Councill of calling them sooner, if need be.

That y<sup>e</sup> 23. & 24 Articles of y<sup>e</sup> frame & 1<sup>st</sup> & 3<sup>d</sup> Laws—for ratification of them may be expunged. Because it binds our posterity forever, & gives the Governor a Negative Voice in these 2 grand cases of y<sup>e</sup> provincially & Generall Assembly (tho' some that have read y<sup>m</sup> could not beleieve it)—1 And to secure liberty of conscience, 2 balletting in elections & Resolutions, 3 y<sup>e</sup> way of tryalls, 4 gavelkind for succession of estates reall & personall, 5 marriages, 6 y<sup>e</sup> Registry, 7 speedy justice, 8 Law in English, 9 property &c—may be establisht as fundamentals; w<sup>h</sup> should be delivered to y<sup>e</sup> supreme assembly to be onely conservators of, & y<sup>e</sup> utmost penalty upon any that at any time in any council should move for y<sup>e</sup> alteration of any of them w<sup>h</sup> will be all the security we can have, or desire—

WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1784-1799.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from page 196.)

1788.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 1.

At Mount Vernon: "I have the pleasure to inform you, that there is the greatest prospect of its [the Constitution] being adopted by the people. It has its opponents, as any system formed by the wisdom of man would undoubtedly have; but they bear but a small proportion to its friends, and differ among themselves in their objections. Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey have already decided in its favor, the first by a majority of two to one, and the two last unanimously."—*Washington to William Gordon*.

The National Constitution was ratified by the different States in the following order: Delaware, December 7, 1787; Pennsylvania, December 12; New Jersey, December 18; Georgia, January 2, 1788; Connecticut, January 9; Massachusetts, February 6; Maryland, April 28; South Carolina, May 23; New Hampshire, June 21; Virginia, June 25; New York, July 26; North Carolina, November 21, 1789; Rhode Island, May 29, 1790.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 5.

At Mount Vernon: "*January 5*.—About Eight o'clock in the evening we were alarmed, and the house a good deal endangered by the soot of one of the Chimneys taking fire & burning furiously, discharging great flakes of fire on the Roof but happily by having aid at hand and proper exertion no damage ensued."—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 8.

At Mount Vernon: "There are some things in the new form, I will readily acknowledge, which never did, and I am persuaded never will, obtain my cordial approbation; but I did then conceive, and do now most firmly believe, that in the aggregate it is the best constitution, that can be



obtained at this epoch, and that this, or a dissolution of the Union, awaits our choice, and is the only alternative before us. Thus believing, I had not, nor have I now, any hesitation in deciding on which to lean."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph.*

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9.

At Mount Vernon: "*January 9.*—Col<sup>o</sup> [Edward] Carrington came here to Dinner—I continued at home all day."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*January 10.*—Col<sup>o</sup> Carrington left this after breakfast (on my horses) for Colchester; to meet the Stage."—*Washington's Diary.*

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 5.

At Mount Vernon: "Perceiving that the *Federalist*, under the signature of PUBLIUS, is about to be republished, I would thank you to forward to me three or four copies, one of which to be bound, and inform me of the cost."—*Washington to James Madison*, at New York.

The "*Federalist*," a collection of essays written in favor of the new Constitution by James Madison, John Jay, and Alexander Hamilton, under the signature of PUBLIUS, was first published in book form at New York in May, 1788, in two 12mo volumes. Only one copy of the book is included in the inventory of the library at Mount Vernon, made after the death of Washington. It was valued at one dollar and a half. These volumes, handsomely bound, were sold at Philadelphia in November, 1876, for one hundred dollars, and resold February, 1891, in the same city, for nineteen hundred dollars.

Under date of August 28, 1788, Washington wrote to Alexander Hamilton, "As the perusal of the political papers under the signature of PUBLIUS has afforded me great satisfaction, I shall certainly consider them as claiming a most distinguished place in my library. I have read every performance, which has been printed on one side and the other of the great question lately agitated, so far as I have been able to obtain them; and, without an unmeaning compliment, I will say, that I have seen no other so well calculated, in my judgment, to produce conviction on an unbiassed mind, as the production of your *triumvirate*."

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13.

At Mount Vernon: "*February 13.*—The Marq<sup>s</sup> de Chapdelaine (introduced by letters from Gen<sup>l</sup> Knox, M<sup>r</sup> Bing-

ham &c<sup>a</sup>) Capt<sup>a</sup> Enew (a British Officer) Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald, Mr Hunter, Mr Nelson & Mr Ingraham came here to Dinner—all of whom returned [to Alexandria] after it except the last.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“February 14.—On my return from Riding [to the plantations], I found the Marq<sup>s</sup> de Chappedelaine and Doct<sup>r</sup> Lee here—both of whom stayed all Night. February 15.—Let out a Fox (which had been taken alive some days ago) and after chasing it an hour lost it. The Marquis de Chappedelaine & Mr Ingraham returned to Alexandria after Dinner.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### FRIDAY, MARCH 14.

At Alexandria: “March 14.—Went with Mr<sup>s</sup> Washington to Alexandria—Visited Capt<sup>a</sup> Conway Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik, Col<sup>o</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Hanson, Mr Murray, & Mr Porter with the last of whom we dined—returned in the Even.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“March 17.—Went up [to Alexandria] (accompanied by Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys) to the Election of Delegates to the Convention of this State (for the purpose of considering the New form of Governm<sup>t</sup> which has been recommended to the United States); When Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuart and Col<sup>o</sup> [Charles] Simms were chosen with out opposition—Dined at Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgeralds and returned in the Evening.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### TUESDAY, MARCH 18.

At Mount Vernon: “March 18.—Mr Madison on his way from New York to Orange [County] came in before dinner and stayed all Night.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“March 20.—Mr Madison (in my Carriage) went after breakfast to Colchester to fall in with the Stage.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, APRIL 6.

At Mount Vernon: “April 6.—Sent my two Jackasses to the Election at Marlborough in Maryl<sup>d</sup> that they might be seen.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### TUESDAY, APRIL 8.

At Abingdon: “April 8.—About 10 oclock, in company with Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys, Mr<sup>s</sup> Washington, Harriott Washing-

ton<sup>1</sup> and Washington Custis I set of for Abingdon—where we dined and stayed all Night.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“April 9.—Dined at Abingdon and returned home in the evening—all, except Harriot Washington.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, APRIL 13.

At Alexandria: “April 13.—Went to Church at Alexandria accompanied by Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys M<sup>r</sup> Lear, & Washington Custis—brought Harriot Washington home with us who had been left at Abingdon & came to Church with M<sup>r</sup> Stuart.”—*Washington's Diary*.

At Alexandria, Washington attended Christ Church (Protestant Episcopal), erected in 1773, and still standing, the present rector being Dr. Henderson Suter.<sup>2</sup> The Rev. David Griffith, chaplain of the Third Virginia Regiment in the Revolution, and who was a frequent visitor at Mount Vernon, officiated from 1780 until his decease in 1789. Dr. Griffith was succeeded by Bryan Fairfax, brother of George William Fairfax, of “Belvoir,” who served from 1790 to 1792. The Rev. Thomas Davis, toward whose salary Washington made an annual subscription of ten pounds, and who officiated at his funeral, succeeded Mr. Fairfax. The church owns a Bible, presented to it by George Washington Parke Custis, which formerly belonged to General Washington.

#### MONDAY, APRIL 21.

At Alexandria: “April 21.—Went to Alexandria to the Election of a Senator for the district and delegates for the County in the General Assembly—when M<sup>r</sup> Pope was chosen for the first and M<sup>r</sup> Roger West, and Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuart for the latter—Dined at Doct<sup>r</sup> Cr<sup>ks</sup> and came home in the evening.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, APRIL 28.

At Mount Vernon: “All the public attention has been, for many months past, engrossed by a new constitution. It has met with some opposition from men of abilities, but it has been much more ably advocated. Six States have accepted it. The opinion is, that Maryland and South Caro-

<sup>1</sup> The youngest child of Samuel Washington, brother of the General, who died in 1781. She married (July 4, 1796) Andrew Parks, of Baltimore.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Suter died August 25, 1895.



lina will soon do the same. One more State only will be wanting to put the government into execution.”—*Washington to Count de Rochambeau*.

According to the provisions of Article VII., the ratification of the conventions of nine States was requisite for the establishment of the Constitution between the States so ratifying the same. Maryland accepted it on the day the above quoted letter was written, South Carolina on May 23, and New Hampshire, the ninth State, on June 21.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30.

At Mount Vernon : “Influenced by a heartfelt desire to promote the cause of science in general, and the prosperity of the College of William and Mary in particular, I accept the office of chancellor in the same; and request you will be pleased to give official notice thereof to the learned body, who have thought proper to honor me with the appointment.”—*Washington to Samuel Griffin*.

“May 15.—Visited all the Plantations—and the Brick yard—where a small kiln of Brick were forming to Burn.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, MAY 17.

At Mount Vernon : “May 17.—M<sup>rs</sup> [Robert] Morris, Miss Morris and her two Sons [Robert and Thomas] (lately arrived from Europe) came here about 11 Ocl<sup>k</sup>.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“May 18.—About one oclock, Col<sup>o</sup> Andrew Lewis of Bottetout came in—dined, & returned to Alexandria in the afternoon. May 20.—Rid in company with M<sup>rs</sup> Morris, M<sup>rs</sup> Washington, the two M<sup>r</sup> Morris's & Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys to my Mill, and returned home thro' French's & the Ferry Plantations & by the Brick yard. May 22.—M<sup>rs</sup> Morris having (by the Stage of yesterday) Received a request from M<sup>r</sup> Morris to proceed to Richmond, set off for that place ab<sup>t</sup> 9 oclock this Morning, with her two Sons & daughter.—Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys & myself accompanied her to Colchester, & returned to dinner.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, MAY 31.

Leaves Mount Vernon : “May 31.—After an early dinner, in company with Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys, I set out for a meeting of the Directors of the Potomack Company to be held at the Falls of Shenandoah on Monday next—reached M<sup>r</sup> Fair-



fax's [Towlston] about an hour by Sun, who with his Lady were at Alexandria; but a cloud which threatened rain, induced us notwithstanding to remain there all night."—*Washington's Diary*.

"June 1.—About Sunrise, we set out for the Great Falls, where having met M<sup>r</sup> Smith (the assistant Manager who resides at the works at the Seneca falls) we examined the Canal, banks and other operations at this place . . . from hence we proceeded by a small cut, & wall About a mile higher up the River to the Seneca falls. . . . At this place we breakfasted, and in Company with M<sup>r</sup> Smith continued our journey—Dined at Leesburgh—& lodged at M<sup>r</sup> J<sup>n</sup> Houghs. June 2.—About 5 o'clock, after an early breakfast, we set off, piloted by M<sup>r</sup> Hugh [? Hough] thro' by Roads, over the short hills—by the House & Mill of one Belt for the M<sup>o</sup> of Shenandoah where we arrived partly by a good & partly by a rugged Road at half after eight o'clock—distance about 12 Miles—Soon after came Gov<sup>r</sup> Johnson, and about 10 o'clock Gov<sup>r</sup> Lee & Col<sup>o</sup> Gilpin arrived—We then, together crossed the River, walked up to the head of the Canal on the Maryland side & viewed all the Works. . . . After dinner the board set. . . . June 3.—Having accomplished all the business that came before the board by 10 o'clock—the members seperated—and I (Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys having returned the day before) went to my Brothers [Charles] about eight miles off—dined there—and continued on in the Afternoon to Colonel Warner Washington's where I spent the evening. June 4.—About 7 o'clock I left this place, Fairfield, bated at a small Tavern (Bacon fort) 15 Miles distant—dined at the Tavern of one Lacey 14 Miles further and lodged at Newgate 16 Miles lower down."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, JUNE 5.

At Mount Vernon: "June 5.—After an early breakfast I continued my journey by the upper and lower churches of this Parish [Truro] & passing through my Plantations at Dogue Run, Frenchs, and the Ferry—and the New Barn I reached home about Noon in about 28 Miles riding where I found Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys who had just got in before me from Abingdon."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, JUNE 9.

At Mount Vernon: "June 9.—Capt<sup>a</sup> [Joshua] Barney, in the Miniature Ship Federalist—as a present from the Merchants of Baltimore to me arrived here to Breakfast with her and stayed all day & Night."—*Washington's Diary*.

The citizens of Baltimore celebrated the adoption of the Constitution in Maryland by a procession in which a small boat fifteen feet in length, completely rigged and perfectly equipped as a ship, called "The Federalist," was a conspicuous feature. It was mounted on wheels and drawn by four horses. Captain Barney commanded the ship. After the pageant was over, it was resolved to present the ship to General Washington, in the name of the merchants and ship-owners of Baltimore. It was launched and navigated by Captain Barney down the Chesapeake Bay to the mouth of the Potomac, and thence up the river to Mount Vernon. "The Federalist" was driven from her moorings on the night of July 23 by a high northeast wind, and sunk.

## TUESDAY, JUNE 10.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "June 10.—Between 9 and 10 O'clock set out for Fredericksburgh, accompanied by M<sup>rs</sup> Washington, on a visit to my Mother—Made a visit to M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Thompson in Colchester—& reached Col<sup>o</sup> [Thomas] Blackburns to dinner, where we lodged—he was from home."—*Washington's Diary*.

"June 11.—About Sun rise we continued our journey—breakfasted at Stafford Court House and intended to have dined at M<sup>r</sup> Fitzhughs of Chatham but he and Lady being from home we proceeded to Fredericksburgh—alighted at my Mothers and sent the Carriage & horses to my Sister Lewis's—where we dined and lodged—As we also did the next day [June 12], the first in company with M<sup>r</sup> Fitzhugh, Col<sup>o</sup> Carter & Col<sup>o</sup> Willis and their Ladies, and Gen<sup>l</sup> Weedon—The day following (Friday) we dined in a large Company at Mansfield (M<sup>r</sup> Man Page's)—on Saturday we visited Gen<sup>l</sup> Spotswoods dined there & returned in the Evening to My Sisters."—*Washington's Diary*.

## SUNDAY, JUNE 15.

At Fredericksburg: "June 15.—On Sunday we went to Church [St. George's]—the Congregation being alarmed (without cause) and suppos<sup>d</sup> the Gallery at the N<sup>o</sup> End was about to fall, were thrown into the utmost confusion; and in the precipitate Retreat to the doors many got hurt—Dined in a large Company at Col<sup>o</sup> Willis's—Where, taking leave of my friends, we re-crossed the River, and spent the evening at Chatham."—*Washington's Diary*.

"June 16.—Before five o'clock we left it [Chatham]—travelled to Dumfries to breakfast—and reached home to a late dinner and found that Capt<sup>n</sup>

Barney had left it about half an hour before for Alexandria to proceed in the Stage of Tomorrow for Baltimore.”—*Washington's Diary*.

### WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18.

At Mount Vernon: “We have had a backward spring and summer, with more rainy and cloudy weather than almost ever has been known; still the appearance of crops in some parts of the country is favorable; as we may generally expect will be the case, from the difference of soil and variety of climate in so extensive a region; insomuch that I hope, some day or other, we shall become a store-house and granary for the world.”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

### SATURDAY, JUNE 28.

At Alexandria: “*June 28.*—The Inhabitants of Alexandria having received the News of the Ratification of the proposed Constitution by this State, and that of New Hampshire—and having determined on public Rejoicings, part of which to be in a dinner, to which this family was envited Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys my Nephew G. A. Washington & myself went up to it and returned in the Afternoon.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*June 28.*—Thus the citizens of Alexandria, when convened, constituted the first public company in America, which had the pleasure of pouring a libation to the prosperity of the ten States, that had actually adopted the general government. The day itself is memorable for more reasons than one. It was recollected, that this day is the anniversary of the battles of Sullivan's Island and Monmouth. I have just returned from assisting at the entertainment.”—*Washington to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney*.

### FRIDAY, JULY 4.

At Mount Vernon: “*July 4.*—In the Afternoon, M<sup>r</sup> Madison and Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuart, with a Son of M<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Lee arrived from Richmond.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*July 5.*—I remained at home all day with M<sup>r</sup> Madison. *July 7.*—After dinner—M<sup>r</sup> Madison, and the Son of M<sup>r</sup> Lee went (in my Carriage) to Alexandria in order to proceed on to New York in the Stage tomorrow.”—*Washington's Diary*.



WEDNESDAY, JULY 9.

At Mount Vernon: "July 9.—A Capt<sup>n</sup> Gregory (a french Gentlem<sup>n</sup> who served in the American Navy last War & now in the Service of Rob Morris Esq<sup>r</sup>) came here by Water from Dumfries—Dined, Supped and returned."—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, JULY 12.

At Mount Vernon: "July 12.—To a late Breakfast M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Morris, their two Sons & Daughter and M<sup>r</sup> Gouv<sup>r</sup> Morris came."—*Washington's Diary*.

"July 15.—About 11 o'clock M<sup>rs</sup> Washington & myself accompanied M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Morris &c. as far as Alexandria on their return to Philadelphia—We all dined (in a large Company) at M<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Hunters; after which M<sup>r</sup> Morris & his family proceeded and M<sup>rs</sup> Washington, Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys & myself ret<sup>d</sup>."—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, JULY 20.

At Mount Vernon: "You will permit me to say, that a greater drama is now acting on this theatre, than has heretofore been brought on the American stage, or any other in the world. We exhibit at present the novel and astonishing spectacle of a whole people deliberating calmly on what form of government will be most conducive to their happiness; and deciding with an unexpected degree of unanimity in favor of a system, which they conceive calculated to answer the purpose."—*Washington to Sir Edward Newenham*.

TUESDAY, JULY 29.

At Mount Vernon: "July 29.—A M<sup>r</sup> Vender Kemp—a Dutch Gent<sup>n</sup> who had suffered by the troubles in Holland and who was introduced to me by the Marquis de la Fayette came here to Dinner. July 30.—M<sup>r</sup> Vender Kemp returned."—*Washington's Diary*.

Francis Adrian Vander Kemp, at one time a minister of the Mennonite congregation at Leyden, and who subsequently had a command in the army of Holland, arrived with his family at New York, May 4, 1788. The following reference to his visit at Mount Vernon, taken from his manuscript journal, is furnished by the Rev. Roswell Randall Hoes: "I arrived at last at Mount Vernon, where simplicity and order, unadorned grandeur and dignity



had taken up their abode. . . . There seemed to me, to skulk somewhat of a repulsive coldness—not congenial with my mind, under a courteous demeanor; and I was infinitely better pleased by the unassuming modest gentleness of the Lady, than with the conscious superiority of her Consort. There was a chosen Society—Col. Humphrey was there. I was charmed with his manners—his conversation; He knew, how to please—he knew, how to captivate, when he deemed it worth.”

Mr. Vander Kemp first settled at Esopus (now Kingston) on the Hudson River, and finally at Trenton, New York, originally called Oldenbarneveld. On February 22, 1800, he delivered at Oldenbarneveld a eulogy on Washington, which was published at Amsterdam, the same year, under the title, “Lofrede op George Washington, te Oldenbarneveld, den 22 sten van Sprokkelmaand, 1800 in Oneida District, Staat van New York, in de Engelsche taale uitgesproken, door FRANC. ADR. VANDER KEMP.” 8vo, pp. 30.

#### MONDAY, AUGUST 4.

At Alexandria: “August 4.—Went up to Alexandria to a meeting of the Potomack Company; the business of which was finished about Sun down—but matters which came more properly before the Directors obliged me to stay in Town all Night—Dined at Wises—and lodged at Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgeralds.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“August 5.—The business before the Board of Directors detaining till near two oclock (I dined at Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgeralds) and returned home in the aftern<sup>n</sup>.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### TUESDAY, AUGUST 12.

At Warburton, Maryland: “August 12.—The whole family, accompanied by Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys and M<sup>r</sup> [George] Calvert crossed the River—dined with Mr. Geo. Digges—and returned in the Evening.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20.

At Alexandria: “August 20.—Went up to Alexandria with M<sup>r</sup> Washington—dined at M<sup>r</sup> [Philip Richard] Fendalls and returned in the evening.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 23.

At Mount Vernon: “On the delicate subject [the Presidency] with which you conclude your letter, I can say nothing, because the event alluded to may never happen,

and because, in case it should occur, it would be a point of prudence to defer forming one's ultimate and irrevocable decision, so long as new data might be afforded for one to act with the greater wisdom and propriety."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton.*

*From Colonel Hamilton's Letter.*—"I take it for granted, Sir, you have concluded to comply with what will, no doubt, be the general call of your country in relation to the new government. You will permit me to say, that it is indispensable you should lend yourself to its first operations. It is to little purpose to have introduced a system if the weightiest influence is not given to its firm establishment in the outset."—*August 13.*

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

At Mount Vernon: "*September 11.*—M<sup>rs</sup> Plater and her two daughters, and M<sup>r</sup> George Digges and his Sister came here to dinner and stayed all Night."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*September 13.*—Rid with M<sup>rs</sup> Plater and M<sup>rs</sup> Washington to the Mill and New Barn. Col<sup>o</sup> [George] Plater, M<sup>r</sup> Hall & a M<sup>r</sup> Mathews came here (from M<sup>r</sup> Digges's) just after we had dined—stayed all Night. *September 14.*—Col<sup>o</sup> Plater, his lady & daughters M<sup>r</sup> Digges & his Sister; and M<sup>r</sup> Hall; and M<sup>r</sup> Mathews went away after breakfast."—*Washington's Diary.*

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

At Mount Vernon: "I am glad Congress have at last decided upon an ordinance for carrying the new government into execution."—*Washington to Henry Lee.*

"*September 13, 1788.*—Whereas, the convention assembled in Philadelphia, pursuant to the resolution of Congress, of the 21st of February, 1787, did, on the 17th of September, in the same year, report to the United States, in Congress assembled, a constitution for the people of the United States; whereupon, Congress, on the 28th of the same September, did resolve unanimously, 'That the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity of the resolves of the convention, made and provided in that case;' And whereas the constitution so reported by the convention, and by Congress transmitted to the several legislatures, has been ratified in the manner therein declared to be sufficient for the establishment of the same, and such ratifications, duly authenticated, have been received by Congress, and are filed in the office of the secretary; therefore,—

"*Resolved,* That the first Wednesday in January next be the day for appointing electors in the several states, which, before the said day shall

have ratified the said constitution; that the first Wednesday in February next, be the day for the electors to assemble in their respective states, and vote for a president; and that the first Wednesday in March next, be the time, and the present seat of Congress [New York] the place for commencing proceedings under the said constitution."—*Journal of Congress.*

#### FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3.

At Abingdon: "October 3.—Went with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington to Abingdon, to visit M<sup>rs</sup> Stuart who was sick."—*Washington's Diary.*

"October 4.—At Abingdon still. October 5.—Returned home after breakfast—and reached it about 11 o'clock."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### TUESDAY, OCTOBER 21.

At Alexandria: "October 21.—Went up to Alexandria to move the Court to appoint Commissioners to settle the Acc<sup>ts</sup> of the Administration of Col<sup>o</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Colvills Estate to whose Will I was an Executor. . . . I dined at M<sup>r</sup> Fendalls & came home in the Afternoon."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### SUNDAY, OCTOBER 26.

At Pohick Church: "October 26.—Went to Pohick Church and returned home to dinner—found D<sup>r</sup> Stuart at M<sup>t</sup> Vernon who dined there & returned home afterwards."—*Washington's Diary.*

"October 31.—Finished pruning the Weeping Willows & other Trees in the Serpentine walks front of the House and was on the point of Riding when M<sup>r</sup> William Fitzhugh Jun<sup>r</sup> (of Maryland) came in, about 10 o'clock—after whom Col<sup>o</sup> Henry Lee arrived both stay'd dinner and the latter all night.—Remained at home all day."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2.

At Mount Vernon: "November 2.—After dinner word was bro<sup>t</sup> from Alexandria that the Minister of France was arrived there and intended down here to dinner—Accordingly, a little before Sun setting, he (the Count de Moustiers)<sup>1</sup> his Sister the Marchioness de Bretan [Brehan]—the

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<sup>1</sup> Éléonor-François-Élie Comte de Moustier succeeded the Chevalier de la Luzerne as Minister from France to the United States in 1787. He returned to France in October, 1789.



Marquis her Son and M<sup>r</sup> du Ponts<sup>1</sup> came in.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“November 3.—Remained at home all day.—Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald & Doctr. Craik came down to dinner—& with the copy of an address (which the Citizens of Alexandria meant to present to the Minister) waited on him to know when he would receive it. M<sup>r</sup> Lear went to Alexandria to invite some of the Gentlemen and Ladies of the Town to dine with the Count & Marchioness here tomorrow. November 4.—M<sup>r</sup> Herbert & his Lady, M<sup>r</sup> Potts & his Lady, M<sup>r</sup> Ludwell Lee & his Lady, and Miss Nancy Craik came here to dinner and returned afterward.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

At Mount Vernon: “November 5.—The Minister & Madame de Bretan expressing a desire to Walk to the New Barn—we accordingly did so—and from thence through Frenchs Plantation to My Mill and from thence home completing a tour of at least Seven Miles. Previous to this, in the Morning before breakfast I rid to the Ferry, Frenchs, D: Run and Muddy hole Plantations.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“November 6.—About Nine O'clock the Minister of France, the Marchioness de Bretan & their Suit left this on their Return for New York I accompanied them as far as Alexandria & returned home to dinner—the Minister proceeded to George Town after having received an Address from the Citizens of the Corporation.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8.

At Alexandria: “November 8.—Went up to Alexandria, agreeably to a summons, to give testimony in the Suit defending between the Estate of M<sup>r</sup> Custis and M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Alexander—Returned by the New Barn which had got about half the Rafters up.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“November 10.—The New Barn would nearly if not quite have the Rafters up to-day.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

At Mount Vernon: “November 11.—All my People, except those in the Neck were on the public Roads Repairing

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<sup>1</sup> Victor Marie Du Pont, son of Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, and elder brother of Eleuthère Irénée Du Pont, who established the well-known powder-mills on the Brandywine, near Wilmington, Delaware, in 1802.



of them to day—attended, in some measure, this business myself—M<sup>r</sup> Lund Washington—Overseer of the Roads dined here to day.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*November 12.*—The force of yesterday was employed on the Road to day. . . . I rid to the Repairs of the Road and to my New Barn—the Rafters of which were all raised about Noon—M<sup>r</sup> Lund Washington dined here again to day.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

At Mount Vernon: “*November 14.*—Doct<sup>r</sup> [George] Logan and Lady of Phila<sup>a</sup> and a Mons<sup>r</sup> — of Lyons in France came here to dinner and went away afterwards.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

At Mount Vernon: “*November 15.*—Went with my Compass and finished the line of Stakes from Dogue Run (at the Tumbling dam) to Hunting C<sup>k</sup>; for a Road on the border of my land adjoining to Col<sup>o</sup> Masons—also connected this with the Road leading from the Gum Spring to Alexandria and from the former run the courses and measured the distances to my Mill and from the Mill to the Mansion House.

“On my Return home in the Evening I found M<sup>r</sup> Warville and a M<sup>r</sup> de Saint Tries here—brought down by M<sup>r</sup> Porter who returned again. *November 16.*—Mons<sup>r</sup> Warville and Saint Tres returned to Alexandria in my Chariot. *November 17.*—It was this day and not yesterday that M<sup>r</sup> Warville and M<sup>r</sup> Staint trees returned to Alexandria.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“I hastened to arrive at Mount Vernon, the seat of General Washington, ten miles below Alexandria on the same river. On this rout you traverse a considerable wood, and after having passed over two hills, you discover a country house of an elegant and majestic simplicity. It is preceded by grass plats; on one side of the avenue are the stables, on the other a green-house, and houses for a number of negro mechanics. In a spacious back yard are turkies, geese, and other poultry. This house overlooks the Potowmack, enjoys an extensive prospect, has a vast and elevated portico on the front next the river, and a convenient distribution of the apartments within. The General came home in the evening, fatigued with having been to lay

out a new road in some part of his plantations. You have often heard him compared to Cincinnatus: the comparison is doubtless just. This celebrated General is nothing more at present than a good farmer, constantly occupied in the care of his farm and the improvement of cultivation. He has lately built a barn, one hundred feet in length and considerably more in breadth, destined to receive the productions of his farm, and to shelter his cattle, horses, asses, and mules. It is built on a plan sent him by that famous English farmer Arthur Young. But the General has much improved the plan. This building is in brick, it cost but three hundred pounds; I am sure in France it would have cost three thousand.<sup>1</sup> He planted this year eleven hundred bushels of potatoes. All this is new in Virginia, where they know not the use of barns, and where they lay up no provisions for their cattle. His three hundred negroes are distributed in different log houses, in different parts of his plantation, which in this neighbourhood consists of ten thousand acres. Colonel Humphreys, that poet of whom I have spoken, assured me that the General possesses, in different parts of the country, more than two hundred thousand acres.

"Every thing has an air of simplicity in his house; his table is good, but not ostentatious; and no deviation is seen from regularity and domestic œconomy. Mrs. Washington superintends the whole, and joins to the qualities of an excellent house-wife, the simple dignity which ought to characterize a woman, whose husband has acted the greatest part on the theatre of human affairs; while she possesses that amenity, and manifests that attention to strangers, which render hospitality so charming. The same virtues are conspicuous in her interesting niece; but unhappily she appears not to enjoy good health.

"M. de Chastellux has mingled too much of the brilliant in his portrait of General Washington. His eye bespeaks great goodness of heart, manly sense marks all his answers, and he sometimes animates in conversation, but he has no characteristic features; which renders it difficult to seize him. He announces a profound discretion, and a great diffidence in himself; but at the same time, an unshaken firmness of character, when once he has made his decision. His modesty is astonishing to a Frenchman; he speaks of the American war, and of his victories, as of things in which he had no direction."—J. P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE, *Nouveau Voyage dans les États Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, fait en 1788*, Paris, 1791.

#### THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

At Alexandria: "November 20.—Went to Alexandria with Mr Washington—Dined with Col<sup>o</sup> Henry Lee & Lady at

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<sup>1</sup> "The building of a brick barn has occupied much of my attention this summer. It is constructed according to the plan you had the goodness to send me; but with some additions. It is now, I believe, the largest and most convenient one in this country."—*Washington to Arthur Young*, December 4, 1788.

Mr Fendalls and returned home in the Evening—Found Doct<sup>r</sup> La Moyeur here.”—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2.

At Mount Vernon: “The expensive manner in which I live (contrary to my wishes, but really unavoidable), the bad years of late, and my consequent short crops, have occasioned me to run in debt, and to feel more sensibly the want of money than I have ever done at any period of my whole life, and obliges me to look forward to every source from whence I have a right to expect relief. Under these circumstances I must ask you what prospect I have, and in what time (after it becomes due) I may expect to receive the present years annuity.”—*Washington to David Stuart*.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4.

At Mount Vernon: “The more I am acquainted with agricultural affairs, the better I am pleased with them; inso-much, that I can no where find so great satisfaction as in those innocent and useful pursuits. In indulging these feelings, I am led to reflect how much more delightful to an undebauched mind is the task of making improvements on the earth, than all the vain glory which can be acquired from ravaging it, by the most uninterrupted career of conquests.”—*Washington to Arthur Young*.

“I have a prospect of introducing into this country a very excellent race of animals, by means of the liberality of the KING of Spain. One of the jacks which he was pleased to present to me (the other perished at sea) is about 15 hands high, his body and limbs very large in proportion to his height; and the mules which I have had from him, appear to be extremely well formed for service. I have likewise a jack and two jennetts from Malta, of a very good size, which the Marquis de la FAYETTE sent to me.<sup>1</sup> The Spanish jack seems calculated to breed for heavy slow draught; and the others for the saddle, or lighter carriages. From these, altogether, I hope to secure a race of extraordinary goodness, which will stock the country.”—*Idem*.

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<sup>1</sup> The jack presented by Lafayette was called the *Knight of Malta*; this jack was a superb animal, black in color, with the form of a stag and the ferocity of a tiger.



FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19.

At Mount Vernon: "*December 19.*—Rid to the Plantations at the Ferry and Frenchs—and to Dogue Run & Muddy hole. . . . M<sup>r</sup> Madison came here to dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*December 20.*—Remained at home with M<sup>r</sup> Madison. *December 25.*—Sent M<sup>r</sup> Madison after breakfast as far as Colchester in my Carriage."—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 23.

At Mount Vernon: "I am pleased to learn, that your *History* is at length completed. I suppose by the spring we may expect to be favored with a sight of it."—*Washington to William Gordon, D.D.*, at London.

*From Gordon's History of the Revolution.*—"His Excellency George Washington is descended from a family that emigrated to Virginia, when the royalists in England were exposed to various distresses previous to the restoration. Virginia does not afford those advantages for a universal education which are enjoyed in Europe—a quarter of the world his excellency never visited. Strong powers and close application compensated in several respects for the deficiencies of his native country. His epistolary and other compositions, which appeared while he sustained a public character will be a lasting credit to him. He was happy in having a succession of able secretaries, whom he undoubtedly employed in drawing up many of his official papers, after having dictated the matter to them: but his private correspondences, and others which from time and circumstances must necessarily have employed his own pen, show that he was equal to any of these publications, which had his name affixed to them by his authority. It would be absurd to expect, that he should equal in military skill the first European generals, when he has enjoyed neither their opportunities nor experience for perfecting himself, but it may justly be asserted concerning him, that he was the best general the Americans could have had to command them. The world has been mistaken in one opinion respecting his Excellency whose natural temper possesses more of the *Marcellus* and less of the *Fabius* than has been generally imagined."

1789.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 1.

At Mount Vernon: "*January 1.*—Went out after breakfast to lay of or rather measure an old field which is intended to be added to Muddy hole Plantation—after which marked out a line for the New Road across from the



Tu[m]bling Dam to little Hunting Creek to begin post and Rail fence on.”—*Washington's Diary*.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7.

At Alexandria: “*January 7.*—Went up to the Election of an Elector (for this district) of President & Vice President when the Candidates polled for being Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuart and Col<sup>o</sup> Blackburn the first rec<sup>d</sup> 216 votes from the Freeholders of this County—and the second 16 Votes.—Dined with a large company on Venisen at Pages Tav<sup>n</sup> and came home in the evening.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 18.

At Mount Vernon: “The first wish of my soul is to spend the evening of my days as a private citizen on my farm; but, if circumstances, which are not yet sufficiently unfolded to form the judgment or the opinion of my friends, will not allow me this last boon of temporal happiness, and I should once more be led into the walks of public life, it is my fixed determination to enter there, not only unfettered by promises, but even unchargeable with creating or feeding the expectation of any man living for my assistance to office.”—*Washington to Samuel Hanson*.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 24.

At Mount Vernon: “*January 24.*—Went into the Neck—measured some fields there—and laid off 8 acres for Tobacco.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*January 25.*—Colonels Fitzgerald, Lee & Gilpin dined here, and returned to Alexandria in the evening. *January 28.*—Major Washington set out for Berkley to see his Father [Charles Washington] who had informed him of the low state of health in which he was.”—*Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 29.

At Mount Vernon: “Nothing but harmony, honesty, industry, and frugality are necessary to make us a great and happy people. Happily the present posture of affairs, and the prevailing disposition of my countrymen, promise to coöperate in establishing those four great and essential

pillars of public felicity.”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 2.

At Alexandria: “*February 2.*—I went up to the Election of a Representative to Congress for this district. Voted for Rich<sup>d</sup> Bland Lee Esq<sup>r</sup> dined at Colonel Hooes & returned home in the afternoon.

“On my way home met M<sup>r</sup> George Calvert on his way to Abingdon with the Hounds I had lent him—viz. Vulcan & Venus (From France)—Ragman & two other dogs (From England)—Dutchess & Doxey (From Philadelp<sup>a</sup>)—Tryal, Jupiter & Countess (Descended from the French Hounds).” —*Washington’s Diary.*

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13.

At Mount Vernon: “I am going on Monday next to visit the works as far as the Seneca Falls.”—*Washington to Thomas Jefferson.*

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4.

At Mount Vernon: “Never till within these two years have I ever experienced the want of money. Short crops, and other causes not entirely within my control, make me feel it now very sensibly. . . . Under this statement I am inclined to do what I never expected to be driven to—that is, to borrow money on interest. Five hundred pounds would enable me to discharge what I owe in Alexandria, etc.; and to leave the state (if it shall not be in my power to remain at home in retirement) without doing this would be exceedingly disagreeable to me. Having thus fully and candidly explained myself, permit me to ask if it is in your power to supply me with the above, or a smaller sum.”—*Washington to Captain Richard Conway.*

“*March 6.*—I am much obliged by your assurance of money. M<sup>r</sup> Lear waits upon you for it, and carries a bond, drawn in the manner you requested. . . . Upon collecting my accounts by M<sup>r</sup> Lear, the other day, it was found that though five hundred pounds will enable me to discharge them, yet it is incompetent to this and the other purpose, the expenses of

my journey to New York, if I go thither. If, therefore, you could add another hundred pounds to the former sum, it would be very acceptable. Mr Lear is provided with a bond for this sum also."—*Washington to Captain Richard Conway.*

#### SATURDAY, MARCH 7.

At Fredericksburg: "*March 12.*—On Saturday evening last [March 7], His Excellency General Washington arrived in town from Mount Vernon, and early on Monday morning [March 9] he set out on his return. The object of his Excellency's visit was probably to take leave of his *aged mother*, sister, and friends, previous to his departure for the new Congress, over the councils of which, the united voice of America has called him to preside."—*Fredericksburg paper.*

This was the last visit paid by Washington to his mother. She died on the 25th day of August following, at the age of eighty-two. The following entry in his cash-book refers to this visit: "*March 11.*—By my expenses on a visit to my mother at Fredericksburg £1.8.0. By Mrs Mary Washington advanced her 6 Guineas."

#### MONDAY, MARCH 9.

At Mount Vernon: "I will therefore declare to you, that, if it should be my inevitable fate to administer the government, (for Heaven knows, that no event can be less desired by me, and that no earthly consideration short of so generall a call, together with a desire to reconcile contending parties as far as in me lies, could again bring me into public life,) I will go to the chair under no preengagement of any kind or nature whatsoever. But, when in it, I will, to the best of my judgment, discharge the duties of the office with that impartiality and zeal for the public good, which ought never to suffer connexions of blood or friendship to intermingle so as to have the least sway on decisions of a public nature."—*Washington to Benjamin Harrison.*

#### WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25.

At Mount Vernon: "With very great sensibility I have received the honor of your letter dated the 10th instant, and consider the kind and obliging invitation to your house,



until suitable accommodations can be provided for the President, as a testimony of your friendship and politeness, of which I shall ever retain a grateful sense. But if it should be my lot (for Heaven knows it is not my wish) to appear again in a public station, I shall make it a point to take hired lodgings or rooms in a tavern until some house can be provided."—*Washington to George Clinton*, at New York.

MONDAY, MARCH 30.

At Mount Vernon: "I have been favored with your letter of the 19th, by which it appears that a quorum of Congress was hardly to be expected before the beginning of the next week. As this delay must be very irksome to the attending members, and every day's continuance of it, before the government is in operation, will be more sensibly felt, I am resolved, that none shall proceed from me that can well be avoided, after notice of the election is announced, and therefore I take the liberty of requesting the favor of you to engage lodgings for me previous to my arrival.

"Mr Lear, who has lived with me three years as a private secretary, will accompany or precede me in the stage; and Colonel Humphreys I presume will be of my party. On the subject of lodgings, I will frankly declare to you, that I mean to go into none but hired ones."—*Washington to James Madison*, at New York.

The day appointed for the assembling of Congress was the 4th of March, but so tardily did the members come together that a quorum of both Houses was not formed till the 6th of April. On that day, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, the votes were opened and counted, when Washington, having received every vote of the sixty-nine cast by the ten States<sup>1</sup> which took part in the election, was declared President of the United States. John Adams, having received the second highest number of votes (thirty-four), was declared to be Vice-President. He was installed in the chair of the Senate on April 21.

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<sup>1</sup> The three States not voting were New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island, New York losing its vote in consequence of a disagreement between the two branches of the Legislature, and North Carolina and Rhode Island not having as yet ratified the Constitution.



WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1.

At Mount Vernon: "In confidence I tell you, (with the *world* it would obtain little credit) that my movements to the chair of government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit, who is going to the place of his execution; so unwilling am I, in the evening of a life nearly consumed in public cares, to quit a peaceful abode for an ocean of difficulties, without that competency of political skill, abilities, and inclination, which are necessary to manage the helm. I am sensible that I am embarking the voice of the people, and a good name of my own, on this voyage; but what returns will be made for them, Heaven alone can foretell. Integrity and firmness are all I can promise."—*Washington to General Knox.*

"April 10.—A combination of circumstances and events seems to have rendered my embarking again on the ocean of public affairs inevitable. How opposite this is to my own desires and inclinations, I need not say. Those who know me are, I trust, convinced of it. For the rectitude of my intentions I appeal to the great Searcher of hearts; and if I have any knowledge of myself I can declare, that no prospects however flattering, no personal advantage however great, no desire of fame however easily it might be acquired, could induce me to quit the private walks of life at my age and in my situation; but if, by any exertion or services of mine, my country can be benefited, I shall feel more amply compensated for the sacrifices which I make, than I possibly can be by any other means."—*Washington to Hector St.-John de Crèvecoeur.*

TUESDAY, APRIL 14.

At Mount Vernon: "I had the honor to receive your Official communication by the hand of M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Thompson, about one o'clock this day. Having concluded to obey the important & flattering call of my Country, and having been impressed with an idea of the expediency of my being with Congress at as early a period as possible; I propose to commence my journey on Thursday morning which will be the day after to morrow."—*Washington to John Langdon.*

Mr. Langdon was a Senator from New Hampshire, and when the Senate was first organized, on the 6th of April, he was chosen President of that body *pro tempore*. In this capacity it devolved upon him to officially

notify General Washington of his having been elected President of the United States. Charles Thomson, who had been since 1774 the sole Secretary of Congress, was selected to bear this official information to Mount Vernon. He left New York on Tuesday morning, April 7, on horseback. The letter was as follows: "*New York*, April 6, 1789.—I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the information of your unanimous election to the office of President of the United States of America. Suffer me, sir, to indulge the hope that so auspicious a mark of public confidence will meet with your approbation, and be considered as a pledge of the affection and support you are to expect from a free and enlightened people."

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 16.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "*April 16.*—About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York in company with M<sup>r</sup> Thomson and Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys, with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its calls, but with less hope of answering its expectations."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*Alexandria*, April 23.—Last Thursday [April 16], the great and illustrious Citizen of America, GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq; passed through this town on his way to New-York accompanied by Mr. CHARLES THOMSON. He was met some miles out of town by a numerous escort of his friends and neighbours, whose attachment to him was such, that not satisfied with attending him to the verge of their own state, they crossed over in numerous crouds to George-Town, where they surrendered him over to the arms of an affectionate sister state. In compliance with their wishes, he partook with them of an early dinner prepared at Mr. Wise's tavern. At his departure, an affectionate address was presented to him by the citizens, to which he made a reply, expressive of his feelings on the occasion."<sup>1</sup>—*Pennsylvania Packet*, April 30.

"*George-Town*, April 23.—Last Thursday [April 16], passed through this town, on his way to New-York, the Most Illustrious the President of the United States of America, with Charles Thomson, Esq.; Secretary to Congress. His Excellency arrived at about 2 o'clock, on the banks of the Potowmack, escorted by a respectable corps of gentlemen from Alexandria, where the George-Town ferry boats, properly equipped, received his Excellency and suite, and safely landed them, under the acclamations of a large crowd of their grateful fellow-citizens—who beheld their FABIUS in the evening of his days, bid adieu to the peaceful retreat of Mount Vernon, in order to save his country once more, from confusion and anarchy.

<sup>1</sup> For this admirable address and reply, see Sparks, Vol. XII. p. 137, etc.

From this place his Excellency was escorted by a corps of gentlemen, commanded by Col. William Deakins, jun. to Mr. Spurrier's Tavern,<sup>1</sup> where the escort from Baltimore take charge of him."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, May 5.

FRIDAY, APRIL 17.

At Baltimore: "*Baltimore*, April 21.—The President of the United States arrived in this place on his way to Congress, on Friday afternoon, the 17th instant, with Charles Thomson, Esq; and Colonel Humphries. This great man was met some miles from Town, by a large body of respectable citizens on horseback, and conducted, under a discharge of cannon, to Mr. Grant's tavern [the "Fountain Inn"] through crowds of admiring spectators.

"At six o'clock, a committee chosen in consequence of a late notification, to adjust the preliminaries for his reception, waited upon him with an address which he answered. A great number of the citizens were presented to him, and very graciously received. Having arrived too late for a public dinner, he accepted an invitation to supper, from which he retired a little after ten o'clock."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, April 28.

"*Baltimore*, April 21.—On Saturday morning [April 18] he was in his carriage at half past five o'clock when he left town, under a discharge of cannon, and attended as on his entrance, by a body of the citizens on horseback. These gentlemen accompanied him seven miles, when alighting from his carriage, he would not permit them to proceed any further; but took leave of them, after thanking them in an affectionate and obliging manner for their politeness. We shall only add on this occasion, that those who had often seen him before, and those who never had, were equally anxious to see him. Such is the rare impression excited by his uncommon character and virtues."—*Idem*.

SUNDAY, APRIL 19.

At Wilmington, Delaware: "*Wilmington*, April 25.—On Sunday last [April 19] his Excellency the President-General arrived in this borough, whither he was accompanied by a number of gentlemen of this State, who also attended him next morning to the Pennsylvania line, on his way to New-York. Before his departure, the corporation of

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<sup>1</sup> Ten miles south of Baltimore.



this borough, attended by many of the inhabitants, waited upon his Excellency, with an address of congratulation, which was most graciously received."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, April 28.

MONDAY, APRIL 20.

At Philadelphia: "April 22.—Monday last [April 20] His Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq; the PRESIDENT ELECT OF THE UNITED STATES, arrived in this city, about one o'clock, accompanied by the President of the State [Thomas Mifflin], Governor [Arthur] St. Clair, the Speaker of the Assembly [Richard Peters], the Chief Justice [Thomas McKean], the Honorable Mr. Read, the Attorney-General [William Bradford, Jr.], and Secretary Thomson, the two city troops of horse, the county troop, a detachment of artillery, a body of light infantry, and a numerous concourse of citizens on horseback and foot.

"His EXCELLENCY rode in front of the procession, on horseback. The number of spectators who filled the doors, windows and streets, which he passed, was greater than on any other occasion we ever remember.

"The joy of the whole city upon this august spectacle cannot easily be described. Every countenance seemed to say, Long, long live GEORGE WASHINGTON, THE FATHER OF THE PEOPLE! At three o'clock His Excellency sat down to an elegant Entertainment of 250 covers, at the City Tavern, prepared for him by the citizens of Philadelphia. A band of music played during the entertainment, and a discharge of artillery took place at every toast, among which was *The State of Virginia*. The ship Alliance, and a Spanish merchant ship, were handsomely decorated with colours of different nations."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*.

In the approach to the city the Schuylkill was crossed at Gray's Ferry bridge, which "was highly decorated with laurel and other evergreens, by Mr. Gray himself, the ingenious Mr. [Charles Willson] Peale and others, and in such a stile, as to display uncommon taste in these gentlemen.—At each end there were erected magnificent arches, composed of laurel, emblematic of the ancient triumphal arches used by the Romans, and on each side of the bridge a laurel shrubbery, which seemed to challenge even



Nature herself for simplicity, ease and elegance. And as our beloved WASHINGTON passed the bridge, a lad, beautifully ornamented with sprigs of laurel, assisted by certain machinery, let drop, above the Hero's head, unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel."

Washington spent Monday night at the house of Robert Morris, on Market Street, and on the following morning (April 21) left Philadelphia on his journey to New York. Previous to his departure he received and answered addresses from the President and Supreme Executive Council; from the mayor, aldermen, and Common Council of the city; from the judges of the Supreme Court of the State; from the trustees and faculty of the University of the State of Pennsylvania; and from the State Society of the Cincinnati.

#### TUESDAY, APRIL 21.

At Trenton, New Jersey: "*Trenton*, April 21.—This day we were honored with the presence of his Excellency the President of the United States of America on his way to New York. A troop of horse, commanded by Capt. Carle, and a company of infantry, commanded by Capt. Halon, compleatly equipped, and in full uniform, with a large concourse of the gentlemen and inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, lined the Jersey bank of the Delaware, to hail the General's arrival. As soon as he set foot on shore, he was welcomed with three huzzas, which made the shores re-echo the chearful sounds. After being saluted by the horse and infantry, he was escorted to town, in the following order: A detachment of the horse.—The Light Infantry.—His Excellency, on horseback, attended by Charles Thomson, Esq; and Col. Humphreys.—The troop of horse.—The gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood on horseback."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, May 1.

"When the procession arrived at the bridge south of the town, they were presented with a scene to which no description can do justice.

"As Trenton had been rendered twice memorable during the war, once by the capture of the Hessians, and again by the repulse of the whole British army, in their attempt to cross the bridge over the Assanpinck Creek, the evening before the battle of Princeton—a plan was formed by a number of ladies, and carried into execution, solely under their direction, to testify to the General, by the celebration of those eventful actions, the grateful sense they retained of the safety and protection afforded by him to the daughters of New-Jersey. For this purpose, a triumphal arch was raised on the bridge, about 20 feet wide, supported by 18 columns—the height of the arch to the

centre was equal to the width. Each column was intertwined with wreaths of evergreen. The arch, which extended about twelve feet along the bridge, was covered with laurel, and decorated on the inside with laurel, running-vines, and a variety of evergreens. On the front of the arch the following motto was inscribed in large gilt letters—*'The Defender of the mothers will also protect the daughters.'*—The upper and lower edges of this inscription were ornamented with wreaths of evergreen and artificial flowers of all kinds, made by the ladies for the occasion, beautifully interspersed. On the centre of the arch, above the inscription, was a dome, or cupola, of artificial flowers and evergreens, encircling the dates of the glorious events which the whole was designed to celebrate, inscribed in large gilt letters.—The summit of the dome displayed a large sun-flower, which, always pointing to the sun, was designed to express this sentiment, or motto—*'To you alone'*—as emblematic of the affections and hopes of the PEOPLE being directed to him, in the united suffrage of the millions of America.

"A numerous train of ladies, leading their daughters, were assembled at the arch, thus to thank their Defender and Protector. As the General passed under the arch, he was addressed in the following SONATA, composed [by Major Richard Howell] and set to music for the occasion, by a number of young ladies dressed in white, decked with wreaths and chaplets of flowers, and holding in their hands baskets filled with flowers:

" 'WELCOME, mighty Chief ! once more,  
Welcome to this grateful shore :  
Now no mercenary foe  
Aims again the fatal blow—  
Aims at thee the fatal blow.

" 'Virgins fair, and Matrons grave,  
Those thy conquering arms did save,  
Build for thee triumphal bowers.  
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers—  
Strew your Hero's way with flowers.'

" *As they sung these lines, they strewed the flowers before the General.*

"When his Excellency came opposite the little female band, he honored the ladies by stopping until the Sonata was finished. The scene was truly grand—universal silence prevailed—Nothing was to be heard but the sweet notes of the songsters—and the mingled sentiments which crowded into the mind in the moments of solemn stillness during the song, bathed many cheeks with tears. The General most politely thanked the ladies for their attention, and the procession moved on to his lodgings."<sup>1</sup>—*Idem.*

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<sup>1</sup> "At Trenton Washington dined at Samuel Henry's City Tavern, on the southwest corner of Second and Warren Streets, with the principal citizens of the place and held a reception in the parlors of the inn. Late in the afternoon he took carriage for Princeton, the Rev. Mr. Armstrong accompanying him that far on his journey. It is generally understood that they

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22.

At New Brunswick, New Jersey: "*New Brunswick*, April 28.—On Wednesday last [April 22], his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esquire, President of the United States of America, passed through this city on his way to the seat of the Federal Government, accompanied by his Excellency [William Livingston] the Governor of the State, Charles Thomson, Esq; Col. Humphreys, and several other gentlemen of distinction. His Excellency was escorted into this city by the Common Council, and other respectable citizens on horseback, and by the companies of artillery and light-infantry under the command of Captains Douglas and Guest. The near approach of his Excellency was announced by the firing of a federal salute from the artillery, and by the ringing of bells."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, May 2.

"The Common Council and other citizens on horseback met his Excellency some miles from the town, and after having congratulated him upon the happy occasion of their meeting, they conducted him into the city, preceded by the companies of artillery and light-infantry, and a detachment of horse from Capt. Carle's cavalry, accompanied with a band of music. At the entrance of the city, the troops formed a line, and saluted his Excellency as he passed them: the street and houses were crowded with many joyful spectators; among whom were a great number of the fair daughters of Columbia, collected on the occasion with a generous desire of expressing their respect and gratitude to this illustrious friend to mankind, and the great protector of the rights of their country. Joy sparkled in every eye, and perfect satisfaction was demonstrated by the countenance and behaviour of all degrees and conditions of the people, when they beheld the object of their esteem and confidence again coming into public life, from the peaceful retirement of domestic happiness, to preserve by his wisdom, those invaluable privileges which he had defended by his valour.

"The inhabitants, by a committee appointed for the purpose, together with the Reverend Clergy, waited on his Excellency at the house of Major Thomas Egbert, and congratulated him upon his appointment to the office of President of the United States of America, expressed the great happiness they felt on that important occasion, and at the same time assured him that their sincere prayer should be, that he might enjoy in the administration of his office, that felicity which is the just reward of the most exalted and distinguished merit.

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spent that night at the residence of the President of the College, the Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon."—*William S. Stryker, Washington's Reception by the People of New Jersey in 1789.*



"To which his Excellency replied with a politeness particular to himself, and in a manner becoming the dignity of his character.

"About five o'clock in the afternoon his Excellency, accompanied by the Governor of the state, by many citizens of New-Brunswick, and by several gentlemen from the county of Essex, and amidst the joyful acclamations of a large concourse of happy people crossed the river on his way to New-York.

"His Excellency and suite lodged at Woodbridge, and in the morning set out for New-York, and was met in Rahway by the light dragoons from Elizabeth-Town and Newark, and at Elizabeth-Town by the infantry, grenadiers, and artillery, who saluted him as he passed by."—*Idem*.

"*Elizabeth-Town*, April 29.—Thursday last [April 23], between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, His Excellency General Washington made his entrance into this town, amidst festive throngs of numerous spectators.

"He was met near Bridgetown, by a number of citizens, accompanied by the cavalry, commanded by captains Meeker, Condict, and Wade, which when united with captain Herd's troop, that composed the escort of his Excellency from Brunswick, made a most martial and splendid appearance.—On his Excellency's approaching the town, his arrival was announced by a federal salute from the cannon, and the illustrious hero was received by the grenadiers and light troops under arms. He alighted at the [public] house of Mr. [Samuel] Smith, where he received the congratulations of the town and the committee from New-York. He partook of a repast provided by the gentlemen of the town; and, after that waited on the committee of Congress at Mr. [Elias] Boudinott's, from whence he proceeded, attended by a vast concourse of people, and the cavalry (in order) to the Point, and after reviewing the troops, who were by this time joined by some respectable companies from Newark and its environs, he was conducted on board of the barge prepared for his reception, the beauty of which met his highest approbation; he was rowed across the bay by thirteen skilful pilots. Thomas Randall Esq; acted as cockswain."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, May 5.

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 23.

At New York: "*New York*, April 24.—Yesterday, about two o'clock, arrived in this city, His Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esquire, President of the United States of America. A Committee of the honorable the Congress,<sup>1</sup> a deputation of the State Officers, consisting of his Honor the Chancellor [Robert R. Livingston] and the Adjutant-General [Nicholas Fish], accompanied by a deputation from the Corporation of this city, consisting of the Recorder

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<sup>1</sup> John Langdon, Charles Carroll, and William Samuel Johnson of the Senate, Elias Boudinot, Theodorick Bland, Thomas Tudor Tucker, Egbert Benson, and John Lawrence of the House.



[Richard Varick], received His Excellency the President at Elizabethtown, in the elegant barge which was previously constructed for the purpose, and rowed by thirteen pilots, under the superintendence of Captain Randall."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 29.

"On the President's passing the battery, a federal salute was fired, and repeated upon his landing<sup>1</sup> near the City Coffee-House, where he was received by his Excellency the Governor [George Clinton], the principal officers of the state, his honor the Mayor [James Duane], and the principal officers of the Corporation; and thence accompanied to the house prepared for his reception,<sup>2</sup> in the following order, Viz: Troop of Horse.—Artillery and residue of the Legion, under arms.—The military officers in uniform, who were off duty.—The President's Guard, composed of the Grenadiers of the first regiment.—The President, the Governor, and their suites.—The principal officers of the state.—The Mayor and Corporation.—The Clergy.—The Citizens.

"The bells were rung, and colours were displayed from the fort, from the vessels in the harbour, and from the several buildings in the city; the streets were crowded with citizens, and the windows decorated with the fair daughters of Columbia.

"In the evening<sup>3</sup> the city was elegantly illuminated. The joy and satisfaction universally expressed on the safe arrival of this Illustrious Personage clearly evince, that patriotism and magnanimity are still held in respect and veneration among our citizens—His Excellency having, in a distinguished manner, displayed those eminent virtues, in a series of important and faithful services, rendered his country, in the most gloomy and distressing periods."—*Idem*.

#### FRIDAY, APRIL 24.

At New York: "*New York*, April 30.—Friday [April 24] the Hon. the Senate and House of Representatives waited on

<sup>1</sup> At Murray's wharf, foot of Wall Street.

<sup>2</sup> The house prepared for the President, known as the Franklin House, the former residence of Walter Franklin, was at No. 3 Cherry Street. It was owned by Samuel Osgood, one of the Treasury Commissioners, who married the widow of Mr. Franklin, and was until 1856, when the building was taken down, at the junction of Cherry and Pearl Streets, on Franklin Square. Washington retained this house until February 23, 1790, when he removed to the McComb House, on Broadway near Bowling Green.

<sup>3</sup> On the evening of April 23, Washington dined with a distinguished company at Governor Clinton's house, Queen (now Pearl) Street, opposite Cedar. This house was occupied by Washington as head-quarters from April 18 to May 21, 1776.

his Excellency the President, to congratulate him on his safe arrival at the seat of government."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, May 5.

"*New York*, April 27.—On Saturday [April 25] the Chamber of Commerce met at the Coffee-House, about half after eleven o'clock, in consequence of a special call from the President. From the Coffee-house they proceeded in form to the house of his Excellency the President of the United States, headed by John Broome, Theophylact Beach and John Murray, Esquires. On their arrival at the President's they were conducted into the audience-room, and upon his Excellency's entering, Mr. Broome, the President of the Chamber, addressed him, and to which he made a reply.

"After his Excellency's reply, he was introduced by the President of the Chamber to every member present."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, April 30.

#### TUESDAY, APRIL 28.

At New York: "*April 28.*—This day I ought to note with some extraordinary mark. I had dressed and was about to set out, when General Washington, the greatest man in the world, paid me a visit. I met him at the foot of the stairs. Mr. [Henry] Wynkoop just came in. We asked him to take a seat. He excused himself on account of the number of his visits. We accompanied him to the door. He made us complaisant bows—one before he mounted and the other as he went away on horseback."—*Journal of William Maclay*, Senator from Pennsylvania.

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 30.

At New York: "*New York*, May 1.—YESTERDAY [April 30] took place according to the resolution of the two houses of Congress, the ceremony of the introduction of his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, to the Presidency of the United States."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, May 4.

"At nine o'clock A.M. the clergy of different denominations assembled their congregations in their respective places of worship, and offered up prayers for the safety of the president.

"About twelve o'clock the procession moved from the house of the president in Cherry-street, through Dock-Street, and Broad-street, to Federal Hall [at Wall and Nassau Streets]; in the following order. Colonel [Morgan] Lewis supported by two officers, Capt. Stakes, with the troop of Horse, Artillery, Major Van Horne, Grenadiers, under Captain Harsin, German

Grenadiers, under Capt. Scriba, Major Bicker, The Infantry of the Brigade, Major Chrystie, Sheriff [Robert Boyd] The Committee of the Senate,<sup>1</sup> The PRESIDENT and suite. The Committee of the Representatives,<sup>2</sup> The Honorable Mr. Jay, General Knox, Chancellor Livingston, and several other gentlemen of distinction. Then followed a multitude of citizens.

"When they came within a short distance of the Hall, the troops formed a line on both sides of the way, and his Excellency passing through the ranks, was conducted into the building, and in the Senate Chamber introduced to both houses of Congress—immediately afterwards, accompanied by the two houses, he went into the gallery fronting Broad-Street, where, in the presence of an immense concourse of citizens, he took the oath prescribed by the constitution, which was administered to him by the Hon. R. R. Livingston, Esq; Chancellor of the state of New York.

"Immediately after he had taken the oath, the Chancellor proclaimed him President of the United States.—Was answered by the discharge of 13 guns, and by loud repeated shouts; on this the President bowed to the people, and the air again rang with their acclamations. His Excellency with the two houses, then retired to the Senate Chamber and delivered his speech.<sup>3</sup>

"His Excellency accompanied by the Vice President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives [Frederick A. Muhlenberg] and both Houses of Congress went to St. Paul's chapel [Broadway and Vesey Street] where divine Service was performed by Right Reverend Dr. [Samuel] Provost, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in this State and Chaplain in Congress. The religious ceremony being ended, the President was escorted to his house, and the citizens retired to their homes. In the evening was exhibited under

<sup>1</sup> Richard Henry Lee, Ralph Izard, and Tristram Dalton.

<sup>2</sup> Egbert Benson, Fisher Ames, James Madison, Charles Carroll, and Roger Sherman.

<sup>3</sup> "As the company returned into the Senate chamber, the President took the chair and the Senators and Representatives their seats. He rose, and all arose also, and addressed them. This great man was agitated and embarrassed more than ever he was by the leveled cannon or pointed musket. He trembled, and several times could scarce make out to read, though it must be supposed he had often read it before. He put part of the fingers of his left hand into the side of what I think the tailors call the fall of the breeches, changing the paper into his left [right] hand. After some time he then did the same with some of the fingers of his right hand. When he came to the words *all the world*, he made a flourish with his right hand, which left rather an ungainly impression. I sincerely, for my part, wished all set ceremony in the hands of the dancing-masters, and that this first of men had read off his address in the plainest manner, without ever taking his eyes from the paper, for I felt hurt that he was not first in every thing. He was dressed in deep brown, with metal buttons, with an eagle on them, white stockings, a bag, and sword."—*Journal of William Maclay.*

the direction of Colonel [Sebastian] Bauman, a very ingenious and splendid show of Fireworks."<sup>1</sup>—*Pennsylvania Packet*, May 4.

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<sup>1</sup> "April 30.—In the evening there was a display of most beautiful fire-works and transparent paintings at the Battery. The President, Colonel Humphreys, and myself went in the beginning of the evening in the carriages to Chancellor Livingston's and General Knox's where we had a full view of the fire-works. We returned home on foot, the throng of people being so great as not to permit a carriage to pass through it."—*Diary of Tobias Lear*.

(To be continued.)



## IN LUNDY'S LAND.

BY WENDELL PHILLIPS GARRISON.

PRINTER! do not make it *Lane*. A genius for blundering might do worse, but could not possibly do better, for there is a close connection between Lundy's Lane and the Jersey uplands we are going to view. Between the Hero of Lundy's Lane, also, and *our* hero there is a relation which will bear the telling. Still, for all that, Printer, in your jargon (which was Lundy's likewise), *stet*—let it stand as written: *Land*.

And yet we will, if you please, begin with the Lane. An easy walk will bring you to it from the Canadian side of Niagara Falls; or you may take a horse-car which runs beside the Canada Southern tracks at the head of the street between Dufferin Park and the Clifton House. You are now on high but level ground, and when the car presently turns southward at a right angle, you alight at the foot of a short rise to a flat-topped sand-bank. The by no means narrow road still bears the name of Lundy's Lane, and the Lundys are amongst the oldest families residing about the Falls. The contest for the sand-bank was the battle of Lundy's Lane, fought on July 25, 1814. A semblance of earthworks, with two mounted guns, marks the spot, which is crowned by an observatory commanding a wide prospect.<sup>1</sup> The ridge falls away abruptly in the rear, owing, as it would seem, to extensive quarrying for sand in this historic mound. The view northward is over a broad plain showing few houses, but pleasingly diversified with a stream, groves, vineyards, orchards, and market-gardens. Southward, directly across the Lane, Death has reasserted his

<sup>1</sup> Since this paper was written and put in type, a monument has been erected (in July, 1895) to commemorate the battle from the Canadian point of view.

claim to this field, for a post-bellum graveyard adjoins a Presbyterian church.

There were no "Quaker guns" in the bloody battle, but the Lane divided the farms of two Quaker brothers Lundy, who removed to what is called the Peninsula of Upper Canada from the State of New Jersey. It was their fence-rails which were piled upon the heaps of slain for a rude cremation that long whitened the ground. Some ten miles west, at Pelham, certain of their posterity may still attend the century-old Friends' Meeting, but such as bear their name about the Falls have become mingled with the "world's people." The emigrant Lundys came from Johnsonburg, now in the township of Frelinghuysen, Warren County, New Jersey. The records of Pelham Meeting might reveal their identity among the numerous progeny of Richard Lundy, of the township of Buckingham, Bucks County, Province of Pennsylvania, who helped form the "Quaker Settlement" in Hardwick, Sussex County, New Jersey. We read in the minutes of Hardwick and Mendham Meeting, Eighth month 3, 1797:

"This Meeting appears to be at a loss concerning Friends who have removed from Hardwick to Niagary, whether they are to be considered as members of this Meeting or of Kingwood. Therefore the Meeting requests the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting concerning them."

The Quarterly Meeting hopefully decided that they belonged to "this Meeting." Accordingly, Seventh month 4, 1799, we come upon the case of one Thomas D—— in Upper Canada, "visited but could not be seen; to remonstrate against his priestly marriage and drinking to excess and other disorderly ways." Nothing could be done but to record a "Testification" against him, drawn up by the practised hand of Joseph Lundy, whom we take to have been the grandson of Richard aforesaid; if so, in his eightieth year. In 1800, Seventh month 3, Sarah Lundy, "she being a minister in good esteem with us," lays before Hardwick and Mendham Meeting a "concern that had rested on her mind for some time past to pay a religious visit to Friends

in Upper Canada;” and Elizabeth Shotwell would fain accompany her. In the same year Friend Willson removes to Upper Canada, and dismissals to Pelham Monthly Meeting steadily follow,—Mercy Brotherton and others in 1801, William Shotwell in 1803, Mary Shotwell (wife of Richard) and Amy Shotwell in 1804, Schooley Dennis in 1807, Richard D. Willson in 1823.

Lundy's Land was getting depopulated, and the extinction of Hardwick Meeting was clearly foreshadowed. Lundy himself, greatest of his name, had gone out from the Quaker Settlement, though not from the Society of Friends, to which he was an honor as few others have been since George Fox laid the foundations of it. At the Monthly Meeting Seventh month 6, 1809, Joseph<sup>4</sup> Lundy, son of Thomas<sup>3</sup> (born Sixth month 14, 1725), the son of Richard<sup>2</sup> (died Eleventh month 7, 1757, and buried at Hardwick) and grandson of Richard<sup>1</sup>, requests a certificate of removal for his son BENJAMIN (born First month 4, 1789) to the Monthly Meeting of Westland, Pennsylvania. Such a certificate was reported (Ninth month 7) “not quite satisfactory as first drawn,” and was finally (Tenth month 5) addressed to the Monthly Meeting of Concord, Ohio, having been “requested for Benjamin Lundy, a minor, who has gone to reside within the limits of your meeting.” Attest, Levi Lundy, Clerk.

The Lundys had been dispersing since 1794 at least, mostly to Pennsylvania; and a Thomas Lundy (1796) to Westfield, North Carolina. Joseph himself made an exit immediately upon that of his and our Benjamin, to Burlington (New Jersey) Monthly Meeting, with a certificate bearing date of Eleventh month 1, 1810. He was born Third month 19, 1762, and married Elizabeth Shotwell (perhaps in 1788, but a Joseph and Elizabeth Lundy are witnesses to a marriage in 1787). The records are silent as to this ceremony, as they are concerning his second marriage about 1794 to Mary (surname unknown). With her and his minor children, Abigail, Richard, Elizabeth, Phœbe, Lydia S. (afterwards Mrs. Wierman) and Deborah, Joseph with-



drew to Rancocas, New Jersey, and there survived the sole offspring of his first marriage. Henceforth, for us, Lundy's Land is but a realm of ghosts.

It was like ghost-hunting, or flea-hunting, to find our way thither. We had, to begin with, the doubly and trebly misleading statement by Benjamin Lundy in the Life of him compiled, with little skill and many errors, by Thomas Earle (Philadelphia, 1847): "My native place was the county of Sussex, New Jersey. . . . It was at Handwich that my father and myself were born." The printer's *Handwich* we had already corrected to Hardwick, and our first step was to locate this in the admirable State Atlas. Hardwick we found, but in Warren, not in Sussex County; there was a Hardwick Township, with a Hardwick cross-roads and a Hardwick Centre, lying among the foot-hills of the Kittatinny Mountain, say from three to five miles from the Delaware River. Clinging fast to the local name, we rightly conjectured a change of boundary by which Sussex County had been the loser, and one or other of the Hardwick hamlets we regarded as the certain Mecca of our pilgrimage.

How else should such a pilgrimage be made, except on foot? Was not Lundy the most unwearied of pedestrians in his holy crusade against American slavery? This little man, so slight you might think he would be blown away, traversed a large part of the Union without a conveyance. "Rivers and mountains," said an admiring disciple, "vanish in his path; midnight finds him wending his solitary way over an unfrequented road; the sun is anticipated in his rising." When he founded his *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in Ohio,—it was in 1824, upon the heels of the Missouri Compromise,—he had the paper printed at a distance of twenty miles from the place of publication, and trudged to and fro, carrying the printed sheets home upon his back. Later, as he sought to extend his subscription-list while preaching the gospel of freedom, his practice was "to pack up in his carpet-bag his direction-book, his title-letter, head-lines and column-rules, leads and standing-matter;" and, knapsack on back and carpet-bag in hand, stopping to



lecture, to get subscribers, and to form anti-slavery societies, he would pursue his journey "till, publication day coming round, and getting at a country printing-office, he would hire a number of his paper printed, mail it, and pass on," and then repeat the performance,—the *Genius* being all the time dated at Baltimore. In Texas in 1833 we see him pouring the water from his shoes and wringing out his stockings three times before breakfast, on account of the dewy grass; at night reposing on the same grass by the roadside, "my knapsack serving for a pillow, and my small thin coat for sheets and counterpane, while my hat, staff, and my pistol smartly charged [against panthers, alligators, and rattlesnakes] lay at arm's length from my person."

Afoot, then, let us go to the birthplace of Benjamin Lundy. We start, no matter where, and we arrive at Washington's head-quarters in Morristown. No landmark this for non-resistant Quakerdom; have we lost our way? "Wayfarer," responds the *Genius* of the place, "have you forgotten Washington, who detested the domestic slave-trade and who died an abolitionist?" The omen grows as we next encounter Mount Freedom, from whose western slope we have spread before us the ravishing panorama of the Succasunna Plains. On the second day we reach Waterloo at the foot of Allamuchy Mountain. If one of these names seems remote from our Quaker abolitionist, it was Toussaint who ruined Napoleon's dream of a Central American empire, and it was Toussaint's free Hayti that Lundy twice visited in order to settle there emancipated slaves. On the other hand, the Spanish-sounding Allamuchy recalls Lundy's subsequent vain efforts in the then Mexican province of Texas to erect a cordon of free-negro colonies against the southwestern extension of the slave power, and in refutation of the libel that the black man would not work, except under the lash. It was this Texas which General Scott, still mindful of his wound at Lundy's Lane whenever he tugged at his overcoat, would presently help to annex to "the land of the free," and so prolong for another generation the life of the "peculiar institution."

The road over the Allamuchy Mountain is sandy and unshaded. As we reach the summit, for a mile or more we are obtrusively attended on the left by a high board fence entirely cutting off the forest view, and sheltering a preserve of wild animals owned by the wealthy New York proprietor of the adjoining manor. The irritation caused by this unsightly enclosure and by the destruction (for prudential reasons) of the trees between it and the road is a good preparation for the view of Lundy's Land which bursts upon us as we emerge upon the valley of the Pequest, —grander and more extensive, but less lovely, than the landscape in which Succasunna lies. The great wall of the Kittatinny Mountain, stretching indefinitely northward from the Delaware Water Gap, forms the background. A southward-flowing stream drains the hither valley between it and Allamuchy Mountain. Why did not some hand detain us at the bridge over the Pequest, and an inner voice admonish us to take off our shoes as if on holy ground? Why did we pass without heeding on the left the dilapidated burying-ground; why the grove just beyond, with the school-house, on a little knoll? Hardwick cross-roads, Hardwick Centre, proved but a delusion and a snare to our feet, and the third day found us, better advised, retracing our steps through Johnsonburg, whence the Lundy brothers—whether in search of a more generous soil and larger possessions, or whether (though Sabine makes no note of them among his Loyalists) in some disaffection to the government that succeeded George the Third's—migrated to the shores of the great river of the mist and the rainbow, to "Lundy's Lane."

The "Quaker Settlement," as it is still called, centred at the meeting-house in the grove near the west branch of the Pequest. This house, of blue limestone, exists no longer, but its foundation (on which a truthful hand has scratched the date 1764) now supports a frame building with its gable and entrance towards the west; a school-house below, a non-Quaker meeting-house above. The ground about it is shaded mostly by white oaks, one of which, newly felled, we perceived must have been standing when the boy Lundy

frequented these sacred precincts, and looked off upon the Allamuchy Mountain for the last time, perhaps, when the certificate of removal to Ohio was granted him. From this grove we entered the old Friends' burying-ground from the rear,—clambering the brick wall, we must confess, since we had failed to observe the main entrance. The spot is sadly neglected, with stones prostrate or out of plumb, with gruesome holes, but also with some sign of comparatively recent interment, and with fine un-Quakerlike monuments erected by a child in memory of David Lundy and Sarah his wife, contemporaries and kinsfolk of Benjamin's. Other Lundy stones there are, with graves of Shotwell and Adams of the extinct Society.

The records of this Society have found their way to Plainfield. Besides the family names already adduced, one meets with Hampton, Hance, Laing, Parker, Patterson, Pound, Stockton, Willits, and many more now hardly to be met with in the Quaker Settlement. One who turns the leaves may see how this denomination was not secure from weakness of the flesh; how here, as in Puritan New England, confession was entered on the minutes of those who had begun parentage before exchanging vows of matrimony. In 1797 a wife "acknowledges and condemns her transgression of fornication and marrying a man of that degree of kindred between first and second cousins contrary to the rules of Friends." The entries of this sort are numerous, and the offence was perhaps thought aggravated when the marriage was "out of the order of Friends." As in Puritan New England, confession generally condoned the offence; thus, in 1798 a couple removing from Rahway and Plainfield Monthly Meeting, who had offered there "papers of acknowledgment for the charge of fornication," laid this "offering" and its reception as a sort of credentials before our Quaker Settlement,—“and they to become members of Hardwick and Mendham Meeting,” runs the record. In the same year, “Thomas Hance has married from amongst Friends by the assistance of a magistrate after being pre-cautioned.” And the year before, “Women friends in-



formed [*i.e.*, reported] that Hannah Housel, formerly cook [but we know that Cook is meant], has gone out in marriage with a man not a member of our Society, by the assistance of an hireling priest, and on being treated with she appeared in no state of contrition. Jacob Lundy and Joseph Lundy are appointed to prepare an essay of Testification against her for the approbation of next meeting."

The intemperate habit and the temperance conscience of the "world's people" of the period were also discernible in Lundy's Land. In 1797 the minutes take note of the fact that one member has been retailing spirituous liquors, one distils them for his own use, and some few use them in haying and at harvest. In 1800 it is remarked with concern that one Friend keeps a tavern, while others enlarge their distilling. In 1798 John M—— was found guilty of dancing at a frolic; also, of using profane and unbecoming language. The same year, "Obed Willson has been active at military trainings," which leads to the usual Testification prepared by Joseph Lundy; and an offender in "training for military service" is detected in 1805.

It is three miles from the meeting-house to Lundy's birthplace, which must be sought in Sussex County, at Greenville, in Green Township. The road marches with the river Pequest for two-thirds of the way, when it bends at a right angle northwesterly. We have crossed a low divide between the alluvial lands, covered with thriving farms, and a rugged glacial tract, more picturesque if less fertile. To the right rises a fine, rather sheer ridge, clothed not too thickly with evergreens. To the left and in front of us lies the hamlet of Greenville. It has, for our purpose, a far too modern look. The eye rests on no building that might have been Lundy's birthplace,—that Lundy might have seen, perhaps. In truth, the house in which he saw the light is no longer standing. It was on the left of the road by which we have entered the village. A drawing from the description of it given by Eli Lundy, a cousin of Benjamin's, is all that preserves the memory of it. A plain, unpainted frame structure, two-storied in the gable, with an extension



at the east end and a chimney at the west end, it presented its long side to the road, and offered a door to the cold blasts from northeast and northwest; to the south the out-buildings formed two sides of a quadrangle. The farm had passed, some sixty years ago, to Colonel John Drake, who had doubtless been "active at military trainings," and was bought on his death by his son Samuel, who sold it to his brother-in-law, Timothy H. Cook. This owner in turn died, when Jacob Vass purchased the estate, and at this writing it is the property of his widow and his daughter (Mrs. Joseph Durling).

Our pilgrimage, therefore, was but to the Land, not the home. "Argos was there for Lundy," was all that we could say. We turned our back on the quiet neighborhood in which the oldest inhabitant knew not Benjamin, nor held in his crumbling memory any tradition of the birthplace. We passed on our left, at the foot of the ridge which greeted us on entering, the little post-office of Lincoln,—a name substituted of late years for Greenville, and not inapt for the cradle of the forgotten apostle of emancipation. We turned not at the bend in the road, but traversed the lovely intervale of the Pequest in which the village of Tranquillity leads a smiling existence, under the shelter of Allamuchy Mountain; peaceful in its designation, if not strictly a part of the Quaker Settlement.

"Tranquillity! thou better name  
Than all the family of fame,"

sings Coleridge. Fame was earned, and the inward tranquillity, by Lundy; but his body never knew rest from the time he asked himself, "What can I do?" to redress the wrongs of the slave. This was in the year 1816, at St. Clairsville, Ohio, when the saddler's trade which he had learned at Wheeling, Virginia, was making him a man of property, if not of independent means. Wheeling, as Lundy says, was "a great thoroughfare for the traffickers in human flesh. Their *coffles* passed through the place frequently. My heart was deeply grieved at the gross abomi-

nation; I heard the wail of the captive; I felt his pang of distress; and the iron entered my soul." Hence the giving up of every worldly prospect, a stable home, the good repute of his fellow-countrymen, for the honor of being the first American to lay aside all other business to plead the cause of the oppressed.

We spoke of Lundy's fame; but how many of our readers will hear for the first time the name of him whose statue ought to be one of New Jersey's two in the old Senate Chamber of the Capitol at Washington, although his very existence is ignored by most of our history writers for young and old, by most of our biographical dictionary-makers!

"He was not a good public speaker. His voice was too feeble, his utterance too rapid, to interest or inform an audience; yet he never spoke wholly in vain. In private life his habits were social and communicative, but his infirmity of deafness rendered it difficult to engage with him in protracted conversation."

So testified at Lundy's death the then editor of the *Liberator*, who heard him for the first time in Boston, on March 17, 1828, when his appeal to the clergymen present to organize an anti-slavery society was "wholly in vain," but to the layman was like a mandate from the Almighty. Garrison was drawn irresistibly to Baltimore to assist in editing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, and there gave his pledge to Lundy to write his biography in case the younger philanthropist outlived the elder. When the time came, in 1839, to redeem this promise, opposition was manifested by the father, Joseph Lundy, speaking on behalf of the family, but really as the mouth-piece of his daughter Lydia, who controlled the *Life* as finally compiled by Thomas Earle. There lies before us a letter, hitherto unpublished, from B. C. Lundy, a son of Benjamin, addressed to William Lloyd Garrison. The date is five years later than that of the *Life*:

"MT. PALATINE, PUTNAM CO., ILL., June 25, 1852.

"RESPECTED SIR,—You will remember that some time ago a work was published in Philadelphia by William D. Parish,

entitled 'The Life and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy,' and purporting to have been issued under the supervision and by request of his children. This was all a false statement. His children had no control whatever of the work, nor were they even consulted on any important point relative to the compilation or publication. A half-sister of my father's, Lydia Wierman, assumed all the responsibility. . . .

"The reason for these relatives acting as they did was this, they feared the children would put the MS. into your hands, which they were opposed to—I know not why. It was the choice of the children that you should write the biography. One reason, because you were more intimately acquainted with his life than any other man, another because we had learned that an understanding existed between yourself and our father that the survivor should be the other's biographer. Yet all father's journals and important papers were in the hands of this half-sister, and . . . [she] was enabled to act immediately on her resolves. I was then young and just commencing my studies, and could not resist the movement to any advantage. I however resolved to some day right the wrong so far as the unfavorable circumstances would allow. I have now to propose to you to commence the work which you should have had an opportunity to commence years ago. If you think there is the least prospect that you would be justified in so doing, we would be glad to have you 'write a book.'

"Please let me know soon your opinions relative to my proposal. I am the youngest son of Benjamin Lundy, have a family, and been engaged in the practice of medicine about two years. I have a brother and two sisters yet living, they reside near me.

"Yours truly,

"B. C. LUNDY."

It was no longer possible for Mr. Garrison to comply with this request, but he never, to the end of his days, ceased to render to Lundy the grateful homage of a disciple, and to claim for him an imperishable renown in the annals of American and of universal philanthropy.







THE OLD ROUND CHURCH.

AFTER A PENCIL SKETCH, FROM RECOLLECTION,  
BY MR. WALTER P. MARSHALL.

SKETCH OF THE "OLD ROUND CHURCH," 1805-1825,  
THE ORIGINAL EDIFICE OF TRINITY CHURCH,  
PITTSBURGH.

BY OLIVER ORMSBY PAGE.

"Nothing is so really new as that which is old," and it were not strange if many who are familiar with the present beautiful edifice of Trinity Church, and even with its predecessor, the embodiment of Bishop Hopkins's genius, were yet ignorant, or at best vague, regarding the first edifice commonly known as the "Old Round Church." This was a small brick building, octagonal in shape, located on the triangular lot bounded by Wood Street, Liberty Avenue, and Sixth Avenue, for which property four hundred dollars were paid. The corner-stone was laid July 1, 1805, but the church was never consecrated, and no bishop visited Pittsburgh until Bishop White came in 1825. To defray the indebtedness of the church we find that the expedient of a lottery was resorted to. In the *Pittsburgh Gazette* for March of 1808, Anthony Beelen advertised tickets for sale in the Trinity Church lottery at his shop on Front Street, now First Avenue; highest prize ten thousand dollars; tickets then selling for a dollar and a half. This was an approved means of raising money in those days, and was in accord with the prevailing moral sentiment.

On September 4, 1805, a perpetual charter was secured from Governor Thomas McKean, constituting "the Reverend John Taylor the present minister of the said church, Presley Nevill[e] and Samuel Roberts the present wardens of the said church and Nathaniel Irish, Joseph Barker, Jeremiah Barker, Andrew [Nathaniel] Richardson, Nathaniel Bedford, Oliver Ormsby, George McGunnegele, George Robinson, Robert Magee, Alexander McLaughlin, William Cecil and Joseph Davis the present vestrymen of the said church

and their successors duly elected, nominated and appointed in their place and stead . . . a corporation and body politic in law and in fact to have continuance forever by the name, *stile* and title of the minister, church-wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church in Pittsburgh."

As far back as September 24, 1787, "John Penn, Junior, and John Penn of the City of Philadelphia, Esquires, late Proprietors of Pennsylvania," for the nominal consideration of "Five Shillings, current, lawful current money of Pennsylvania," had deeded two and one-half lots of ground to "the Honorable John Gibson, Esq., John Ormsby, merchant, Devereux Smith, gent., and Doctor Nathaniel Bedford all of the town of Pittsburgh, in the County of Westmoreland, in Pennsylvania aforesaid, Trustees of the congregation of Episcopalian Protestant Church, commonly called the Church of England, in the said town of Pittsburgh, . . . their heirs and assigns, forever, in trust nevertheless, for and a site for a house of religious worship and burial place for the use of said religious society or congregation and their successors in the said town of Pittsburgh . . . and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever." Allegheny County was not erected until the following year, consequently the deed was recorded at Greensburg, the seat of Westmoreland County. In harmony with the design of the Founder to form an asylum for all religions, the Messrs. Penn, while themselves churchmen, deeded the adjoining two and one-half lots to the trustees of the First Presbyterian Church the same day, and on June 18, 1788, John Penn "the younger" deeded two lots to the trustees of the German Evangelical Protestant Church.

John Penn, Jr., and John Penn were grandsons of the Founder, and had been dispossessed of all their landed inheritance in Pennsylvania by the Revolution, except such tenths or manor lands as had been set apart for them prior to the Declaration of Independence. Of these, John Penn, Jr., who was a poet and a great man of fashion in his day, owned three-fourths, and his cousin John Penn, the last lieutenant-governor of the province, one-fourth. The dif-



ference in their holdings will explain why their names are given in the deed in the order they are.

The four trustees lived at the most interesting period of the history of Western Pennsylvania, and their lives are a part of the history of the region. Colonel John Gibson, called "Horsehead" Gibson by the Indians, sometime commandant of Fort Pitt, is buried in Allegheny Cemetery, Pittsburgh. Dr. Bedford lies buried at the head of South Twelfth Street, on the south side of Pittsburgh, overlooking the former town of Birmingham, which he laid out.<sup>1</sup>

John Ormsby is the only one of the four trustees buried in Trinity Church-yard. It was Mr. Ormsby's wont to write on the fly-leaves of his books, inserting extra sheets for the purpose in some cases, and we find in these personal notes frequent evidence of his religious feeling and resignation under affliction.

Although the land conveyed by the Penns was not the site of the first church, it was from the beginning used as a burying-ground. Here are to be found the graves of British officers, Revolutionary heroes, early lawyers, doctors, and men of affairs; even an Indian chief has here found Christian burial, and, what is the more remarkable, his body reposed beneath the chancel of "Old Trinity Church," as the second edifice erected in 1825 is commonly called.<sup>2</sup>

The silent "God's acre" in the midst of the city's busy

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bedford came to Pittsburgh shortly after 1770, and was the first practising physician in what is now Allegheny County. In 1786 there were two physicians here, and it has been a frequent matter of conjecture who the other was. In the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, under date of March 24, 1787, we find named among the trustees of the Pittsburgh Academy, afterwards merged into the Western University of Pennsylvania, then incorporated, "Doctors Nathaniel Bedford and Thomas Parker." Dr. George Stevenson, another early physician, came here from Carlisle in 1794, and was probably the third physician here.

<sup>2</sup> In the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. IV. p. 122 *et seq.*, a letter from Bishop Upfold is printed, giving the epitaphs of the following from Trinity Church-yard, although not transcribed literally in all cases: Mio-qua-coo-na-caw or Red Pole, Captain Richard Mather of the Royal Americans, Captain Samuel Dawson of the 8th Pennsylvania Foot, John and Jane (McAllister) Ormsby, and Major Abraham Kirkpatrick.



life forms a most interesting and impressive link with the past, serving to remind us that "in the midst of life we are in death." In this quiet spot more serious thoughts naturally obtrude themselves, and we are for the moment transported "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife." In this connection it is worthy of note that the church-yard of Stoke Park, the seat of John Penn, Jr., near Windsor, in England, is the scene of Gray's immortal elegy, and the poet is there buried.

The "Old Round Church" had forty-two high-backed pews, similar to those in churches of that period, besides a gallery. Those in the two front rows were square, as well as high-backed, and were specially attractive, according to childish notions, since they offered more opportunity for play of a quiet order. For evening service, or whenever necessary, the church was lighted by candles held in tin sconces arranged as side-lights along the wall, and in cold weather the church was heated by stoves. The sexton performed his office for both Trinity and the First Presbyterian Church. His occupation is given in the 1815 directory as grave-digger, which lugubrious employment, as was customary, he combined with his duties as sexton. The parish being poor and struggling, it was the custom to send the rector's surplices to the houses of the different members of the congregation to be washed. One time he came to my informant's mother's on this errand, and the children gathering about him to hear what he had to say, for he was quite a character, she heard her mother ask him how he did, to which the little old Irishman replied, "Och! dull times, dear; I've not put a spade in the ground for I can't tell you whin." Such was his efficiency in this line that the proverbial query used to be, who would bury this son of Erin when he had buried everybody else.

The Rev. John Taylor was the first rector of Trinity Church. He came to Pittsburgh in 1797, and labored here for more than twenty years. He was familiarly and affectionately known as *Father* Taylor, and by the children as *Pappy* Taylor. Prior to the building of the "Old Round

Church," services were held in private dwellings, public halls, and in the court-room on the second floor of the first court-house,—a two-story brick building which stood on the west side of the Diamond where the market-house now is. It had a wooden steeple and bell, which on Sundays became a "church-going bell" and urged the populace to "Come to church!" Be it remembered that on January 8, 1800, the official services attending the mock funeral of Washington were held in this "upper room," devoted alike to law and religion, the Episcopal service being read by the Rev. Mr. Sample and an oration delivered by Colonel Presley Neville; the whole attended with much ceremony.

"Father" Taylor, like the Rev. John Henry Hopkins (a later incumbent, afterwards first Bishop of Vermont), was not originally a member of the Episcopal Church, but, through the influence chiefly of William Cecil, was induced to take orders and come here. He was, according to Bishop Scarborough,<sup>1</sup> a man of strong mind, more fond of natural science, perhaps, than of theology; and such was his love of astronomy that he sometimes spent the entire night in the open air, watching the movements of the heavenly bodies. He made the astronomical calculations for Cramer's "almanacks" and others of a later date, and helped eke out a livelihood by teaching school, being an assistant instructor in the old Pittsburgh Academy. Mr. Cuming, in his "Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country," characterizes him as an able mathematician, a liberal philosopher, and a man of unaffected simplicity of manners, and describes his discourses as good moral lectures, well adapted to the understanding of his hearers. One of his sermons being too long for the morning service, he stopped, saying, "Brethren, we'll resarve the rest for the afternoon's divarsion." "Father" Taylor was killed by lightning at Shenango, Pennsylvania, in 1838, where he is buried in an unmarked grave.

The first election of vestrymen recorded in the early

<sup>1</sup> The Sermon preached at the Farewell Service in Old Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, October 3, 1869, by the Rector, the Rev. John Scarborough. P. 21. Pittsburgh: J. R. Weldin & Co., 1869.

minute-book was held on Easter Monday, April 3, 1820, the wardens being chosen at a subsequent meeting of the vestry from among their number. Oliver Ormsby and Peter Mowry were the wardens; Morgan Neville, George Poe, Jr., Abner Barker, Abraham Long, Joseph Davis, Peter Beard, Charles L. Volz, Walter Forward, Nathaniel Richardson, Samuel Roberts, Thomas Cromwell, and John Reno, the vestrymen. A souvenir of these times is an old receipt, signed by the then wardens, in the possession of a granddaughter of the first George Shiras, of which the following is a copy:

"Pittsburgh 27 March 1818—We certify that George Shiras has settled his claims against Trinity Church and it appears he is a contributor of the sum of Three hundred Dollars to said Church.

O. ORMSBY.     }  
PETER MOWRY.    } Wardens."

- The singing in the "Old Round Church" was led by an organ, then a great rarity in the Western country, on which Mr. Hopkins performed, his wife and children composing the choir. When he became the lay-reader, previous to his taking orders, Mrs. Hopkins became the organist.

The following were the respective pew-holders in Trinity Church September 1, 1821, as given in the early minute-book: No. 1, Christopher Cowan; No. 2, Abraham Long; No. 3, Dr. Peter Mowry; No. 4, Alexander Johnston, Jr.; No. 5, Oliver Ormsby; No. 6, Morgan Neville; No. 7, George Poe, Jr.; No. 8, Abner Barker; No. 9, Nathaniel Richardson; No. 10, David McGunnegele; No. 11, probably the "strangers' pew;" No. 12, Joseph Barclay; No. 13, Peter Beard; No. 14, Samuel Kingston; No. 15, John H. Hopkins, then in the legal profession; No. 16, Thomas Enochs; No. 17, Mary Cecil; No. 18, George Shiras; No. 19, Mrs. Kerwin and J. Lightner; No. 20, Thomas Barlow, formerly secretary of legation under his uncle, Joel Barlow, minister to France, 1811-12; No. 21, Charles L. Volz; No.



22, Samuel Roberts, Jr.; No. 23, John Bourke; No. 24, half to Sarah Mark and Sarah Donnolly, one-fourth to William Fearn, and one-fourth to Robert Towne; No. 25, Mrs. Sarah (Lowrey) Collins; No. 26, John Craig; No. 27, William Arthurs; No. 28, Charles Reno and Austin Drury; No. 29, Mrs. Sidney O. Gregg; No. 30, David Holmes; No. 31, Arnold Eichbaum; No. 32, Captain James R. Butler, who commanded the "Pittsburgh Blues" in the War of 1812; No. 33, John L. Glaser; No. 34, John Reno; No. 35, John K. McNickle; No. 36, Joseph Davis; No. 37, Campbell, Muller, Clayland, and Brown; No. 38, Dr. S. R. Holmes and A. L. Kerr; No. 39, Alexander Glass and Ralph Pittock; No. 40, George Connelly and Mrs. Patterson; No. 41, Walter Forward, the eminent lawyer, Secretary of the Treasury under Tyler, and afterwards President Judge of the District Court of Allegheny County; No. 42, Robert Elder and James Rutter. The pew rentals ranged from ten dollars to twenty-two and one-half dollars per year, and the total annual rentals were five hundred and fifty-five dollars. In truth, a day of small things.

The appearance of a fair bride of that period at church shortly after her marriage is recalled; what made the most impression on a youthful mind was the light-blue satin cape she wore, lined with white satin. And this brings to mind the funeral of a friend of the bride's mother, Mrs. Emily Morgan Simms, daughter of Colonel Presley Neville. Mrs. Simms died at the Kentucky and Ohio Hotel of Mrs. Kerr, on the northeast corner of Front Street, now First Avenue, and Market Street, on the 5th of February, 1821, when on a visit to her native city, her husband, Colonel W. D. Simms, being a resident of Washington City. The funeral was extremely imposing, and to persons of the present time would appear very singular; but at that time it was the custom to walk in procession following the bier which held the remains, and which was carried on the shoulders of the bearers. Walking, four on each side of the bier as honorary pall-bearers, were eight ladies dressed in white muslin, white stockings and slippers, their heads covered with long white



lace veils reaching to their feet. The ladies who acted in that capacity, according to the best recollection of my narrator, were the following-named intimate friends of the deceased: Mrs. John McDonald, Mrs. Oliver Ormsby, Mrs. Hollingsworth, Mrs. Sarah Collins, Mrs. Magnus M. Murray, Mrs. Peter Mowry, Mrs. George Poe, Jr., and Mrs. James R. Butler. The procession proceeded up Front Street to Wood Street, and along Wood to Trinity Church-yard, followed by a long line of mourning relatives and friends, extending the whole length of the street. The whole population of the town seemed to have turned out, the sidewalks being lined with spectators. The service was read at the grave by the Rev. William Thompson, who was then the rector of the "Old Round Church."

"Once more revived in fancy's magic glass,  
I see in state the long procession pass."

## DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

(Continued from page 250.)

COMMODORE HAZELWOOD TO WASHINGTON.

"RED BANK, Nov<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1777

"SIR.

"Agreeable to your Excellencys request by letter to me of 13 Nov<sup>r</sup>, I have inclosed you the opinion of myself & Officers in Council of War held of[f] Red Bank the 14<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>, a copy of which you have inclosed, where your Excellency will see we are all unanimously of opinion in regard to our holding this Station with the Fleet. While we were on this business their Fleet came up & attacked this Fort. I immediately carried all our force against them, & after a long & heavy Cannonading, with the assistance of a two Gun Battery, we drove or caused their Ships to drop down, but they getting their Ship Battery & a Sloop Battery up in the inner Channel close under our Fort Mifflin & under cover of all their Cannon & Bomb Batterys, & keeping up such a warm & hot fire, it was impossible for the Fort & that brave & good Officer to hold it longer, without that Ship could be destroyed. I ordered one half of our Galleys with as brave an officer as I had, to destroy the Ship & Sloop, but he returned & said it was impossible while they was so well supported by all their Batterys, so at last that brave & good Officer Major Thayer was obliged to set fire to their works & quit the Fort. Our Fleet has received much damage, & numbers kill'd & wounded, which cannot now be exactly ascertained, but as soon as I can get a return made out, shall send it. We shall hold our Post as long as possible, & shall anxiously wait to have your answer to this, Whether your Excellency approves of our determination.

Our Men & Officers behaved with spirit & bravery. Having not to add for the present, am &c.

“JOHN HAZELWOOD.”

“In Council of War held on board the Chatham Galley, Nov<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup>, 1777, summoned by Commodore Hazlewood to deliberate on a letter wrote him by his Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington dated Whitemarsh, 13<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777.

“After maturely considering the contents of his Excellencys Letter, this Council are unanimously of opinion, That should Fort Mifflin be evacuated & so fall into the enemys hands, it will be altogether impracticable for our Fleet or any of them to keep their present station, or to prevent in such case the enemys raising works at the aforementioned Fort Mifflin, as in their present situation they are within reach of Shot & Shells from the enemys Batterys on Province Island. But should such evacuation on our side, & possession on that of the enemy take place, this Council are of opinion, that by the Batterys raised & to be raised on this the Jersey Shore on the upper side of Mantua Creek, & above that opposite the Chevaux de Friez, the passage of the enemys Shipping especially those of any considerable force, will be altogether obstructed, as without raising, or removing the Chevaux de Friez, it is impossible such Ships can have a passage.

“Much, indeed all depends on our keeping possession of the Jerseys, for should the enemy prevail there, it is our opinion, that our Fleet will be altogether annihilated, as in that case our retreat & resources will be entirely cut off.

“Should we be by the enemys getting possession of Fort Mifflin, be obliged to retire further up, we have a sure retreat into Timber Creek where all our Fleet may shelter in safety, from whence the Gallies might in a very short time salley out & we trust defeat any light Vessels of the enemy, for which the pass thro’ in the intervals between the Chevaux de Frieze might be practicable, but those Vessels in such case must meet with many obstacles not only the risque of venturing thro’ almost impracticable passes, but be also

exposed to the fire of those large Batterys of ours on this the Jersey Shore.

“We of the Council are therefore unanimously of opinion, That on our Forces keeping possession of the Jerseys, depends altogether the preservation of our Fleet, & consequently every expectation to be formed from its Manœuvres in future.

“JOHN HAZELWOOD  
“JOHN RICE  
“RICHARD EYRES  
“THOMAS MOORE  
“NATHAN BOYCE  
“HUGH MONTGOMERY  
“BENJAMIN DUNN  
“THOMAS HOUSTON  
“WILLIAM BROWN  
“JEREMIAH SIMMONS  
“GEORGE GARLAND

ISAAC ROACH  
JOHN MITCHELL  
JAMES JOSIAH  
EDWARD YORK  
JOHN HARRISON  
ROBERT HARDIE  
WILLIAM WATKIN  
ISAIAH ROBERTSON  
—— WARNER  
PETER BRUSTER.”

CAPTAIN CRAIG TO WASHINGTON.

“FRANKFORD, 15<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR:

“I believe your Excellency may Depend upon the enemy’s force being drawn to Attact the Fort to day, a very severe and heavy firing began this morning about 10 oClock and has continued ever since, the Enemy Dread the Northern Armys joining your Excellency and have been making every preparation to attact before the N—— army joyn’d, and have not been prepared before today. I have the honor &c

“C. CRAIG.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“FORT MERCER 15<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777 6 oClk P.M.

“SIR

“The Firing is universal from the Shipping Batteries &c. —We have lost a great many Men today—a great many of the officers are killed and wounded—My fine Company of



Artillery is almost destroy'd—We shall be obliged to evacuate the Fort this Night. I am &c

“J. M. VARNUM.

“Major [Silas] Talbut is badly wounded, Major Fleury is wounded also. It is impossible for an Officer to possess more merit than Major Thayer, who commands the brave little Garrison.”<sup>1</sup>

BENJAMIN RANDOLPH TO WASHINGTON.

“BURLINGTON, 15<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR

“Being apointed by General Warnan to take charge of the Flag with Docter Glentuth, yesterday we atemted it. the Capton of the Friggat Rec'd it & detained us til he sent it to General How who Return'd for ansur we could not be Received must return back to the warf at Coopers &c.

“at 9 oClock in the morning just as we got to the ferry I heard a univrsl Ratle of their drums in town and all moveing downwards below town. I likewise heard from a Quaker that Just Left it & the ferryman that brought them over, that on the 7<sup>th</sup> Inst. the Enemy Brought Stoores from their Shiping to last them for two weeks, that they sayd no more could come for two weeks after that on acc't the moon-light nits, they said they were hail'd by our men on the fort three times as they were Passing up. Likewise heard them cry out All<sup>a</sup> well as they Passd, likewise told me the enemy ware moveing some Boats down towards the mouth Schulkill. The officer of the Friggot told me they had just been sending two floting Batteries down the Schulkill with four 32 Pounders on board to assist against our fort that they ware in want of Provisions but expected their Shiping up in two or three days—he wanted to no wheather General Putnam was Likely to Join your Excellency soon or not, I could not tell anything about the matters of that sort, they seamed much concerned it apeared to me. I am &c

“BENJ<sup>A</sup> RANDOLPH.”

<sup>1</sup> “Major Ballard carries this.”—*Endorsement by Brigadier-General Varnum.*

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

"WOODBERRY, 15<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777 11 oCk A.M.

"SIR

"I was a great part of last night in Fort Mifflin; It is greatly shattered, but very defensible, had we the Men mentioned in my letter of yesterday.—I shall send two Hundred Militia in this night. They will be able to work & fight upon Occasion.—What put it into the Enemy's Head, I cant say. But they kept up a constant cannonade and Bombardment all night, so as to prevent in a great Measure, the necessary Repairs in the Breaches.—I am under the Necessity of beseeching your Excellency to send a General Officer, whose concurring Sentiments, or Orders, should he be of superior standing, will be very advantageous. The Objects here are so various that I cannot fully do what I know is essential to the Service.—The Militia are without a Commander.—It is very difficult getting Matters done in a speedy Manner. I am obliged to attend every department myself.—I do not make this Request because I am not fond of commanding,—But from a Consciousness that the service demands it. We want another commanding Officer of Artillery, & more Artillery Men. Indeed, I think a Field Officer of Artillery should be here. Capt. [James] Lee will do all that a brave, good Officer can, but a Shot may claim; then we should be badly off indeed. I am just informed the Shipping are in Motion—Our Battery below has just opened. I am &c

"J. M. VARNUM.

"N.B.—Should the Shipping play upon the Island, we must evacuate it, But I am in hopes we shall keep them down."

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

"HEAD QUARTERS, 15 November, 1777

"SIR:

"I have received your Letter of yesterday inclosing the opinion of Maj. Thayer, the present Commandant at Fort

Mifflin respecting the defence of that Post—and am happy to find that he and Maj<sup>r</sup> Fleury coincide in their Sentiments as to the practicability of maintaining it in spite of the Enemy's Land and Floating Batteries. Their perseverance, however, may expose them to falling a sacrifice in case of an Attack by Storm, unless the necessary materials be furnish'd them from your side of the River, for repairing the daily destruction caused by the Enemy's Cannon. There should be a never failing supply of Fascines & Palisades—large Gabions will be useful—and a quantity of earth loaded in bulk on board of Flats, will be very serviceable in correcting the oozy nature of the soil on which they are obliged to work. They are likewise in want of Ammunition for their 32 pounder, for which they have been obliged to use the Cartridges of their eighteen Pounders.—A stock of Fire wood, an indispensable Article at this season of the year should be laid in at every convenient opportunity, so that they may not be deficient in it, in case of the Communication between them and the main being interrupted by high wind or bad weather. One or two of their gun carriages are dismounted, which will require the presence of such Artificers as you can spare. M<sup>r</sup> Fleury seems desirous of retaining the Cannon on the Island. I cannot at this distance decide as to the propriety of suffering them to remain, which must depend upon the State of the Works, and the prospect of reestablishing some essential parts of them. Your visit to the Island will enable you to speak decisively upon this and other matters of importance.

“ Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene in a Letter received from him this morning informs me that the Enemy are attempting to get a Frigate thro the Channel between Hog Island and Province Island. This passage may be render'd impassable for Vessels of a respectable size by sinking a hulk there, or throwing some other obstruction in the ways. It will be proper therefore that you should have a conference with the Commodore upon this subject immediately, and consult with him upon the best means for frustrating the Enemy's Designs.



"With respect to the Enterprise upon Province Island which I recommended in my last—I must observe that tho my expressions gave it a great Latitude and that I proposed the ruin of the Enemy's works as part of the End in view—yet I should be content if nothing more could be effected to have the Cannon of those works, or any part of them, spik'd. A resolute body of Voluntiers and chosen men I still think might be employed with success in this Undertaking—and tho the time gain'd by us and the Embarrassment occasioned the Enemy would not be so considerable as in the other case, yet it appears to me worth the attempt, especially as by the means of surprise, the service might be done before the party could be opposed in force—and at all events the Retreat is easy.<sup>1</sup>

Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene in his Letter calls the Channel in question the *New* Channel. I am not certain which he means, but you will be able to determine. I am &c.<sup>2</sup>

"G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON."

COLONEL SMITH TO WASHINGTON.

"WOODBERRY, 15 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

"SIR :

"My Arm will this Night or tomorrow Night permit me to take the Command at fort Mifflin. I was there last Night, it is now one Heap of Ruin & must be defended with musquetry in Case of Storm. I presume the Enemy will continue to cannonade for four or five days & then they will be obliged to storm. When they do, I am of Opinion they will succeed. With 600 Men I think we could defend it as

<sup>1</sup> This attempt, suggested in Washington's letter to Varnum, dated November 13, 1777, *ante*, probably led to the proposed expedition outlined in Wayne's letter to Richard Peters, of November 18, printed in Stillé, "Major-General Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line," p. 105. I can find no evidence that the suggestion came from Wayne; and I think it more likely that when Varnum raised difficulties, Washington undertook the matter, and selected Wayne as a fit man to lead. He determined to await the re-enforcements from the north, and the opportunity was lost. This reconciles the statements of the two men as given by Dr. Stillé.

<sup>2</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.



an Island. Our great dependance must be their being to much afraid to storm. I hope it will hinder them from the Attempt untill your Excell<sup>y</sup> can send such Number as will give the Men a Relief every 3 Days—in that Case I think we might defend it as an Island, & I Hope your Excell<sup>y</sup> will soon be able to attempt Something that will hasten their Departure to their Shipping—such parties of Men would rebuild in the Night what they destroy in the Day. I have the Honor &c

“SAM SMITH.

“Gen. Varnum has been oblig’d to send Cap<sup>t</sup> Lee to take the Command of the Artillery at fort Mifflin. Mr. Comstoc<sup>1</sup> who took the Command after Cap<sup>t</sup> Treat was very unfit, we want a good Officer & more Artillery Men very much—We are oblig’d to fire much Powder away & shall want Cartridges for 12<sup>s</sup>, 18<sup>s</sup> & 32 pounders immediately.”

BARON ARENDT ON FORT MIFFLIN.

“As long as we have a design to prevent a Junction between the Enemy’s Fleet and their Army, the maintaining Fort Mifflin is indispensibly necessary—not that this place in itself hinders the Junction, tho it certainly contributes to that valuable purpose, but it gives Security to our Fleet, which could not keep its present Station if the Enemy should make themselves masters of the Fort & raise batteries against it—this is the opinion of the Commodore whom I consulted upon this subject.

“Although therefore this post ought to be maintained to the last extremity, yet I grant that there are many difficulties in the way—the fatigue and inclement weather to which the Garrison is exposed, are not the least considerable.

“The Design of the Enemy seems to be to make themselves masters of the Island, by constant bombarding and cannonading so as to ruin the works and either drive out the Garrison, or exhaust them by keeping up a fire at night

<sup>1</sup> Probably William Comstock, of Rhode Island.

—if however they find themselves disappointed it is probable they will venture another attack with Troops.

“Whatever be their designs, we have only two points in view—the Preservation of the Garrison—and repairing as much as possible the ruined works. I propose this expedient which is not impracticable, because frequently used in besieged Fortresses.

“1. To preserve the Garrison let it be disposed in the most secure places—this has been done hitherto by placing the men behind the Stone Wall, but as it is considerably damaged and begins to fall, it can’t afford shelter much longer. My opinion is that the men ought to go out every morning at day break, and lie down in order to be better conceal’d upon Planks behind the Bank which is opposite to Province Island—they should make no fire, but keep themselves warm with their blankets, and have their victuals either cook’d over night, or on the eastern side of the Island—to keep them in spirits there should be an additional allowance of Rum or strong-beer—especially as the Soil and Water are exceedingly unwholesome—it is morally certain that the Enemy will not fire upon the spot proposed, but direct their shot against the Fort—where there should be only a few Centries left, and a few necessary hands to serve the Artillery.

“2. The Garrison should be relieved as often as possible—Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum says he has not men enough to relieve every night, but that it might be done every 48 hours—which is sufficient—thus the Health of the Soldiers will be preserved, they will not be worn out with Fatigue, and their Courage will be renew’d—The Garrison ought always to be 400 strong—the Commanding Officer and Engineer ought likewise to be relieved.

“3. For repairing the works, and in order to spare the Garrison, it would be well to send every night for fatigue a Detachment of 100 Militia with their Arms, they would be so many fighting men—they should carry with them Palisades, Fascines and Gabions—the work to be done, will depend upon the Damage sustain’d in the course of the day

—I am of opinion that a Parapet of Fascines and Gabions should be substituted to the Palisades, it might be made under cover of them, and would be infinitely more serviceable—they might afterwards be taken away.

“It has been proposed to construct a battery upon the same bank, which I have pointed out above as Shelter for the Garrison,—and it is thought that this would change the direction of the Enemy’s Fire so as to divert it from the Fort—but my plan would be inconsistent with this, and besides many of the Balls intended to take the battery proposed obliquely and in flank, would go beyond it and batter the Fort.

“4. I think that the heavy Cannon, which are not pointed against the Enemy’s batteries, should be removed and placed in the battery lately open’d on the other side of the River—there they would be out of the reach of the Enemy’s balls, and would be more dangerous to their Shipping—as they would give a plunging Fire—the Commodore is of the same Opinion.

“5. As to Ammunition and Provision I think a sufficient quantity for a few days only should be left at the Fort and the rest deposited in some vessel or vessels.

“6. For the Security of the Garrison in case of extremity, the Commodore should be required to send upon a conventional signal being given at the Fort, all the Vessels and boats to take them off.

“Lastly to hinder the Communication which still subsists between the Army and Navy of the Enemy, and is kept up by means of little boats upon which Fort Mifflin has fired without success—there is no other method that I know of than having armed boats and Gallies stationed in a proper place for driving away the Enemys boats.

“BAR. ARENDT.

“I have communicated most of these Ideas to Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum and Col. Smith.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens. The endorsement shows it to have been written on November 15.



## SUBSTANCE OF BARON ARENDT'S LETTERS.

“General Varnum informed me this morning, that Col<sup>o</sup> Smith had sent him word by an officer, that he thought it impossible for the Fort to hold out longer than till tonight—and asked my opinion upon the subject. It was that the Fort should be maintained to the last extremity, but that the Cannon of the Battery should be brought off with all the superfluous Provision and Military Stores—that the Cannon brought off might be placed with advantage elsewhere—and that provision and Ammunition for two days only should be left in the Fort.

“I went to Fort Mercer, with a design to cross to the Island and resume my Command, but my strength was not equal to my Good Will.”<sup>1</sup>

## COLONEL GREENE TO GENERAL POTTER.

“RED BANK, 15 Nov. 1777

“SIR

“Since my last the Cannonade has been very severe upon Fort Mifflin—this Day the Ships have come as near as the Chevaux de Frize would allow them. A floating Battery with 18-24 p<sup>rs</sup> came up between Fort Mifflin & Province Island, and the Fire from Them together with that of their Batteries has dismounted all the Guns but two, Almost destroyed the works—and have killed and wounded a very considerable Number—Among the latter is Major Talbut and two Cap<sup>s</sup> of Co<sup>l</sup> Durkee's Regm't. Our Shipping have kept up a warm Fire, and a two Gun Battery about 2½ miles from this has annoyed the Enemy very much—We have sent Boats to the Brave Major Thayer, who has discretionary Orders to maintain the Post as long as he thinks practicable—that the brave Garrison may have a secure retreat when the Post is no longer tenable ——— 'tis too true that the boat deserted, another run away the next morning—We apprehend Nothing here. I am &c.

“C. GREENE.”

<sup>1</sup> An undated sheet in manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.



BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER TO WASHINGTON.

[“16 November, 1777.”]

“D<sup>R</sup> SIR

“I am sorey to be the mesenger of Bad news last night at Ten oClock our Breve Garrison at fort Mifflin set fier to the Barrucks and set off to Ridbank this Intiligance I have by my express that Brought me the in Closed—I see myself that our Barricks are Burnt and the enemys ships Viglint and a sloop are leying a long side of the Island this moment I Received your favour of this day and will observe the Contents. I am &c

“JA<sup>S</sup> POTTER”<sup>1</sup>

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“WOODBERRY  $\frac{1}{4}$  after 11, A.M. 16 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR

“Agreeable to what I wrote you last Evening, we were obliged to evacuate Fort Mifflin. Major Thayer returned from thence a little after two this morning. Every Thing was got off, that possibly could be. The Cannon could not be removed without making too great a Sacrifice of men, as the Empress of Russia, alias *Vigilant*, lay within one Hundred Yards of the Southwest part of the Works, & with her incessant Fire, Hand Grenades & Musketry from the Round Top, killed every Man that appeared upon the Platforms.—The Commodore gave positive Orders to six Gallies to attack, and take that Ship. They warp’d over to the Island, & there held a Council, lost a few of their men, & then returned without attempting any Thing, I left the Commodore since one this Morning. He had positively ordered six Gallies, well manned, to attack the same Vessel—how they succeeded, I am not inform’d, but, according to Major

<sup>1</sup> On November 28 Congress directed an inquiry to be made by General Washington into the loss of Fort Mifflin, on the river Delaware, in the State of Pennsylvania, and into the conduct of the principal officer commanding.

Thayer's Sentiments, we could have held the Island, had the Ship been destroy'd.—I dont think the Shipping can pass the Chevaux de Frize while we keep this Shore.—The two Gun Battery, near Manto Creek, annoy'd them very much Yesterday. It is still firing slowly; but the Shipping having remov'd out of direct Distance, too much firing would be Profusion.—We are erecting a Battery, directly opposite the Frizes, w<sup>h</sup> I believe will be finished to-day—I am not of Opinion that the Enemy can possess themselves of the Island without too great a Loss. Whether we shall keep a Guard upon it or not, I cannot determine 'till, from a critical Observation, I shall be furnished with new Circumstances. While we keep the Shipping down, our Navy will be safe; but should our Defences prove ineffectual, we shall take out a Part of their Guns, & let the others attempt passing the City.—Our Troops are so extremely fatigued that no time will be lost in knowing your Excellency's Orders, whether the Troops commanded by Col<sup>o</sup> Smith shall remain here, or return to Camp. The Officers seem anxious to join the Army, as their Men are much harrass'd—However, they have had two Nights Rest, & are necessary here, should we attack Billings Port—As a great part of my own Brigade have been lost at Fort Mifflin I shall not be able to make any hostile Attempt this Night; but am of Opinion that the Enemy should at all Hazards, be dispossess'd of this Shore.—We shall want the large Howitz, w<sup>h</sup> I mentioned before.

“Your Excellency's Letter of yesterday came to me this Morning early—I am just told the Gallies last order'd to attack the Vigilant, did nothing: That misfortune will prevent us from keeping Men upon the Island. I am &c

“J. M. VARNUM.

“P.S.—Col<sup>o</sup> Greene offered to Officer and Man three Gallies, that would destroy the Empress of Russia, or perish to a Man. Cap<sup>t</sup> Robinson, of the continental Fleet, offered to go himself & the Commodore proposes a fine Disposition, but cannot command his Fleet.”

COLONEL SMITH TO WASHINGTON.

"WOODBERRY, 16<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

"SIR

"Gen. Varnum will have inform'd your Excell<sup>y</sup> of the Evacuation of fort Mifflin. I am extremely sorry for the Circumstance. Major Thayer defended it too bravely.

"My party taken (as your Excell<sup>y</sup> knows) from the picquet, think they have done their Tour of Duty, & hope for your Excell<sup>y</sup> permission to join their respective Regiments, who (they say) want their immediate Attention—the Officers have no Cloths with them. My Arm is yet very painful. Major Fleury is hurt but not very much, he is a Treasure that ought not to be lost. Cap<sup>t</sup> [Edmund B.] Dickinson of the first Virg<sup>a</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> deserves much Attention—he stayed with & assisted Fleury—he is a brave, industrious good Officer. Cap<sup>t</sup> [George] Walls of the 4<sup>th</sup> Virg<sup>a</sup> has distinguish'd himself on every Occasion, for a brave, industrious & prudent Officer. Cap<sup>t</sup> [William Dent] Bell of the 6<sup>th</sup> Maryland has much Merit. I have the Honor &c.

"SAM SMITH."

JOSEPH REED TO WASHINGTON.

"CAPT. LEE'S QUARTERS—NEAR SPRINGFIELD

"MEETING HOUSE, 6 MILES FROM DARBY

"Nov. 16, 1777

"DEAR SIR:

"General Green will give you so perfect an Idea of what he has seen here as to make any Remark unnecessary from any one else. I hope & believe it is not yet too late to give the Forts some effectual Relief, but every Moment is precious, in the present advance Season & after the Injury so heavy a Cannonade must have done them.

"As I know you are pleased with having the Sentiments of every Person who gives himself the Trouble of reflecting, I have no Difficulty in giving you mine as to the Mode of Annoyance. I am much inclined to think that unless the Attack upon the Works in the Islands is either a total or partial surprize it will fail—should they take Alarm at

any Movement of ours, & throw over a Body of Troops on the Islands, the Approaches are so difficult that I think the Attack will fail or at least will be attended with great Loss.—The late heavy Rains have broke one of the Dams & the Meadows are much softer than they were when this Matter was under Consideration formerly.—But I should hope these Difficulties may be obviated by Gen<sup>l</sup> Potter's moving down to some convenient Distance—a Detachment of at least 3000 Men moving over to him with Artillery, the latter if concealed by a Night march I think the better. The Time of Attack previously fixed & the main Body of the Army to cross agreeably so as to destroy the Bridge, & cut off all Communication of support at the same Time. Should the Surprise fail I still think the whole Force of the Army may be drawn to a Point so as to make the Islands too warm but I think it will be effectual & more likely to bring on a general Action which it seemed to be a general Sentiment should be avoided, & which I also in our present Circumstances am of Opinion we ought not to seek.

“I shall trouble your Excell<sup>y</sup> no farther at present. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lee will give you an Account of the Observation of the Day, which affords a happy Prospect. I am &c

“J. REED.

“P.S.—General Cadwallader desires me to mention that a Party will go from Gen. Potter tomorrow to meet the 12 pounder & Howitz which are expected for the purposes Gen. Cadwallader suggested.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See a letter from Colonel Christopher Greene to Washington, dated Red Bank, November 17, 1777, in Sparks's “Correspondence of the Revolution,” Vol. II. p. 43.

(To be continued.)



JOURNAL KEPT ON BOARD THE UNITED STATES  
FRIGATE "CONSTITUTION," 1812, BY AMOS A.  
EVANS, SURGEON UNITED STATES NAVY.

CONTRIBUTED BY A. W. EVANS, ELKTON, MARYLAND.

(Continued from page 169.)

*August 19<sup>th</sup>, Wednesday.*—Cloudy and foggy. Course S. & W. Wind N. by E. Lat. observed  $41^{\circ} 42'$  N. Long. by D. R.  $55^{\circ}$  W. At 2 P.M. discovered a large sail to Leeward. Made sail and stood down for her. At 4 discovered her to be a large Frigate. When we were within about 2 or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles she hoisted English colours and fired a Gun. We stood towards her with reefed topsails without shewing our colours. She then commenced firing, and gave us several broad sides without much effect before we commenced firing. She kept wearing several times with a view probably of trying to get the weather gauge of us, which we avoided by wearing also. We hoisted our colours and fired the first gun about 15 minutes past 5 o'clock P.M., but did not come into close action until about 6 o'clock, and after 25 minutes from the time we were closely engaged she struck, having previously lost all three of her masts and Bowsprit. Her hull was much injured. Several of her guns were dismounted or otherwise rendered useless on the gun deck by our shot. She had 15 men killed and 62 wounded, most of them very dangerously, immense mischief and destruction having been done by our grape & canister shot. We had

*Killed:*

W<sup>m</sup> S. Bush, 1<sup>st</sup> Lt. Marines; and Seamen, Jacob Sago, John Brown, Caleb Smith, James Ashford, Robert Brice, James Reed.

*Wounded:*

Charles Morris, 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant, Dangerously; J. C. Aylwin, Master, slightly; Rich<sup>d</sup> Dunn, Seaman, Dangerously;

Dan<sup>l</sup> Lewis, do. do. ; Taylor, do. Slightly ; Mullen, Marine, do. ; Geo. Reynolds, Seaman, do. Beside 4 or 5 others so slightly as not to be disabled from coming to Quarters.

During the engagement she came against our stern with her bows twice, and carried away her Jib boom and injured our Taffrail. It was when in that situation that Lt. Morris and Lt. Bush were shot. Mr. Morris first jumped on the Taffrail with an intention of boarding her and was instantly wounded in the parietes of the abdomen. Mr. Bush jump<sup>d</sup> into his place the instant he fell and immediately one musket shot entered his face and pass<sup>d</sup> into his brain. Little or no other injury was done us at that time, and her quarter deck and forecastle were completely swept. Her Second Lieutenant was kill<sup>d</sup>, and the Captain, 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant, Sailing master, and one of the Master's mates wounded. She hoisted '3 or 4 flags at the commencement of the action, and struck immediately after she got clear of our stern. Her foremast and mainmast and mizzenmast fell about the time she was in contact with us. After she struck the Capt. Is. R<sup>d</sup> Dacres Esq came on board and informed us that it was His Britannick Majesty's ship La Guerriere. We sent Lt. Reed on board and finding the ship in a situation that was considered dangerous to attempt getting in we were employ<sup>d</sup> all night getting the men and crew from on board. She mounted 49 Guns and had about from 260 to 300 men, having sent previously part of her crew in prizes. Capt. Dacres is a pleasant, agreeable young man, 24 years of age.

Our crew behaved very nobly. They fought like heroes, and gave three cheers when the colours were hoisted. They also cheered when each of her masts went over the side, and when her colours were struck. Whilst she was on our stern one of her forward guns was run nearly into our Cabin window and fired, but did (fortunately) little or no execution. A shot that entered our after port on the starboard side of the gun deck killed 2 men at the after Gun and wounded one. From the firing of the first gun to the close of the action was one hour & ten minutes. The Guerriere had 15 kill<sup>d</sup> and 62 wounded.

*August 20<sup>th</sup>, Thursday.*—Pleasant breeze. Laying to all day getting the men and their effects from the *Guerriere*. Assisted Dr Irwin, Surg<sup>n</sup> of the *Guerriere*, to dress his wounded and amputate 2 arms & one thigh. Then amputated the leg of Rich<sup>d</sup> Dunn. Had no sleep all last night dressing wounded men as they came on board after dressing all our own wounded. Last night there was a large sail in sight, but she disappeared before morning. We conclude from that she was a merchantman. About 3 or 4 o'clock having got all the men from the *Guerriere* we set her on fire, and before the officer had time to get on board our Ship with the boat she blew up, presenting a sight the most incomparably grand and magnificent I have experienced. No painter, no poet or historian could give on canvas or paper any description that could do justice to the scene.

In the evening we committed the bodies of Lt. Bush and one of the *Guerriere*'s men who died of his wounds, to the deep. Employ<sup>d</sup> all day repairing our rigging, &c—Calm—Lat. ob—at meridian.

*August 21<sup>st</sup>, Friday.*—Calm. Employ<sup>d</sup> repairing our rigging, fishing our mast that had received some damage from the enemy's shot, &c. In the evening there sprung up a breeze from the — and we made sail: it increased during the fore part of the night and rain<sup>d</sup>. We were running before the wind, with double reefed Topsails, 12 Knots. Lat. ob:

*August 22<sup>d</sup>, Saturday.*—Calm—All day employ<sup>d</sup> fishing the mainmast. Our spanker boom & gaff were carried away when she ran against our stern. Lat. ob: at meridian.

At sun set discovered a sail from the top gallant yard: again lost sight of her.

*August 23<sup>d</sup>, Sunday.*—Blew very fresh and rained hard last night. Were going 11, 12 and 13 knots. Were call<sup>d</sup> to quarters about 3 o'clock A.M. having discovered a sail to Leeward. About day light came up with and spoke the Brig Rebecca from London bound to Boston, having a British license. There was a prize-master from Comm<sup>d</sup> Barney's squadron on board of her. She had been board<sup>d</sup>



some days ago by the *Guerriere*, who sent some prisoners on board and permitted her to pass in consequence of having a license. She was several times spoken by the *Guerriere* after Barney had taken her, but they did not again board her. We discovered at 9 o'clock A.M. two sails off the lee-bow, apparently frigates. We stood on with a fresh breeze and were soon out of sight of them. Before Sun set we discovered another sail ahead; made sail after her: appear to gain on her slowly, & are going 9 knots to the N.W. Lat. ob: at meridian.

*August 26<sup>th</sup>, Wednesday.*—Calm, foggy and damp all day. A small Brig in sight astern when the fog cleared off. Slight breeze from N. after night: steering W. No observations to-day. Sounded in 50 fathoms water at noon. Caught several Cod-fish to-day. A number of Mother Carey's chickens around the ship, and a number of something resembling a parcel of handsome, large beads strung on thread, of a beautiful green and pale blue colour, floating around the ship, some distance under water. Tried the current and found a slight one setting to the Northward.

*August 27<sup>th</sup>, Thursday.*—Light airs—calms—cloudy. No observation. A sloop ahead, sweeping—supposed to be an American privateer. She fired a gun and hoisted a flag, but were not near enough to distinguish the colour. She swept off from us in a calm. Sounded in 100 fathoms of water. Several chicken-hawks, and bats, and butterflies about the ship to-day.

*August 29<sup>th</sup>, Saturday.*—Pleasant breezes from N. & W—and beating up Massachusetts Bay. Several small vessels in sight. By — P.M. were in sight of Boston light house.

*August 30<sup>th</sup>, Sunday.*—Pleasant weather. The wind not permitting us to lay thro' the narrows we ran into Nantasket roads and Anchored. Sent the wounded prisoners to the Hospital on Quarantine Island. A number of boats around the ship, attracted by curiosity.

*August 31<sup>st</sup>, Monday.*—Saw 4 armed ships and a Brig this morning at day light standing in near the light house. Supposed them to [be] the enemy and instantly cut our



cables and beat down to lower part of the narrows under a heavy press of sail with a view of getting up before they would be able to cut us off. We could not understand each other's signals. By the time we arrived at the narrows discovered that they were American Frigates. They proved to be the President, Com<sup>d</sup> Rodgers; U. States, Decatur; Congress, Smith; Hornet, Laurence; and Brig Argus, Sinclair. We ran up near the Navy Yard and anchored. As we pass<sup>d</sup> Long Wharf were saluted with huzzas by a great concourse of people from that place and the different Merchant vessels. Com<sup>ds</sup> Decatur and Bainbridge, Capt. Laurence and Sinclair came on board—a number of other officers; and the vessel was crowded all day with citizens—boats surrounded us, huzzaing, &c.

Sent all the prisoners from the ship. Before sending the men overhauled their bags in which we found a great deal of cloth & silk, plundered from American merchantmen and distributed to the crew without being condemned.

*September 1-3.*—Nothing of consequence has taken place: have been in Town several times—at the Navy Yard and Hospital. Visited the Museum to-day, and had a strong Electrical shock. A report has arrived to-day of an action between two Frigates near Cape Cod—one supposed to be the Frigate Essex—(suspect it is all a Yankee hoax), in consequence of which The President, United States, and Hornet, it is said, will sail to-morrow morning for that place. 60 of our men and 4 or 5 officers have gone on board the President, a great number of her crew being on shore—sick. The scurvy has done much mischief in Comm<sup>d</sup> Rodgers' squadron.

*September 5.*—Wind from N. & E—cold rain. Were honoured with a superb dinner at Faneuil Hall by the citizens of Boston to-day. Much order and decorum were preserved on the occasion. Several excellent Patriotic toasts drank. The Hon. J<sup>no</sup> Coffin Jones presided. In the Gallery, fronting the President's chair, was a model of the Constitution Frigate with her masts fished and the Colours as they flew during the action. The Hall was surrounded with notices

of our principal Naval victories—An elegant painting of Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington by Stewart graced one side of the room, by the side of which hung the names of Preble, Wadsworth, Somers, Israel, &c—surrounded with garlands of flowers. Several guns were mounted on the Galleries. A wreath of flowers were hung above the head of Capt. Hull, who sat on the President's right hand. About 500 persons sat down to the dinner, and much harmony prevailed thro<sup>o</sup>ut. A band of musick played in the Gallery, and every toast was honored by several guns from the street. Previously to the dinner we were taken into the Assembly room at the Exchange where the subscribers were assembled, and introduced to the President. Capt [Hull ?] was greeted on his entrance into the room with the plaudits of the people.

*September 6.*—Windy—N. & E. cool. The Frigates that were to have sailed on a cruise several days ago, did not go out, but are now laying in the inner harbour. Gen<sup>l</sup> Hull's capitulation is the subject of much speculative conversation at the coffee house. A Gentleman at the dinner yesterday observed that, when he heard of it, he could not help saying—we had a *Hub Up*<sup>1</sup> and a *Hull down*—

*September 7.*—Pleasant weather. Employ<sup>d</sup> stripping the ship for the purpose of getting some new rigging, masts, &c. Went on shore in the evening with Lt. Wadsworth who is sick, and afterwards visited some of the British officers. Report on the Coffee House books that two armed Brigs and a three masted schooner are off Cape Ann to-day; probably another Yankee hoax to get us out of the harbour.

*September 8.*—Pleasant weather—Stripping the ship. The ship, as usual, crowded with visitors all day. Report that the Brig Viper is taken by a British Frigate and carried into New Providence.

Confirmation Gen<sup>l</sup> Hull's capitulation and very unfavourable reports concerning him. Ten men on the sick list. Our squadron still in port. Report of the day, that the Essex has had an engagement on the banks with a

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*: Hull up?

British Frigate. Doc<sup>t</sup> Irwin and Lt. Kent of the *Guerriere* visited us to-day. They are highly delighted with the attentions that have been paid them by the citizens of Boston. They say they are overpower<sup>d</sup> with invitations to dine, &c. I went on board the *Hornet* to-day, and found her a highly finished & handsome vessel.

*September 9.*—Pleasant weather. Dropped the ship up to the Navy Yard. Went ashore to the Exchange in the evening. Fresh reports of English vessels off the coast. Rumour that Detroit is retaken.

*September 10-11.*—A cartel arrives from Halifax, bringing, amongst other prisoners, Capt. Crane and the other officers and crew of the *Nautilus*.

The Admiral detained 6 of our seamen under pretence that they were English subjects, and sent them to England for tryal. When Comm<sup>d</sup> Rodgers heard of it he stopp<sup>d</sup> the cartel, at that moment passing with the *Guerriere's* crew, & took out of her 12 seamen to be dealt with as they treat ours. Report says that they treated our prisoners very badly—That the officers were sent into the cockpit every night & there kept till morning. That one of our Mid<sup>m</sup> who was retaken in a prize had his sword taken from him by the Capt. of the British frigate, who, after stamping on it, threw it overboard, with the expression that there was *one damn<sup>d</sup> Yankee sword gone*.

It appears that the *Statira* Frigate was very near Comm<sup>d</sup> Rodgers' squadron in the night without the latter knowing it, and that the Capt. and crew of the *Statira* confidently expected to be taken. The people of the United States are saying and doing many handsome things in consequence of the Constitution's late victory.

Supped at the Exchange last night and dined there to-day. Purchased a celebrated little work lately published in New York by the author of "*Salmagundi*," call<sup>d</sup> the "*Diverting History of John Bull and brother Jonathan*" by Hector Bull-us, which is making much noise amongst political parties in the United States.

*September 12.*—Went on shore in the evening to see Mr.



Morris, but did not go into Town. Our prize brig, the Adelaide, was retaken by the Statira and sent into Liverpool (N. S.) with Mr. Madison on board. The men returned in the cartel yesterday. The Statira fell in with him in the night on George's bank. The Statira mounts 52 guns and is reported as badly manned and otherwise much inferior to our Frigates of equal rate. The Americans that returned in the Cartel are still prisoners of war but are recommended by Admiral Sawyer for an exchange with the soldiers taken by Comm<sup>d</sup> Porter and paroll<sup>d</sup>. One British Army Lieut. and 2 private soldiers will be given in exchange for one of our Navy Lieuts. . . . Report of the day that a Fisherman saw Comm<sup>d</sup> Porter engaged with two British frigates off Cape Ann yesterday, & that he saw them capture him. More Yankee hoaxing.

*September 13.*—Went on shore. Report of the day that Frigate Essex has arrived in the Delaware, & has taken the British Sloop of war, the Alert, mounting 20 guns, & after dismantling, sent her with 300 prisoners as a Cartel into Halifax. This report comes pretty straight & is probably correct. Heard a parcel of Yankees *as usual* cursing "Madison's ruinous war"! & trying to *hoax* the Navy Officers; or, as Hoffman would say, *pouring cold water down their backs!* I wish all his Majesty's loyal subjects would return to their own much loved, dear old England, and not hang like a wen or excrescence on the back of our government: thwarting all its views, & trying to pull it under water. One domestic traitor is worse than 20 foreign, avowed, & open enemies.

*September 14.*—Went on shore & read the newspapers at the Exchange. Report of the day, That 3 British Frigates have been spoken off Cape Cod, who say they are waiting for Rodgers' squadron to come out of Boston. They have heard of the capture of the Guerriere. Confirmation of the report of yesterday concerning the Essex and Sloop of war. The Essex, it appears had disguised herself as a merchantman, when the Sloop of war commenced a fire on her. The Essex opened her ports on her for the space of 8 min-



utes. Kill<sup>d</sup> & wounded several of the enemy—none of the Essex's crew were touched.

*September 15.*—To-day Capt. Hull resigned the command of the Constitution to Capt. Bainbridge who hoisted a broad, red pendant. The crew express<sup>d</sup> publicly much dissatisfaction at the change, in consequence of which the Armourer was put in confinement on board the Gun boat for trial. They gave Capt. H. three hearty cheers as he left the ship. The scene altogether was affecting. This whole crew had a great affection for him. They urged him to remain: said they would go out with him and take the Africa: & finally requested to be transferre<sup>d</sup> on board any other vessel. On being asked by Capt. B., who it was that had ever sailed with him & refused to go again, several persons spoke—one man said he had sailed with him in the Phil<sup>a</sup> & had been badly used—that it might be altered now, but he would prefer going with Capt. H., or any of the other commanders. Several others said they had sailed with him before, and did not wish to sail again.

*September 16.*—Went on shore & was introduced by Mr. Aylwin<sup>1</sup> to the Athaeneum, a public library in the place, containing several thousand volumes of very valuable books on all subjects. In the lower room the newspapers of the day are filed. In the 3<sup>d</sup> story the books of J. Q. Adams are kept; amongst them are many German, Italian & French works. This Institution is free to strangers when introduced. No books can be taken out of the house, but persons are at liberty to sit there and read. In the evening rode out to "Fresh-pond" in a gig, & after amusing ourselves by strolling about the pond, & having taken some coffee & fried chicken for which we paid 62½ cents, returned to town, over a pleasant road, by moonlight. The Gig cost us \$1.25 each. . . . Some ladies came on board to visit the ship in our absence.

*September 17.*—Dined with Comm<sup>d</sup> Bainbridge by invitation, in company with Lieuts. Broom, Hoffman, and Contee,

<sup>1</sup> Probably W. C. Aylwin, brother to Lieutenant Aylwin, United States Navy.

Mr. Aylwin, and Doct. Trevett. Was introduced to Mrs. B., Miss B., Miss & Mrs. Hilager,<sup>1</sup> and Miss Nicholson. Had a pleasant time of it. The Wasp has arrived in the Delaware bay from a successful cruise. Got up the sheers to-day for the purpose of getting the masts out.

*September 19.*—Clear & cool. Had a general exercise of the crew in the afternoon.

*September 20.*—Dined on board of the President with Dr. Thorn to-day. Clear & cool in the evening.

*September 22.*—Received a letter to-day from Mr. G. D., New Orleans, dated early in June and forwarded by Mr. Webster. Got out our mainmast to-day. Report that Jefferson will be appointed Secretary of State, & Monroe Sec'y at War.

*September 23.*—Dined to-day at the Boston Coffee House, a plain & good dinner served by a pretty girl. Pleasant weather!

*September 25.*—Went to the Navy Agent's on business, & from thence to the Exchange & read the Coffee house books & newspapers.

*September 26.*—Went on shore & in company with W. C. Aylwin Esq. walk<sup>d</sup> over the Town, saw the Theatre, Franklin's monument, State house, &c. Had an elegant view of the Town & surrounding country from the top of the State house. Saw the Senate & representative chambers; in the former are a musket—horseman's sword, cap, & drum taken from the Hefsians at the Battle of Bennington, together with a framed complimentary letter to Gen<sup>l</sup> Stark from the House of Representatives of Mass. on the occasion; in the latter a Cod-fish is hung up as the staple commodity of the State. Over the Speaker's chair is a noble head of Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington. The seats are well arranged, but owing to the number of the members are crowded & leave no room to write—having no tables. They go into the adjoining rooms when they wish to do anything of that kind. The Council chamber is a neat, well finished but plain room. In

<sup>1</sup> Sister and mother of Mrs. Bainbridge.

one of the rooms are the 4 inscription stones of a monument that formerly stood on Beacon hill, but have been removed in consequence of the ground on which it stood being proved to be private property. They point out the principal events & most prominent, fortunate features of the revolution & those that led to it, and an exhortation to their posterity not to forget the expense, toil & trouble with which the surrounding blessings were achieved. Report on the coffee house books that Admiral Sir Jno. B. Warren has arrived at Halifax with 4 ships of the line & 12 Frigates.

*September 27.*—Walk<sup>d</sup> around Town with Lt. Contee & saw many pretty girls, coming from & going to church. Cool & cloudy in the evening—wind N. & W. Corroboration of the report that “*Marmont*” has been defeated with considerable loss, in Spain, by Lord Wellington. Gen<sup>l</sup> Hull has arrived at his seat near Boston. Much speculation on his conduct. The British, Yankees, & Federalists take his part, which is a very suspicious circumstance.

*September 28.*—Dined at the exchange to-day. Went in the Evening to the opening of the Theatre for the Season—to see *The Exile of Liberia* performed, with Catherine & Petruchio, or *Taming of the Shrew*, as altered by Garrick from Shakspeare, for the afterpiece. Both pieces were murdered: all the parts being completely overacted. The house was thin. The pit received the whipping part of *Taming the Shrew* with great applause!! Mr. Young, a mouthing, hectoring, bully like fellow acted the parts of Daran & Petruchio. Mrs. Young, a beautiful woman, the part of “*Alexina*.” Mr. Entwistle in the part of “*Sirvitz*” received much applause from the Gallery & pit. He is a tolerable Buffoon & Blackguard song singer. The Orchestra was tolerably filled. The Theatre is small, neat & convenient. The Scenery did not meet my expectations. The actors were drefs<sup>d</sup> out of all character: Russian sailors being drefs<sup>d</sup> like English sailors. The Gov. of Liberia in an American *Colonel's* uniform, with but little alteration, &c—But few females attended—indeed, the Navy officers appeared to form the major part of the audience. I would



recommend Hamlet's advice to the players to be attentively studied by Mr. Young.

*October 2.*—Went to the Theatre in the Evening & saw "The Foundling of the forest" performed, or rather butchered, with a new afterpiece call<sup>d</sup> "Guerriere & Constitution," a very foolish, ridiculous thing.

*October 5.*—Went on shore & purchased some books. Read the papers at the Coffee house, &c—More & more disgusted with the Yankees. Purchased some medical & other books at a book store.

*October 6.*—Went on shore to the Navy agent's with a requisition & from thence to the Apothecary shop & bargained for the medicines.

*October 7–8.*—Went to see 2 Regiments of Infantry, some Artillery & Cavalry reviewed on the commons near the "Mal." They look<sup>d</sup> & marched well, but the Infantry fired very badly. The Boston Huzzars are an elegant corps, & the dress superior to anything of the kind I have seen. They are uniformed after the Polish huzzars. Sargent's light Infantry are a fine company; march, fire & perform the different evolutions with great precision & exactness.

*October 9.*—Yesterday the Frigates President, U. States, & Congress, & Brig Argus sailed on a cruise. All hands employ<sup>d</sup> busily rigging the ship & taking in stores. Carpenters & Joiners still at work.

*October 13.*—Cleared up in the night very cool. Considerable white frost & very cold this morning. Wind N. & W. Very cold for the season all the evening & night. Wind blew a gale during the day. It is now 12 o'clock at night. A sick man who is delirious insists that he will die at 2 o'clock, & is much disturbed when he hears the bell struck, & counts every half hour. He obstinately refuses to have a blister applied behind his neck, saying it may be done at 2 o'clock. I have requested the officer of the deck to omit striking the Bell at  $\frac{1}{2}$  after one & two: & intend to sit up till that hour to watch the effect of firm impression on a debilitated frame. He has complete possession of the superstition of his messmates.



*October 14.*—The sick man mentioned above is still alive, and much better. Receive very distressing news of the Elections in Maryland. If all the enemies of this country were in Hell, Democracy would still have been triumphant in Md.

*The Friends of Peace & Commerce!* What a farce! And what miserable dunces the people are to be so easily gull<sup>d</sup>! Alex<sup>r</sup> C. Hanson too is Elected to represent the people of Md. in Congress! I am sick of this rascally world—

*October 15.*—Slept ashore at the Exchange last night. This is the first night I have slept out of the ship since we have been in port.

(To be continued.)

ANTHONY WAYNE: HIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE  
INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST.

BY MAJOR JOHN BROOKE, SURGEON U.S.A.

In the graveyard of the old Welsh church at Radnor a simple monument marks the final resting-place of the remains of Major-General Anthony Wayne, and it tells to the passer-by that "his military achievements are consecrated in the history of his country and in the hearts of his countrymen."

Of no man could this be more truthfully said; yet the military achievements of Wayne which are most prominent in the memories and hearts of the majority of his countrymen to-day are probably not those which, considered alone, were of the greatest value to his country. We remember him as the skilful general who covered the retreat at Brandywine; who gathered food from under the guns of the British pickets for the starving army at Valley Forge; who was grand at Monmouth and magnificent at Green Springs; who wrested Georgia from a combined enemy, fighting on either hand British veterans and barbarous savages; who is said to have sat in the councils of war silent and unconcerned, until the question was asked him, "What would you do, general?" "Fight, sir." To many of us he is "Mad Anthony,"—the man whose brilliant storming of Stony Point won the admiration of a continent, and a medal from a Congress which expected from every man all the duty that was in his power, heart and soul, without hope of fee or reward.

Brilliant as were the services of Wayne during the Revolution, they cannot be compared, when the magnitude of results is considered, with his campaign of 1792-94 against the Indians of the Northwest. In the former he was one of many brave and patriotic leaders under whose united

wisdom and patient endurance the war was brought to a successful close and a new nation given to the world. In the latter he was the one man who planned, and through two years of hardship and toil carried to a brilliant end, a campaign which wrested from jealous neighbors and savage foes a domain greater than the empire of Germany and richer than the broad realm which was swayed by the sceptre of Charles the Great.

At the close of the Revolution the immense territory lying between the Ohio and Mississippi, comprising the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, was claimed by New York, Massachusetts, Virginia, and Connecticut. Subsequently these States ceded their claims to the general government, and by the Constitutional Congress of 1787 it was organized as the Northwest Territory, under the celebrated "Ordinance of '87." The land was thrown open for occupation, and efforts were made to induce settlers to migrate to the new Territory. It offered special advantages to the soldiers of the disbanded army of the Revolution, many of whom were poor and without homes. Nature had made it a settler's paradise, ready for him to enter. The climate was temperate and the seasons regular. Long stretches of grass-covered prairie were broken by low ranges of densely wooded hills. The soil was of unknown depth and marvellous fertility. It was watered by a thousand streams, and bordered on the south and west by mighty rivers and by the chain of great lakes on the north. Animal food in abundance was to be had for the mere taking. The waters of the rivers and lakes teemed with choice fish; deer and bears roamed through the forests on the hills, and herds of buffalo and antelope fattened on the rich grass of the great plains.

But the price had yet to be paid in blood; the old battle between civilization and barbarism had again to be fought. Boone, Kenton, the Poes, and others of like mould had broken the power of the savages on the dark and bloody ground. They had crossed the Ohio and taken their stand on the other side, boldly proclaiming that the line between

themselves and the advancing whites should be drawn on the banks of the Beautiful River.

Many of these Indians were old-time enemies of the Americans. Advancing civilization had driven the Shawnees from Carolina to Pennsylvania, where they claimed that Penn had given them hunting-grounds forever; but the restless tide of immigration kept them moving onward until they reached the shores of the Great Lakes. They had fought with the English during the Revolution, and in the Colonial wars they were always to be found on the side of the French. The Delawares were bitter enemies of the Americans. Crowded by settlers from their native homes, bullied and humiliated by the Six Nations, they left their bloody trail across the Wyoming Valley and joined the Shawnees in the hunting-grounds of the great Northwest. Here a powerful combination was formed which included most of the neighboring tribes, and was known as the Miami Confederacy. The master-spirit of the confederacy was the notorious Mohawk chieftain, Joseph Brant. He was yet in the prime of life. The years that had gone by since the close of the Revolution had not tamed his savage nature, and he was ready to re-enact the bloody scenes of Oriskany, Minisink, and Cherry Valley. The defeat at Elmira rankled in his breast, and his ears still rung with the shouts of the victorious Americans, "Remember Wyoming!"

The attitude of the English and Canadians had much to do with the bold stand taken by the Indians against the advance of Americans beyond the Ohio. Time had not yet reconciled the English to the loss of the Colonies, and the possessions which they had relinquished on paper were abandoned slowly, with reluctance and regret. The valuable fur trade of the immense region bordering the lakes was in the hands of Canadian traders, to remain so only while the Indians were dominant. The treaty of 1783 provided for the surrender to the United States of all the remaining territory east of the Mississippi and south of the lakes; nevertheless, English troops still garrisoned Detroit, Niagara, Mackinac, and Miami; British agents and Cana-



dian traders had their posts on the banks of the Maumee, and British guns were in the hands of the savage warriors and their white allies.

On the organization of the Northwest Territory, General St. Clair was appointed governor, and the capital established at Fort Washington, now the site of Cincinnati. Several other settlements were soon established, notably at Marietta and Columbia, and in two years the white population was estimated at many thousands. In 1789 the governor held a council at Fort Harmer, nominally with the Six Nations and representatives of some separate tribes. A treaty was made by which much of the disputed territory was yielded to the Americans, the boundaries established, and provision made for certain payments in compensation. But the western tribes had refused to take part in the treaty; it was utterly repudiated by Brant and most of the other leaders in the confederacy, and practically no attention was paid to it by the great majority of the Indians. The horrible scenes witnessed in Kentucky a few years before were soon re-enacted across the Ohio. Boats descending the river were attacked, the occupants murdered, and the cargoes carried away or destroyed. Settlements were raided and burned, and the men, women, and children carried away into captivity or tortured and slain.

In September, 1790, General Harmer's expedition left Fort Washington for the head-waters of the Maumee. A few villages were destroyed, but the army was soon defeated by the Indians under Little Turtle, and driven back ingloriously to Fort Washington. A year later St. Clair started from the same place, with a force of two thousand men, for the purpose of breaking the power of the Miami confederacy and establishing a strong military post in the heart of their country. He was handicapped by ill health and an army that had little training and less discipline. How the expedition ended, and the terrible fate of nearly half its members, are too well known to be repeated. When the news of the disaster reached Philadelphia there was a feeling of almost consternation. For once the calm spirit of

Washington was roused to bitter, wrathful invective against St. Clair for allowing himself to be surprised. The opponents of the administration made the most of the terrible details, and violent opposition was raised against further prosecution of the war.

In spite of the popular clamor, steps were soon taken by the government towards making further efforts to maintain its rights and protect the settlers. The army was reorganized as the "Legion of the United States." It was to consist of the requisite number of officers, twelve hundred and eighty enlisted men, and to be commanded by an officer with the rank of major-general.

Wayne was selected for the new command. Nine years had gone by since he sheathed his sword as he saw the last of his beloved Pennsylvania line embark at Charleston on the return to their homes. The time had been passed amid cares the most perplexing and trials the most harassing, and the new call to duty came when he had just returned to his ancestral home with health impaired and fortune broken. The command was the most important, the duties it required the most arduous, the responsibilities it involved the most momentous, that had been intrusted to any one man since the time when Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the Army of the Revolution. How "mad" Wayne was considered by his contemporaries to be we may judge from the fact of his selection for such duty, as well as from the nature of the instructions given him by the Secretary of War,—instructions which virtually consigned to his judgment and discretion the question of peace or war with England.

He left for Pittsburgh in the spring of 1792, to superintend the work of recruiting men for the new army. It was no easy task. The work for which it was well known the army was to be raised (fighting Indians) was then, as it is to-day, the most arduous and thankless in which the soldier can engage. Harmer's inglorious campaign had not been forgotten. The horrors of St. Clair's defeat were fresh in the minds of all, and the bones of half his army still lay

whitening on the banks of the Wabash. But in spite of all obstacles the number of satisfactory enlistments gradually increased. Late in summer the camp was moved to a point a few miles below Pittsburgh, where the Legion remained until spring, when the camp was broken and the march taken up for Fort Washington. In October the command again moved, this time towards the north, and to a point near the scene of St. Clair's defeat. The place was named Greeneville, and preparations were made for passing the winter.

The year and more that had passed since the organization of the Legion was commenced had not been wasted by Wayne and his officers. The men were constantly drilled, taught to load and fire while moving, and instructed for action in every emergency which might arise. Strict discipline was established and maintained, and with discipline came, as always, confidence.

The winter passed drearily at Greeneville. They were almost in the heart of the Indian country, cut off from communication with the outside world, and surrounded by crafty and treacherous foes. Wayne shared the hardships and privations of his men, and personally saw that discipline and instruction were kept up. The sentinel on post might know when to expect the conventional visit from the officer of the day, but he never knew at what hour he might see the form of the commander-in-chief emerge from the wintry gloom.

Early in summer the Legion was re-enforced by sixteen hundred mounted volunteers from Kentucky, and then the army took up its march for the stronghold of the Indians under the guns of the English garrison at the rapids of the Maumee. The move was a bold one, but there was in it nothing of *madness*. The Legion had been drilled and disciplined for over a year; the men had been tried in skirmishes with lurking bands of savages; the Kentuckians were skilled in Indian warfare, and led by an officer of experience in the Revolution. On the march nothing was left to chance; every possible emergency was foreseen,



every contingency provided for. The men were marched with open files in order that lines might be formed and extended rapidly and without confusion. Lurking bands of savages hovered around the army, and frequent but unsuccessful attempts were made at surprise. The march was made with such stealth and watchfulness as to win for Wayne from his savage foes the sobriquet of "The Black Snake," and the title of "The Chief Who Never Sleeps."

The fatal camp in which St. Clair was attacked in the early morning three years before was on ground that was surrounded by dense thickets of undergrowth, by trunks of fallen trees, and occasionally broken by ravines. His men lay in two lines, with a small force of undisciplined troops in advance. The attack on the latter was sudden and utterly unexpected. They retreated panic-stricken on the first line, producing confusion and dismay. Wayne's camps were always made on open ground, as early in the day as practicable, in the form of a hollow square, and with a breastwork on every side of the best which time and available material would permit. There was no flank to be turned, no rear to be attacked and thrown into confusion, no advance to be panic-stricken and driven back.

The army halted at the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee; and here, in the very heart of the Indian country, almost within the sound of the English guns, Wayne built a strong work. With a touch of pertinent audacity, he named it "Fort Defiance."

In the States the popular feeling was against the prosecution of the war. The generations which had made the broad fields and peaceful homes of Pennsylvania and New York possible had long since passed away. The story of their hardships and privations, of captivity, of horrible tortures and murders, were known to their descendants only as tradition, and these believed that the questions could now be settled by peaceful conference rather than through the horrors of war. A commission of prominent citizens, appointed by the government, met the Indians in council early in 1793, but their labor was in vain. The savages professed



a desire for peace, but they insisted on the condition that the settlers should recross the Ohio; that they should be "let alone." While at Greeneville, Wayne had made an attempt at peaceful settlement, without result. After building Fort Defiance he again, and for the last time, sent proposals of peace. The message was considered by the Indians in council, and Little Turtle, the wily chief who had defeated Harmer and St. Clair, urged that the proffered terms be accepted, but he was taunted with cowardice and overruled.

On the 15th of August the army moved out from Fort Defiance towards the English garrison at the rapids of the Maumee, near which the fighting force of the savages lay. A selected detachment of mounted troops marched sufficiently far in advance to allow ample time for lines to be formed when the Indians should be discovered. They were struck on the morning of the 20th, lying in ambush at a point where the ground was either thickly strewn with fallen timber or covered by a thick growth of tall grass,—a choice spot for savage tactics. Their lines were well formed; they had the choice of position, with a perfect knowledge of the ground, and no doubt expected an easy victory. Wayne at once formed his lines, and as soon as the position of the Indians was fairly determined he divided the cavalry into two detachments, directing each to make a *détour* and strike the savages on the flanks. Then the infantry charged. The men rushed impetuously through the high grass, sprang over the fallen trees, drove the savages from their shelter at the point of the bayonet, and poured volley after volley into their backs, loading and firing as they ran. The Indians had no time to re-form or gain cover; they were routed, terror-stricken, dismayed, and fled in wild confusion. The pursuit was continued for some two miles. So impetuous had been the charge and so rapid the flight that a large number of the troops were unable to come up in time to join in the pursuit. The actual loss of the Indians is not known, but it may be imagined from the fact that the nine Wyandot chiefs present at the fight were all slain.

In contrast with this battle one cannot but recall that sad July day on the banks of the Monongahela, less than forty years before. There a major-general of the British army, a man old in the service and trained in all the arts of war, with a command of thirteen hundred men, the majority of whom were veteran regulars, was met by a force of some eight hundred Indians and French. Dressed in their brilliant uniforms, with waving banners and glittering arms, in solid columns and with cadenced step, the British troops marched to the sound of the fife and drum as though out for a dress parade; yet in a few hours more than half their number were lying wounded or dead on the field, and the remainder fleeing like frightened sheep. On the banks of the Maumee a Pennsylvania farmer, whose lessons in the art of war had been learned only in the camp and on the field, whose men were such as the British general had taunted and despised, on a field of the enemy's own choice, defeated and utterly routed a force twice as great as that of his own engaged, crushed the confederacy of the Northwest, and opened a pathway for civilization to the shores of the Great Lakes.

Wayne destroyed the habitations and cornfields around the battle-field and for several miles on both sides of the river, not forgetting the property of the British Indian agent, who, it was well known, had excited the savages to hostilities and furnished them material aid. A few days later the army leisurely returned to Fort Defiance, and subsequently retired to the present site of Fort Wayne in Indiana, where a strong work was erected.

The new camp was soon surrounded by delegations from the various tribes, but all was now changed. The hatchet had been buried. The erstwhile bold and defiant warrior was now the meek and humble suppliant; the war-paint had been exchanged for glittering trinkets and gaudy feathers, and the tomahawk and rifle were replaced by the pipe of peace. The treaty of Greeneville followed, and civilization again took up its march towards the great Northwest.

There is a tradition that Wayne told the savages that, should the treaty ever be broken, he would fight them as long as there was an Indian alive, and if he were dead he would come out of his grave to fight them. The treaty was sacredly kept for about seventeen years. No outbreak of moment occurred until the time when Tecumseh and the Prophet thought they saw their opportunity in the impending war between the United States and England.

A year later it became necessary that a commissioner should be sent to the Northwest to receive for the United States the posts which the provisions of Jay's treaty stipulated should be given up by the English. It was but fitting that this commission should be intrusted to Wayne; that his own hands should receive for his country the substantial honors which he himself had won; that the end should crown the work. It was but just finished when death came to him in that lonely block-house at Presque Isle, in the meridian of life and the zenith of his fame. He was buried at the foot of the flag-staff, under the shadow of the stars and stripes for which he had fought so long and so well.

In 1809 the remains of General Wayne were removed to the family burying-ground in the graveyard of old St. David's, at Radnor, Pennsylvania, and a simple monument erected by the Society of the Cincinnati. A few years ago the original grave at Presque Isle was marked by a block-house, the counterpart of that in which he died.

The quiet old graveyard at Radnor is an appropriate resting-place for one whose days were passed amid such stirring scenes. He lived with men of heroic mould, and he sleeps with the dust of the brave. Under the shadows of the gray old walls lie men who were at Gettysburg and Antietam, North Point and Lundy's Lane, heroes of Brandywine and Monmouth and Trenton; one who was with Nelson on the "Victory" at Trafalgar, one who carried his rifle with Morgan at Saratoga and Quebec, and one who fought side by side with the grandfather of Wayne, under William of Orange, on the banks of the Boyne.



## A PHILADELPHIA MERCHANT IN 1768-1791.

CONTRIBUTED BY ARTHUR ERVIN BROWN.

[Joseph Erwin, the writer of the following narrative, was the second son of Arthur Erwin, of Erwinna, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, a Scotch-Irish immigrant of considerable means, who purchased largely of lands in that county immediately after his arrival in 1768, and at a later date in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, and Steuben County, New York. In 1776-77 he was colonel, respectively, of the Fourth and Second Battalions of Bucks County militia, in which rank several letters and orders, which are still in existence, were addressed to him by General Washington, just previous to the battle of Trenton. He was shot and killed in Luzerne County, by some unknown person, June 9, 1791.

His third son, William, mentioned in the narrative, was born in Ireland in 1760, and was commissioned captain in the First Regiment of Foot in the Continental service May 14, 1781, a few months before he became of age. Thirty years later he represented Bucks County for several terms in the State Senate. He married, in 1782, Achsah, daughter of Dr. John and Rachel (Robeson) Rockhill, of Hunterdon County, New Jersey.

Joseph Erwin never married, and after 1791, when the sketch closes, he lived as a country gentleman, spending the winters in Philadelphia and the summers at Erwinna, where he died in 1807. A miniature by St. Mémin shows him to have been a man of fine and distinguished presence. His will, dated December 2, 1803, bequeaths "to my much valued friends Priestly Nevill, Esquire, Major-General Thomas Craig, John Bohlen, Benjamin R. Morgan, and William Moore Smith Esquires and Doctor C. Wistar, fifty Dollars each in Testimony of my sincere and unfeigned regard and friendship, which small sum I request them to accept of and therewith purchase some mark of Remembrance."

The narrative given below was found among a number of methodically arranged papers, and was indorsed by him on the back, "Sketch of my Progress through Life from my arrival in America in the Year 1768 until the Year 1791."]

I was born on the 24<sup>th</sup> Day of July 1758, in the Parish of Cromlin, which is in the County of Antrim in the north of Ireland. My Father, the late Arthur Erwin, embarked at Newry, together with his Family in the beginning of



May 1768;—We went on Board of a Ship called the Newry Assistance commanded by William Cheevers, then lying at anchor in Carlingford Bay; my Mother died at Sea on our Passage to Philada. about the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1768. When we landed at Philadelphia, which was about the 18<sup>th</sup> of August, I was a few weeks past ten years old: The first property my Father bought in America, was two Plantations in Tinicum Township, Bucks County, one of which containing 416 acres & 137 P. is now my Property, was conveyed to my Father by William Pidgeon Esq<sup>r</sup> of Burlington County, and was known by the name of the Red-house Farm: at this place we settled about the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1769, having the preceeding Autumn and Winter resided at Dyers-town, in a House belonging to my late Uncle William Erwin Esquire. About the 28<sup>th</sup> July 1771 my Father married Mary Kennedy, his 2<sup>d</sup> wife; I lived but a short time with them afterwards, for on the 26<sup>th</sup> Day of November 1771 I left Home accompanied by my Father and came to Philadelphia the 1<sup>st</sup> Day of the Fall Fair; my Father then placed me in a Store in Second Street kept by Thomas Irwin, in whose Family I lived until the 28<sup>th</sup> of August 1772, at which time I was bound an Apprentice for four years to James Budden and William Striker, a respectable Commercial House then trading under the Firm of Budden & Striker, being then fourteen years and 1 month old. I continued in their Counting House until the Term of my apprenticeship had expired, which was on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August 1776; I continued attending to M<sup>r</sup> Budden's Business for above a year after the expiration of my apprenticeship,—he residing in the Country; and occasionally I assisted M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Lawrence, then City Vendue-master, who was partially concerned with M<sup>r</sup> B. in some foreign Trade and speculations, during my apprenticeship I was indulged with certain privileges of sending small adventures to the West Indies, in which Trade the House I was in had several vessels constantly employed; by the profits of these adventures I nearly paid all my expences,—in the year 76, 77. I had a Salary for attending to M<sup>r</sup> Budden's business, and

besides that I made in the course of 6 months upwards of £700. Continental money, chiefly by buying up Liquors and selling them to the Commissaries of the Army. In the winter of 78, 79 I was a Journal Clerk, together with M<sup>r</sup> Graff, now Dy. Col<sup>r</sup> to the United States Lottery for which I received 7 dollars a day; early in the spring of 79 I entered into the service of Blair M<sup>c</sup>Clenachan, then a very opulent and extensive merchant, as his principle clerk, and continued with him until the month of July 80. When I left him, he made me a liberal compensation for my services, gave me a handsome consignment to France, for which Country I was about to embark, and besides laying in for me at his own expense, all my necessary Sea Stores, he directed me to apply to my own use, over and above my Commission, 50 Guineas out of the proceeds of his consignment, as a Reward for extraordinary Services. I embarked as a passenger on board of the ship Jay, a Letter of Marque carrying 18 Nines and six Carronades, at Chester the 14<sup>th</sup> of July 1780 and landed at Brest the 1<sup>st</sup> of September following in co<sup>r</sup> with James Searle Esq; at L'Orient, where the Ship arrived I sold my consignments, which consisted of about one Third of the Cargo of a ship of 350 Tons. M<sup>r</sup> Searle who was then on a publick Embassy offered to me the appointment of Secy. Returned from France with Cap<sup>t</sup> Truxton and landed in Ph<sup>a</sup> the 6<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> 1780 and cleared by my Voyage about \$1000—In the winter I bought a quantity of Sugars from Patrick Moore to carry to Baltimore, where they were then very high. I sold them to John M<sup>c</sup>Henry of that place before they arrived for \$200. Dollars profit.—In the Spring of 1781—a Privateer belonging to Baltimore having taken a valuable prize off our Capes, the Officer who bro<sup>t</sup> the prize in Ph<sup>a</sup> had an agency for the Ship's crew, took me into partnership,—and the prize consisting chiefly of dry Goods bound to New York. We bought largely at the Marshal's Sale, opened a Store in Chesnut Street and cleared, when we settled our accounts in Sep<sup>t</sup> 1781 about \$1600. On the 6<sup>th</sup> of October 81 I embarked at New-castle on

Board of the Ship S<sup>t</sup> James, Cap<sup>t</sup> Truxton to go again to France, being then 23 years of age.—I had 300 Guineas of my own in Bills on the French Government and about £2500. Sterling in Bills of Exchange and some Specie to lay out on Commission; about £1500. of which belonged to the late M<sup>r</sup> Robert Bridges, who with several more of my Friends had agreed to establish me as a Factor, either at Nantz or L'Orient.—On the 10<sup>th</sup> of October, the 4<sup>th</sup> Day after I embarked we fell in with a Twenty-gun Ship and in a severe action which lasted two Hours and a Half, I was shot with a musquet Ball, through my right Shoulder, and lost the use of my right Arm.—The 15<sup>th</sup> November 1781 I was carried on Shore at L'Orient in France from on board the Ship St James, Cap<sup>n</sup> Truxton, scarcely expected to recover of the wound I had received, by an ounce Ball having entered my Right Shoulder and passed nearly thro' was cut out of my Back.—While confined to my Bed, I established a Partnership in commercial Business with E. I. Salomon, a Resident in L'Orient and Jackson Reynolds, who was a passenger with me in the Ship, commencing the 1<sup>st</sup> Day of January 1782—as soon as I was able to travel, which was the 16<sup>th</sup> of March 82 I set off for the hot Baths of Barrage in the South of France for my Health. John Erwin, my oldest brother, died in this month. When the Peace was about to take place we dissolved our partnership which continued for 12 months. in which Time we cleared 24000 Livers Tournois, of which my share was 8000 Livers, \$1600.—& on a settlement made with E. I. Salomon who took the Stock on hand, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1783, after deducting the monies I had received out of the Funds of the House, I had a Ballance to receive of 4900 Livers 11 Sous & 11 Deniers; 1000 Livers of which I received in cash, which is \$200. the Remainder, 3540 Livers, I received an Obligation for payable in six months;—this Note I negociated with Williams, Moore & Co. for a Bill of Exchange payable at 30 Days sight for \$708. drawn on Philip and George Moore of Philad<sup>a</sup> making 908 Dollars, besides this, I had the proceed of 100 Guineas in the Hands of



the late Robert Bridges, distinct from my Partnership; for in consideration of the Wound I had received in the Defence of Cap<sup>n</sup> Truxton's Ship he not only refused to receive my passage-money, which was 20 Guineas, but offered me the privilege of shipping a private Adv<sup>r</sup> of 100 G<sup>s</sup> freight free; the freight would have been 15 p<sup>r</sup> c<sup>t</sup> on the net Proceeds in Ph<sup>a</sup>. The account sales amounted to £283:16:3.— I sailed from L'Orient in the Ship General Washington, Cap<sup>n</sup> Cassan, on the 16<sup>th</sup> Day of March 1783 and landed on Willing and Morris's Wharf on the 23<sup>d</sup> of April following. I was worth then about \$1600.—

The 24<sup>th</sup> of July 1783 I bought to the amount of £631:19: from Hy<sup>m</sup> Salomon, a Broker. These Certificates I kept until the Beginning of April 1785 when the Opening of the Land Office &C. raised them to about 8/9 in the pound—at this Time I left them in the Hands of Matthew McConnel, Broker, to sell and went into the Country to my Brother William's. My Father at that time became a considerable adventurer in the lands of the State, the choice of which was determined by Lottery, and conceiving this to be an advantageous Speculation for me he took the Certificates and paid a part of them on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April 1785, to Francis Johnston R. G.—for Warrants to be issued for 1000 Acres of Land for my use. The first Tract was N<sup>o</sup> 47. This was almost the first choice of Location on the Tioga, for except N<sup>o</sup> 1, Lockhart's Tract, in the point, the lower numbers were mostly located on the waters of Alegheny, French Creek &C. where the Lands were better and not settled upon by Connecticut Intruders.—

On the 2<sup>d</sup> of September 1783 I accompanied Blair Mc-Clenachan Esq. to the Island of Martinique to assist him in the settlement of some extensive commercial Concerns he had in that Island, with agents he had employed there previous to the peace;—he recovered considerable Sums of Money which was in the Hands of different Merchants: my speaking French was very useful to him in these Transactions and on our return to Philad<sup>a</sup> he made me a handsome compensation for my Services.—We sailed from



Chester on the 2<sup>d</sup> of Sep. 1783 on Board the Ship William, Cap<sup>n</sup> Paul Cox, returned in the same Ship and landed at Chester on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December following.—

The Summer of 1784 I passed in the Country with my Brother William.—In the Fall of that year I gathered 130 Barrels of Winter Aples which I sold for \$2. a Barrel—not to be idle.

The Summer of 85 I spent chiefly in Bucks County at my Brother William's, the Winter in Philadelphia and some part of the Time in New York, the Summer of 1786 I spent in Maryland, chiefly at Doct<sup>r</sup> Scott's in Annapolis, who is my grand Uncle,—for 12 months after this I was much of my Time at Gen<sup>l</sup> Craig's at Norristown with W. M. Smith Esq. November the 16<sup>th</sup> 1787 I was appointed a Warden of the Port of Philadelphia, in which Office I continued until February 89 when on certain pecuniary arrangements taking place between my Father and myself, at his Request I resigned.—About the latter end of April 1789, my Friend Samuel Caldwell having received a paralytick Shock, I was solicited by him and his Friends, and by the late Cap<sup>n</sup> Allibone, to accept of his Offices—the fees on collecting the Tonnage Revenue I was to pay him one half of;—besides these appointments the late Judge Hopkinson, appointed me one of the Surveyors of the Port for Shipping & Merchandize damaged at Sea, in which he associated me with Clement Biddle and Nathaniel Falconer Esquires. The Fees & C. of these Offices together amounted to \$1000. a Year. In April 1791 I gave up these appointments at the Desire of my Father, in order to spend the Summer with him in the Genesee Country, on his promising handsome advantages in the Lands of that Country; I had my Horse saddled ready to join him, having appointed to meet him at Newtonpoint, Tioga County, where M<sup>r</sup> Pickering was about to hold a Treaty with the Indians, when the account of his Assassination was brought to me by express.

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA, 1756.

CONTRIBUTED BY GEORGE S. SCHIVELY, M.D.

[Letter of David Shultze, of Upper Hanover Township, Philadelphia County, to Robert Greenway, of Philadelphia.]

UPPER HANOVER, Januar 18, 1756

MR ROBERT GREENWAY,

HONoured SIR.

Your favour of the 8 instant I have received together with the Powder and Lead you have with Mr. Ross been pleased to procure for us from Mr. Evan Morgan, which gives a good Deal of Satisfaction to the inhabitants in these parts, and for which we shall be very much obliged to you. We shall endeavour to dispose of the same and send part of it to such places where we shall think it most necessary, and shall give such Directions to the Persons to whom we send it, not to spent it or waste it to no purpose but to make only use of against those it is designed. We shall keep the Remainder here in order to make use of in Case of further incursions, or to be send elsewhere upon order from the Commissioners on Emergency, according to Mr. Morgans Directions.

As Amunition is a very necessary Article, of which every Body should be carefull to provide himself with at such Times of Danger, so we may easy guess, what a Mortification it may be for any Company to see themselves obliged to leave off fighting with such Murderers for want of it, as some Times happens to be the Cause.

As to what I mentioned in my last Letter of the Conduct of the Commissioners at Maccongy: I have since been told, That it partly happened by a Mistake in the Language. Jeremiah Trexler was asked by them, wether he intended to serve as a Captain of Militia or Soldiers, who answered as free Parthy, which was understood a Militia and there-

fore such a Commission was given and no further orders. But since That Time Mr. Benjamin Franklin, is returned who is a Gentleman of great Credit, Ability and Reputation, and is doing all what is possible for the Defence of the frontiers; so That we are in hopes, soon to hear of better news from those Quarters.

Since the skirmishes of the first and fourth Instant, we have had no advise of further Mischief done in those parts, But we hear That those Murderers have done much Damage to the West of Susquehannah.

On writing this the 20<sup>th</sup> January, News is Just brought here, That the Indians have on Saturday killed eleven persons out of Thirteen at the Gape several miles beyond Nazareth, one of them they name young Pember [Boemper] son in law to Frederick Hoeth. T'is said the eleven fell at the first fire, only the two escaped, of which you may have surer advise before this may reach your hand.

God Knows what will become of the Province, if no stopp can be put to the incursions of these cruel Monsters until next Spring and Summer when the woods are green.

As the Country is so populous, numbers of Troops and Volunteers may be raised to oppose the Barbarians, without having the City Militia necessary for our Assistance who probably with the Lower Parts of the Province may expect hot work enough from the Sea Side if a war breaks out with the french.

Provision I think could likewise be had enough in the Country as yet, without getting any from Town—But the Assistance the Country People expects from their Capital is; Good Orders from their Magistrates, Arms, Ammunition and Money, which last Commodity is inexpressible scarce and without which No WAR nor defence of a Country can be carried on with effect.

Though we hope affairs may soon go better. Since we Hear that a good number of Companies are intended to be raised, each to consist of fifty men and each man to have 45 shillings per month besides provision, Some of them are already marched to the frontiers. But as this will require



a very large sum of Money to hold it out but one single year, yet it will be better to spend triple so much as the sum already granted for that Purpose Then to permit those Beast-like Creatures to turn the Province into its former State of Wilderness—Since it will be easier to defend a Province than to reconquer one after taken once by the Enemy.

As concerning the Militia act, we don't see if much effectual will be done with, by reason of the continual Disputes between those that are for and those that are or pretend to be principled against bearing arms. Since the latter are not obliged thereby, to do at least Something to the Satisfaction of the former on that head.

Besides there is another Sad Article to be considered, That if a Body of Country Militia, that constituted of Freeholders and married men who had large families, should happen to be unfortunate in a Battle, and be massacred by the Barbarians, one may easy imagine, to what a state of Distress and Calamity the poor afflicted Widdows and orphans would be thereby reduced, which however could not be avoided, in Case of great Invasions, but as long as the Indians appear not too numerous, a number of regular Companies of couragious unmarried fellows would possibly be a match for them, if commanded by brave and active Captains.

Above that there are examples that often little has been done by Country Militia in Times of necessity, as seems to have been the case in Scotland and England at the late Rebellion.

Also the Jersey Troops, before the settlement of Gnadenhütten was burnt made such an appearance, as if they would make the whole Indian Country tremble, but when They saw the Place in flames, They not only supposed the number of Indians duple and triple, but thought them multiplied a Thirty Times.

If at that Time the inhabitants of the Uppermost Townships of the County of Bucks had immediately sent up a number of Men to assist the Upper Inhabitants to guard the



Frontiers between great Lehigh and Delaware, on the other Side the Mountains (which part was well inhabited) as we have done in our Parts on the West Side of great Lehigh, in all probability a great part of the Mischief might by the Blessing of God have been prevented.

There has long been a Talk, that the Mohaweks intended to extirpate the Delawares, who perhaps would be the best able to resist their fury and Chastise them for their Perfidy.

The Reward that is offered for the Heads of the two Indian Chiefs gives a good Satisfaction, though it is thought scarce practicable to get them, as the Reward for common Scalps, likewise is a good encouragement—but however but few can be got, since they carry off their Dead as fast as they can when they happen to lose some.

We don't think at Present that the Enemys are as numerous as was given out, but are very furious when engaged. The Consternation of the People seems for all to be a little abated What the further Consequences will be we must expect with Patience.

remaining Sir! Your most humble  
and obedient Servant,  
DAVID SHULTZE.

## ANECDOTES OF MARY H—.

She, with her husband, many years ago, kept the noted Inn at the corner of Dock and Front Sts., close to what was then the Drawbridge, and is still called by that name, though more than sixty years ago, a permanent stone bridge was erected in its place, and Front St. is carried over it, paved like the rest of the street; so that no stranger walking there, would know that there was either a bridge or a creek beneath his feet. This Inn was called after the Sign, "The Boatswain & Call" (the original Blue Anchor). It was much frequented by watermen, who navigated the River craft. And such was her confidence, (in those golden days of Philadelphia)—in the honesty of those noble tars—the flatmen and the shallopmen—that I have heard her say, that she would frequently go to bed, leaving her door unlocked, and her table set with cold meat, bread, butter, beer and a pitcher of milk, with a plate to receive the money;—and these men would come in at any hour of the night which suited them, eat their supper, lay the money on the plate, and go off—and she added, that she was never cheated by them, or confidence abused.

She was a woman of strong mind—not to be daunted by trifles. Soon after the Revolutionary War began, two military men came to her Inn, and called for spirits. She gave them what they asked for, set a pitcher of water by them, and was about to retire from the bar-room, when one of them called out "Madam! you need not go—we want more."—

"Oh," she said, "I think you have had quite sufficient."

One of them replied—"We have drank none before to-day, and must have more."—

"I do not keep a tippling shop," she replied,—“I only sell to the watermen and the laborers along shore, who

when they have had their drink go off. I don't let people sit and drink in my house."

"We will have more," was their reply.

Mary went to her bar, and they thought that she had been intimidated; but she locked the door, and pocketed the key.—They repeated their demands for more liquor.—

"You shall have no more unless you are more powerful than I am," she said firmly.

One of them drew his sword and spake very roughly to her, with threats and menaces, what they would do to her. She quietly and firmly stood still for a time—then looking at the most insolent one she said—

"What a brave fellow thou art, to attack a poor, lame, defenceless female in her own house (she was by this time a widow)—what a credit to our country to have such officers"—and more in that way—when they threw down their money and marched away.

When she lived at the Tavern she had a fine black cat—a great favorite in the family. One morning, poor Puss was missing—no one could tell what was become of him—the last he had been seen was sitting quietly on the top of the post of the porch—poor Puss was at length forgotten. About a year after he was found at his old stand on the porch. He had been a voyage, but whereto I know not, as he could not, like some other wanderers, keep a Journal of his migrations. When she died she had another favorite cat, and left a request with her niece, that poor Tom might have her cushion for a bed as long as he lived—which was a few weeks after his mistress.

I have often been entertained and instructed by her relating what occurred many years back. When she quitted the above kind of life, she became a layer out of the dead. In this business she was much admired for her moderation—though the wealthy paid her well—she would take one or two dollars from those in indigent circumstances.

She related to me that being called to do the last office for the corpse of the celebrated Benjamin Franklin—she wondered to see at the foot of the bed, an old picture of

the Day of Judgment—where the awful Judge was enthroned in glory, and giving sentence; while some Souls were filing off to the right,—and some, alas! to the left. She asked the nurse how this picture came to be there, as she understood that the Doctor was a deist and unbeliever. She said that he had in his younger years ordered the picture put in the garret and it had been kept there for many years; but since he became poorly, and was confined to his bed, he requested her to bring it and place it at the foot of his bed, that he might have it always in his view. Does not this look as if the Doctor, notwithstanding what he might say or believe in the height of health and strength—when the solemn close stared him in the face, had some serious thoughts about the awful after Scene! And may we not hope, that with the eye of faith he may have been enabled to look upon Him, whom he had pierced, and to mourn. As saith the Apostle—“Behold he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also who pierced him, and all the kindreds of the earth shall mourn because of him—Even so, Amen.”

[1829.]



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

LETTER OF GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE, 1796.—

HEAD QUARTERS DETROIT 8<sup>th</sup> October 1796

SIR

I have received from the Secretary of War by the last post the arrangement of the Officers for Four Regiments of Infantry & Two Companies of Dragoons, made agreeably to the 4<sup>th</sup> Section of an Act to ascertain & fix the Military Establishment of the United States passed May 30<sup>th</sup> 1796 viz.

4<sup>th</sup> SECT. "And be it further enacted, That the President of the United States cause to be arranged the officers, non-commissioned officers, privates & musicians of the Legion of the United States, and Light Dragoons, in such manner as to form and complete out of the same, the Four Regiments as aforesaid, & two Companies of Light Dragoons; and the supernumerary officers, privates & musicians shall be considered, from & after the last day of October next, discharged from the Service of the United States."

Permit me to assure you Sir, that it is with real concern & regret, I find your name in the enclosed list of Supernumerary Officers, in consequence of that Act, without any provision made for them in future.

All that remains in my power, to serve or oblige you in, is to give you immediate leave of absence from your present Command, previously to which may I request you to be so obliging as to take duplicates from Cap<sup>t</sup> Dan<sup>l</sup> Bradely—for every species of stores at Fort Miami, belonging to the Ordnance, Quartermasters & Commissaries Departments, one of which you will please to transmit to me at this place, & when most agreeable & convenient to yourself, you will deliver the fort and public Stores, now under your charge to that Officer.

That you may always experience health & good fortune in every vicissitude of life is the sincere wish of your assured friend &

Hum<sup>l</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

ANTY WAYNE

CAPT ANDREW MARSCHALK  
Commandant of Fort Miami.

## Queries.

A CURIOUS FLAG.—There is deposited in the Easton Library, at Easton, Pennsylvania, a flag presented by Miss Rosanna Beidelman, on behalf of the ladies of the town, to Captain Abraham Horn's company of volunteer riflemen, First Company, First Regiment, Colonel Humphreys, in September of 1814, immediately after the burning of Washington City.

The flag is ninety-seven inches in length and fifty-five in breadth. The material throughout is heavy silk. The stripes are sewed over and over. The stars are sewed one on each side, so that both sides of the flag present the same appearance. The *fly* is indigo blue in color and

has upon it thirteen eight-pointed stars, each seven inches across from point to point. Twelve of the stars are arranged in a circle; the thirteenth is placed in the centre. The circumference of the circle passing through the centres of the stars has a diameter of forty inches. The stars are white. The *union* is made of thirteen strips of silk, alternately red and white. There are seven red and six white stripes. The length of the stripes coincides with the length of the flag. The dimensions of the union are thirty-four by twenty-eight inches. The whole is mounted upon a pole having a brass spear at its top.

The red has faded out almost entirely; the blue remains as when first colored. The silk has become very rotten, and unless laid away in a safer place will soon go to pieces.

The war of 1812 was fought under the flag of fifteen stars and fifteen stripes. Can any one tell the reasons for the use of this flag, which seems to be colonial in many of its details?

Lafayette College.

J. W. MOORE.

CLEAVER—POTTS.—Peter Cleaver, Jr., of Bristol Township, Philadelphia County, and Elizabeth Potts, daughter of David and Alice, of the same place, were married by Friends' ceremony, 8 mo. 4, 1722, at Germantown. Is the marriage certificate still in existence? If so, where can it be found?

TH. MAXWELL POTTS.

Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania.

McKINNEY.—Information is requested as to the maiden name of Edna, wife of John McKinney, and the name of her father.

Boston, Massachusetts.

K. C. K.

### Book Notices.

THE REGISTER OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION, for the year 1895, has been issued. It contains a list of the names of the nine hundred and twenty-six members, with other interesting data relating to the history of the Society. At their annual meeting held in Independence Hall in April last, it was decided to erect an equestrian statue of Major-General Anthony Wayne, in this city, to cost thirty thousand dollars, and the following committee was appointed: George M. Conarroe, *Chairman*; Alexander Biddle, Richard D. Barclay, Henry H. Houston, Charles Henry Jones, J. Granville Leach, Caleb J. Milne, Edward de V. Morrell, Hon. S. W. Pennypacker, Edward Shippen, General George R. Snowden, Charlemagne Tower, Jr., and Edward S. Sayres, *Secretary*.

OUR FAMILY ANCESTORS. By Thomas Maxwell Potts, Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, 1895. 8vo. 444 pp. Illustrated. Price, \$3.50.

"Our Family Ancestors" is the title of a genealogical work intended primarily for the information and use of the compiler's children. The fifty chapters treat of as many different families, and contain much information that has not been previously collected or published. It is believed that many others will find much of interest and value, and possibly in some cases the foundation for more extended and complete genealogies. Each of the following families are treated of in special chapters, occupying from two to forty pages: Baily, Baker, Bane or Bean, Bentley, Bezer, Bording, Bushell, Butler, Buzby, Carter, Clayton, Cloud, Cox, Croasdale, Eaton, Edwards, Few, Fisher, Gove, Hayes, Hobson, Hough, Ingram, Jenings, Kirk, Lawrence, McNeil, Marten, Miller, Mitchell,

Op den Graeff, Pearson, Peart, Peterson, Potts, Rush, Searle, Shoemaker, Stackhouse, Stanfield, Stavast, Stevenson, Stirk, Van Bebber, Van Tienhoven, Vinje, Wells, Wessels, Woodward, and mention is also made of the following: Fry, Hamilton, Henderson, Howell, Matthews, Naylor, O'Chilston, Olive, Ring, Short, Veepon, and others. The text is illustrated by portraits, homesteads, birthplaces, coats of arms, autographs, and a tabulated chart. As a small edition only has been printed, copies should be secured at once.

LEE OF VIRGINIA, 1642-1892. Biographical and Genealogical Sketches of the Descendants of Colonel Richard Lee, with Brief Notices of the Related Families of Allerton, Armistead, Ashton, Aylett, Bedinger, Beverley, Bland, Bolling, Carroll, Carter, Chambers, Corbin, Custis, Digges, Fairfax, Fitzhugh, Gardner, Grymes, Hanson, Jennings, Jones, Ludwell, Marshall, Mason, Page, Randolph, Shepherd, Shippen, Tabb, Taylor, Turberville, Washington, and others. By Edmund Jennings Lee, M.D. Philadelphia: 1895.

The history of the Lee family of Virginia for the past two hundred and fifty years necessarily embraces much relating to Colonial and Revolutionary times, and passes beyond the narrow limits of a family genealogy into the broader field of general American history. The aim of the work has been to give a succinct account of all the members of that family, telling where they lived, what they did, and whom they married, with other details, which interest not only the genealogist, but also the historical student. As far as possible, each individual has been allowed to tell his own story through the medium of original letters, official records, patents, wills, deeds, and similar records. Many of these letters, written by persons prominent in the political life of early American history, have never before appeared in print, and will be found both interesting and instructive. Besides these records, the volume contains reproductions by photogravure of thirty-six old family portraits, miniatures, and prints. Illustrations are also given of the coat-armor once used by many of the families mentioned, and some old documents are reproduced in *fac-simile*, among the latter, the original resolution for Independence, as offered by Richard Henry Lee.

To members of patriotic hereditary societies it will be of especial interest, and enable many to trace out their lines of descent and inform themselves of the services of their ancestors.

The work contains over six hundred pages octavo, printed in handsome style and bound in cloth. It is sold only by private subscription, and will be sent to any address on the receipt of the subscription price, \$10.





The Great God who is the  
me, Incline your hearts to righteousness  
assure you of my Love, and to desire you  
God bring me among you I Intend to  
we may all live in Love and peace one  
God will Incline both me and you to  
name, and that we who are his Workmen  
to him. The man which delivers this  
wife and Loving, you may believe him  
we of my people wrong you, by good &  
nor will I ever allow any of my people  
Drunk. If anything should be out of  
be monstrous, and I will bring you for  
useful and pleasing to you. So I  
yt make us I am  
England 25. 2. 1682

I read this to the Indians  
By an Interpreter the  
mo 1682 Tho Holmes

power and wisdom that made you and -  
love and peace. This I send to -  
love to my friends, and when the Great  
order all things in full manner, that  
with another, which I hope the Great  
- I seek nothing but the honor of his  
ship, may do that which is well pleasing  
unto you, is my special friend, I have  
I have already taken care that none  
of I have provided for that purpose,  
to sell rum to make your people  
order, except when I come, it shall  
be things of our country that  
shall be in love of our god

Your Loving Friend

WM. P. M.



THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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CAPTAIN THOMAS HOLME, SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF  
PENNSYLVANIA AND PROVINCIAL COUNCILLOR.

BY OLIVER HOUGH.

*Tho. Holme*

Thomas Holme was born in the year 1624; although a great part of his life was spent in Ireland, there is little doubt that his birthplace was in England, most likely in Yorkshire. His parents, whose names are now unknown, appear to have been of good position and family, and Thomas Holme was styled "gentleman" by right of birth; several facts lead to the supposition that his father belonged to a younger branch of the family of Holme, of Huntington, in the County of York. Thomas Holme used an armorial seal on his official papers, corresponding with the arms of this family, which are described in Burke's General Armory as: "Argent, a chevron azure, between three chaplets gules."



The shield on Thomas Holme's seal is the same, surrounded by a bordure with ten roundels; the bordure being used to distinguish the branch of the family.



While Thomas Holme was quite a young man the Civil War between the King and the Parliament broke out; he took the side of the latter and became a captain in its army. He is said to have taken part in the Hispaniola expedition under Admiral Penn in 1654, either as one of the naval officers, who were largely taken from the army, or as an officer in the land forces under General Venables; his intimacy with the Penns and Crispins in after-years might have had its beginning here, and gives a coloring of truth to the statement. He was in Ireland in 1659, and was then a member of the Society of Friends. It is reasonably presumed that he obtained lands in Ireland during the settlement of Cromwell's soldiers there in 1655. There was a Captain Holmes (Holme?) in Sir Hardress Waller's regiment, whose company was given lands in the Barony of Shilmalier, in County Wexford, in which county Thomas Holme afterwards resided, at least temporarily. In 1656 many of the Parliamentary officers in Ireland joined the Society of Friends. The name of Thomas Holme occurs in the grants under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation passed after the Restoration.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Holme became an important man among the Friends in Ireland, and travelled extensively over the central and southern parts of that country, attending meetings of the Society. In many places he encountered the opposition of the authorities to his religion, and received abuse and hard treatment from those that had formerly been his companions in arms. In 1659 a number of prominent Friends in Ireland published an address to the English Parliament, reciting their persecutions. It is entitled, "To the Parliament of England, who are in place to do Justice,

<sup>1</sup> The Act of Settlement was passed by the Irish Parliament in 1662, confirming most of the English settlers in the lands they had gotten in Ireland during the Commonwealth period, though it restored a few Irish to their original estates; in 1665 an act called An Act of Explanation was passed, relating to some points in the Act of Settlement. See "The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," by John P. Prendergast, London, 1870 (2d ed.).

and to break the Bonds of the Oppressed. A Narrative of the Cruel, and Unjust Sufferings of the People of God in the Nation of Ireland, Called Quakers. *London*, Printed for *Thomas Simmons* at the Bull and Mouth near *Aldersgate*, 1659." It is signed by Thomas Holme and fifty-two others, among them Samuel Clarridge and Robert Turner, both afterwards First Purchasers in Pennsylvania, William Edmondson, the well-known preacher, and some former officers under Cromwell, most of them sufferers mentioned in the narrative. This address tells that "*Thomas Holme* (late a Captain in the Army) *Charles Collins*, and several of the Lords people, being in a peaceable meeting at Wexford, had their meeting forcibly broken, and many of them violently haled and turned out of the Town, by order from *Edward Withers* Mayor then." "*Thomas Loe*, *Thomas Holme*, *William Blanch*, and *John Wrenn*, being in Cashell on their Journey, were apprehended by *Colo. Lehunt's* order, and brought before him, and he commanded the Sould. (violently) to turne them out of the town, and to cut their pates, three of them were not suffered to go into the town again for their horses." Thomas Phelps, of Limerick, besides other losses, "had his house broken open and rifled with a Guard of Sould. from the Governour (Col. Ingoldesby) which Guard by the same Order rifled the houses of *Richard Piercy* and *Thomas Holme*, and took away what books and papers they pleased." In Besse's "Sufferings" it is stated that in 1660 the meetings of Friends in Dublin were frequently molested; a number of persons, of whom Thomas Holme was one, were taken from them and committed to Newgate by order of Robert Dee, then mayor of the city; Samuel Clarridge and Robert Turner were also of this number. In 1661, Thomas Holme, Robert Turner, and others were taken from a meeting in Dublin and committed to Newgate, by order of Hubert Adrian, mayor.<sup>1</sup> In an address of Friends in Ireland to the Lord Lieutenant

<sup>1</sup> In 1662, Sarah Holme and others were imprisoned for visiting Friends in Wexford Prison; this might have been Thomas Holme's daughter Sarah, or possibly his wife, whose name is unknown.

and Council, in 1673 (quoted by Charles Evans, M.D., in "Friends in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century"), occurs the following: "In the county of Wexford, Thomas Holme, having about £200 due to him from one Captain Thornhill, for which judgement was obtained against him in common law, was subpœnaed into Chancery by Thornhill, where he well knew Thomas could not answer on oath; and so this Friend lost his debt." In 1672, Thomas Holme and Abraham Fuller of Ireland published "A Brief Relation of some part of the Sufferings of the True *Christians*, the People of God (called in scorn *Quakers*) in IRELAND for these last 11 years, viz. from 1660 until 1671. Collected by T. H. and A. F." In 1731 there was published a work called "A Compendious VIEW of Some Extraordinary SUFFERINGS of the People called QUAKERS both in *Person* and *Substance*, in the Kingdom of Ireland from the Year 1655 to the End of the Reign of King George the First.—In 3 parts. Dublin, Printed by and for Samuel Fuller, at the Globe, in Meath-street." Part I., according to Smith's Catalogue, "Contains the true Grounds and Reasons of their Conscientious Dissent from other Religious Denominations in Sundry Particulars," and was by Fuller and Holme; they were both deceased at the time of this publication, and it was probably the same as their work of 1672; the second part consisted of examples of sufferings, and the third was a synopsis of the number of religious prisoners. These two books are very rare. Another work partly by a Thomas Holme, presumably the same one, as he wrote on similar subjects,<sup>1</sup> is "The Perse-

<sup>1</sup> There was a Thomas Holmes of Westmoreland, who travelled in Wales in 1654 to 1657 and later, and was the first preacher of Friends' doctrines in that country. He wrote a letter from Cardiff, dated 12 mo. 27, 1654, telling about his journey, which is published in George Fox's Journal. George Fox mentions meeting him at Brecknock in 1657. He was imprisoned in 1658 in Monmouthshire, and also upwards of three months in Cardiff, and his wife, Elizabeth Holmes, coming to visit him, was imprisoned with him; she was also a preacher, and was imprisoned on other occasions. He died in Wales in 1665. Whiting's Catalogue states that Thomas Holm of Westmoreland died in Wales in the days of King Charles II. It is possible he might have written the account



cution Of them People They call Quakers, In several places in Lancashire,” by Leonard Fell, William Addamson, Thomas Holme, and others, “*London, Printed for Giles Calvert at the Black-Spread-Eagle, neer the West-end of Pauls, 1656.*”

Thomas Holme's first appearance in Pennsylvania history is on April 18, 1682, when William Penn appointed him Surveyor-General of the Province. In his commission he is styled “Captain Thomas Holme of the City of Waterford in the Kingdom of Ireland.” He sailed for Pennsylvania in the “Amity,” which left the Downs April 23, 1682, bringing with him his family, and also Silas Crispin (son of Captain William Crispin, who is said to have been the first Surveyor-General appointed by Penn, but died on his way to Pennsylvania in 1681) and John Claypoole, son of James Claypoole; the latter wrote from London (to his brother Norton in the country) in this month, “I have been at Gravesend with My son John, who has gone per the Amity, Richard Dimond, Master, for Pennsylvania, to be assistant to the general surveyor, whose name is Thomas Holmes, a very honest, ingenious, worthy Man.”<sup>1</sup> His name is on the of persecutions in Lancashire, but the signature to the part written by Holme is printed “Tho: Holme,” which is the way Captain Thomas Holme wrote his name. However, there were many of the name of Holme or Holmes in Lancashire, and the author may have been neither of the above.

<sup>1</sup> The historians Proud, Gordon, and Clarkson say the “Amity” was one of the three ships that sailed in 1681, and that she was delayed by contrary winds and did not arrive until spring of the following year; other historians dispute this statement on the ground of her sailing in April, 1682. But the former were no doubt partially right as to the “Amity” being one of the ships that sailed in the summer of 1681 and being delayed by contrary winds; it is likely that this was the vessel in which Captain William Crispin sailed for Pennsylvania, which, when in sight of the capes of Delaware, was blown off and put into Barbadoes, where Captain Crispin died; it is quite possible that then, instead of continuing to Pennsylvania, she returned to England, carrying the news of Crispin's death, and then again sailed for Pennsylvania in April, 1682, bringing Holme, who had meanwhile been appointed Surveyor-General; and Silas Crispin, having probably been with his father and returned to England with the vessel, going out again in her.



list of First Purchasers, and he was a member of the Free Society of Traders, and one of that society's committee of twelve to reside in Pennsylvania, appointed at their meeting in London on May 29, 1682.

On his arrival in Pennsylvania, Holme and his family took up their residence at Shackamaxon, where there was a settlement of English Friends who had come out in the preceding year; at first they stayed at the house of Thomas Fairman, who in this year sent a bill of charges to William Penn, for lodging Captain Holme and his two sons and two daughters. Holme brought a letter from Penn to the Indians, which said in regard to himself, "The man which delivers this unto you, is my special friend, sober, wise, and loving, you may believe him." He endorsed on the back of the letter, "I read this to the Indians by Interpreter 6<sup>th</sup> mo. 1682. T. Holme."<sup>1</sup> He was present at the first court held by Penn at New Castle, November 2, 1682, and also at the Great Treaty at Shackamaxon.

It has been stated that Holme was appointed one of the Commissioners for Settling the Colony, in place of William Crispin, deceased; and while no commission to him, as such, is extant to prove the statement, the fact remains that he acted with the other Commissioners in forwarding the settlement.<sup>2</sup> Their first duty was to choose a spot where

The *London Gazette*, Monday, April 24, to Thursday, April 27, 1682, has: "*Deal, April 23.* This Morning the Ships in the *Downs*, outward bound, Sailed; among them were five bound for the *East-Indies*, and one of *Pennsylvania*."

<sup>1</sup> This letter, without the endorsement, is printed in Janney's "Life of William Penn;" there is a fac-simile in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The original was exhibited in the Penn Parlor, at the Sanitary Fair, Logan Square, Philadelphia, 1864.

<sup>2</sup> The instructions to these Commissioners, dated September 30, 1681 (the original is in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania), have often been printed, and need not be repeated here. They were directed to William Crispin, Nathaniel Allen, and John Bezar. Their commission is dated October 25, 1681, and names a fourth Commissioner, William Hague. They were all, except the deceased Crispin, whose place Holme took, in Pennsylvania at the time of Holme's arrival.

navigation was best and large ships might lie close to the bank, the land being at the same time high, dry, and healthy, and to lay out there ten thousand acres for the site of a great city. This proved to be a very difficult task; no place could be found answering the requirements which would bear a city of such size; the Commissioners explored the country and Holme made a survey of the west bank of the Delaware, and they chose the site at the mouth of Dock Creek. When Penn arrived in the following October<sup>1</sup> he changed his ideas as embodied in the instructions, and had about two square miles, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, laid out for the city, which is the original part of the present city of Philadelphia.<sup>2</sup>

After Penn's decision was made, Holme, as Surveyor-

<sup>1</sup> Samuel C. Willits, in his MS. "History of Lower Dublin Academy," puts forth the opinion that Thomas Holme thought of the region between the Pennepack and the Poquessing, where he afterwards located part of his own land, as a site for the city; for he laid out the township of Dublin to contain about ten thousand acres, and ran a centre line through it which he called Susquehanna Street. Davis, in his "History of Bucks County," mentions a tradition that Markham and the Commissioners had an idea of putting the city at Pennsbury.

<sup>2</sup> When the city of ten thousand acres was laid out, the Commissioners were to give every purchaser of five thousand acres a lot of one hundred acres in this town land, in accordance with the conditions and concessions to first purchasers issued by the Proprietary, July 11, 1681. When Penn changed his plan, a tract was surveyed adjoining the city proper, which was called the "liberties," and out of which the first purchasers were to have their two per cent., while in the city itself they were to have only small lots. Josiah W. Smith, in the large foot-note on land tenure in his "Laws of Pennsylvania," says, "Not a single memorial can be found of this plan, nor any record of the alteration, or any written evidence of the consent of the inhabitants to the new arrangement; but a regular series of uniform facts, upon the books of the Land-Office, establish it beyond a doubt." The method of apportioning the liberty lands and city lots is fully described in the same foot-note. Reed, in the Explanation to his map of the liberties, 1774, quotes part of a letter from Holme, stating that Penn had instructed him not to give over eighty acres in the liberties on the east side of the Schuylkill to purchasers entitled to one hundred acres. This direction Holme carried out; it was given because the lands east of Schuylkill were considered more

General, laid out the city, extending from Cedar (now South) Street to Vine Street, and from the Delaware to the Schuylkill River, and, as appears by the plan, also including three squares beyond the latter, although no city lots were assigned on the west side of the Schuylkill. The lots were then apportioned to the purchasers, being drawn before William Markham, Thomas Holme, William Haigue, and Griffith Jones 7th mo. 9, 1682, they certifying to that effect on the list of lots and owners.<sup>1</sup> Holme drew up a map or plan of the city, which he called "A Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia;" this was printed in London in 1683 as part of a book entitled "A | Letter | from | William Penn | Proprietary and Governour of | Pennsylvania | In America, | to the Committee | of the | Free Society of Traders | of that Province, residing in London | Containing," etc. "To which is Added, An Account of the City of | Philadelphia | Newly laid out. | Its Scituation between two Navigable Rivers, Delaware and Skulkill | with a | Portraiture or Plat-form thereof, | Wherein the purchasers lots are distinguished by certain numbers inserted, together with the Surveyor General's advertisement concerning the situation and extent thereof. Printed and sold by Andrew Sowle, at the Crooked-Billet, in Halloway-Lane, in Shoreditch, and at several stationers in London, 1683." This book contained: a letter from Penn describing the country and its inhabitants, native and foreign; Holme's plan of the city, divided into lots, which were numbered; an account of the city, being principally a list of the purchasers with the numbers of their lots on the plan; and Holme's description of the city, called "A short advertisement upon the situation and extent of the city of Philadelphia and the Ensuing platform thereof, by the Surveyor General." The plan, list of purchasers, part of Penn's letter, and the "short advertisement" were reprinted in the ap-

valuable; any purchaser who took his liberty land on the west side got his full proportion.

<sup>1</sup> This list is published in the Appendix to Hazard's "Annals of Pennsylvania."



pendix of John C. Lowber's "Ordinances of the Corporation of the City of Philadelphia," Philadelphia, 1812, the plan being printed from the original plate, then in possession of Dr. George Logan of Stenton. The whole book, with facsimile title-page, was reprinted (with some other matter<sup>1</sup>) by James Coleman, Genealogical Bookseller, Tottenham, near London, N, in 1881. Philip Ford, one of the Free Society of Traders, wrote from London, 1st mo. 21, 1684/5, to Thomas Holme in Philadelphia, "As for the map of the city, it was needful it should be printed; it will do us a kindness, as we were at a loss for want of something to show the people."

The plan, as published, did not long remain in effect. As early as 1684 all the streets west of Delaware Eleventh had been moved eastward, and the Broad Street was changed from 12th from each river to 14th from Delaware, the next street west being 8th from Schuylkill; this second plan still remains unchanged, except that several streets have been added west of Schuylkill Front Street, which was some distance back from the river. Reed, in the Explanation to his map, 1774, says (and others have followed him) that this change was made by Benjamin Eastburn, who was Surveyor-General about 1740, but more recent investigations have shown that it was made as early as 1684, while Holme was still in office.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coleman's reprint of Penn's letter, the Portraiture, etc., contains an address to the Representatives of the Province, which Coleman found bound with a copy of the original, but which had nothing to do with it. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has this copy of the address from which Coleman made his reprint.

<sup>2</sup> This mistake probably arose because Eastburn was the first to draw up a new plan in accordance with the change. The following letter, among the Penn Papers in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, refers to the publication of Eastburn's plan:

"25 June 1755—

"Sir

"The Plan of Philadelphia sent to the Honorable the Proprietaries was taken from a Draught or Plan of the same made by Benjamin Eastburn a little before the Honorable Thomas Penn left Pennsylvania,



This change did not affect the part between Delaware Eleventh and Delaware Front Streets, which is still the same as on the Portraiture of 1683.

When the plan of the city and assignment of lots there were finished, Holme turned his attention to the surveying of the country, and made a map of the Province, which was published in London under the name of "Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania in America Begun by Wil: Penn Proprietary & Governor thereof Anno 1681." It has a subheading, "A Map of the Province of Pennsylvania, Containing the three Countyes of Chester Philadelphia & Bucks as far as yet surveyed and laid out, the divisions or distinctions made by the different coullers respect the settlements by way of townships. By Thos. Holme, Survey<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>." It was "Sold by Robert Green at the Rose & Crown in Budgrow, And by Iohn Thornton at the Platt in the Minories London," and dedicated by them to William Penn. This map shows, in black and white, with colored lines for township lines, the settled portion of the Province, and the lands seated, with the owner's name on each tract; the township boundaries are nearly the same as afterwards laid down by juries appointed for that purpose, though not all of them are given names on the map. Geographically, it has a very fair degree of accuracy, except in the outlying districts, though the courses of some of the creeks as given by it are erroneous. The lines of the settlers' tracts are in general correct, so far as a map of small scale covering a large extent of territory could give them. A copy of this map, on a reduced scale, and

which I understood to be done by his Honor's direction, in which there is no Notice taken either of the Publick Squares, or the Centre square as laid down in the Old Plan.

"I think I may Venture to say that the Plan that you sent is a true Copy of that made by Benj<sup>a</sup> Eastburn and that there is Ground sufficient for all the Streets and Squares laid down in the same.

"The Measure from the West of Delaware Front street to the East side of 12<sup>th</sup> street is 4921 feet or 298 perches & 4 feet.

*"Nick<sup>o</sup> Scull.*

"To Richard Peters Esquire——"

in plain black and white, was published by John Harris in London, date unknown.<sup>1</sup> Harris's map was reprinted (Philadelphia, 1876) by Samuel L. Smedley, Chief-Engineer and Surveyor of Philadelphia; Smedley called his reprint a "Facsimile of Holme's Map, copied from an original print in possession of the publisher," but it is from Harris's copy.

A fac-simile of Holme's map was published in 1846 by Lloyd P. Smith, stated to be "by an anastatic process from an original in the Philadelphia Library." Another reprint of the full-size map was made by Charles L. Warner, but it is not a fac-simile and has more color than the original.<sup>2</sup>

There has been a great deal of uncertainty about the date of publication of Holme's map of the Province, some writers asserting that it was published in 1684, while others argue that it was not published till much later, as it represents tracts some of which were not laid out till as late as 1725, as shown by returns of survey and patents. The

<sup>1</sup> The Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library has a curious copy of Harris's map which at first was thought to be a separate edition, but on closer examination proved to have been constructed by its owner; it consists of Harris's map, mounted on cloth; around the sides and bottom are pasted what seem to be cuttings from an early print, resembling newspaper clippings, this reading-matter having the title, "A General Description of the Province of Pennsylvania in America," and being principally (but not entirely) copied from Penn's letter of 1683; the whole surrounded by a border of scroll-work, fruits, birds, etc. On the back is a note, "Given to me by Erskine Hazard, 1830," but not signed.

<sup>2</sup> Neither of the maps published by Holme give the names of the owners of "town lots in the liberty lands" given to first purchasers in addition to their city lots and country tracts. His map of the city does not include this part and his map of the Province leaves it blank. This deficiency was supplied by John Reed, who published in 1774 a map of the "city and liberties of Philadelphia compiled from Thomas Holme's surveys." The Explanation printed with it quotes Holme's "advertisement" and extracts from some of his letters. These fragments preserved by Reed, and one quoted by Dr. More, seem to be the only remains of Holme's correspondence. None of the originals of these are known to be in existence.

map is not dated, the only date on it being in the heading "Begun by Wil: Penn Proprietary & Governor thereof Anno 1681," which, of course, does not refer to the time of printing it. The only tenable theory, in view of the conflicting evidences of the different parts of the map, is that there were several editions, the first showing the earlier surveys only (which are the tracts nearest the city), and the subsequent editions being printed from the same plates, on which the later surveys had been added, without any alteration of the parts previously printed. It is certain that an edition was printed between the end of the year 1686 and the beginning of the year 1689, for the extract of Thomas Holme's letter of October, 1686 (printed with Dr. More's letter in 1687), ends thus: "I intend to send the Draught for a Map by the first ——" ["opportunity" probably]; and during a discussion on the bounds of Chester County, by Governor Blackwell and the Council in their meeting 1st mo. 25, 1689, the Surveyor-General's Deputy was sent for, who showed the bounds of the county on the map, and the minutes of the Council say, "'Twas observed by y<sup>e</sup> Goverr and Councill that y<sup>e</sup> mapp of The Province was the work of Thomas Holme, Surveyor Genell; that it was dedicated to y<sup>e</sup> Proprietor by y<sup>e</sup> Publisher; that many Coppys had been published in England and here in this Province." This settles the date of the first publication of the map some time in 1687 or 1688, and an advertisement in the *London Gazette* in May, 1688, evidently referring to this map, shows it to have been published by that time.<sup>1</sup> That the date 1684 is too early is shown by the names

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, Monday, May 7, to Thursday, May 10, 1688:

"☞ This is to give Notice, That such Maps which were made and fold by Mr. Robert Green deceafed, are fold by Elizabeth Green his Daughter, at the Rose and Crown in Budge-Row, where Perfons may be furnished with all forts of Maps as formerly (viz.) The Map of Canaan, Jerufalem in two Sheets, England, Scotland and Ireland, a Map of Penfilvania, by William Pen Esq; Also a new Map of London."

This undoubtedly refers to Holme's map.



attached to the tracts nearest the city (that is, the tracts earliest surveyed). Some of these were sold between 1684 and 1687, and the ownership attributed to them by the map corresponds to the latter date; one instance of this is Thomas Holme, who owned six hundred acres in Byberry, which he sold to Nicholas Rideout in 1685; on the map it bears the name of Nicholas Rideout. This first edition could not have shown the bounds of lands that were surveyed at a later date, but copies preserved at the present time contain, as stated above, tracts that were laid out later; for instance, Laetitia Penn's Manor of Mount Joy, and William Penn, Jr.'s Manor of Williamstadt, both taken up in 1704, Samuel Carpenter's great tract north of Moreland (now in Horsham), laid out in 1706, and others in the more distant parts, some of which were not surveyed before 1725, or even a few years later. Therefore these copies must be of an edition published about 1730, but from the original drawings filled in to that time, for the tracts near the city are still the same on these copies as they were earlier, notwithstanding that many of them had in the mean while been subdivided and changed owners several times.<sup>1</sup> The map, as a whole, represents different parts of the Province at different dates, those nearest the city as they were in 1686, the more distant as they were laid out, at intermediate periods, from that time to about 1730. Copies of the map may have been printed at any time between these two years, the original drawings remaining always unchanged, the newer surveys being added as they were made. The final edition, however, seems to be the only one that has survived; Harris's reduced copy and the Philadelphia Library copy from which Smith's fac-simile was taken both belong to it.

The Commissioners to settle the Colony were also empowered to purchase lands from the Indians, but they do not seem to have exercised this right as a body; Markham purchased land near the Neshaminy from the Indians; the deed was dated July 25, 1682, but none of the Commis-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. William J. Buck was the first to point out the fact that the map, as we know it, represented different dates in different parts.



sioners' names are subscribed to it. However, Thomas Holme was present at most of the Indian treaties and had an important part in some of them. He was a witness to the deed made June 23, 1683, from the Indian chiefs Essepenaïke and Swanpees to William Penn for lands between the Pennepack and Neshaminy Creeks, and also one dated 4th mo. 3, 1684, from Maughoughsin to Penn. In August, 1684, the old Commissioners were superseded by new ones with more limited powers, called the Commissioners of Property;<sup>1</sup> Holme, however, continued to conduct purchases of land. A deed was made July 30, 1685, from the chiefs Shakhoppoh, Secane, Malibor, and Tangoras to William Penn for lands bounded on the east by two lines, both beginning at Conshohocken Hill, one running to Chester Creek and the other to Pennepack Creek, then up each creek to its source and then back from both points two days' journey into the interior; this deed was, in its own words, "sealed and delivered to Thomas Holme, President of the Council," an office he held temporarily. At a meeting of the Council, 7th mo. 22, 1685, information having been given that body by Captain Cock, of the Indians' willingness to sell all their right to the land between Upland and "Ap-oaquinamy" (Appoquinimink, in the lower part of New Castle County) as far backward as they had any claim, and that they proposed meeting at Widow Scallop's on the 29th instant to treat about the same, the Council ordered Captain Thomas Holme, John Symcock, and the Secretary (William Markham), or any two of them, to be at that place, with full power to treat and complete the purchase. A deed dated 8th mo. 2d, 1685, from a number of Indian sachems for

<sup>1</sup> At a meeting of the Provincial Council, 6th mo. (August, O.S.) 19, 1684, a commission was read empowering Thomas Lloyd, James Claypoole, and Robert Turner to sign patents and issue warrants. They were called Commissioners of Property, and replaced, to some extent, the former Commissioners to settle the Colony, though their powers were more limited, the new Commissioners having control only over the taking up of land, while the old ones had also power to purchase new lands, and, at first, a general superintendence, under the Deputy Governor, of the progress of the settlement.

land between Duck Creek and Chester Creek, was sealed and delivered to Captain Thomas Holme, Surveyor-General.<sup>1</sup> A pamphlet called "A Letter from Dr. More, with Passages out of several Letters from Persons of Good Credit, Relating to the State and Improvement of the Province of Pennsylvania, Published to prevent false Reports. Printed in the Year 1687" (reprinted in *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. IV, pp. 445-453), contains an extract of a letter of October, 1686, from Thomas Holme, in which he says, "We have made three purchases of the Indians which added unto the six former sales, they made us, will, I believe, be Land enough for Planters for this Age." He then continues on the conduct of the Indians.

<sup>1</sup> These deeds are printed in Vol. I. "Pennsylvania Archives."

(To be continued.)

## WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1784-1799.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from page 339.)

1789.

FRIDAY, MAY 1.

At New York: "*New York*, May 2.—Yesterday morning The President received the compliments of His Excellency the Vice President, His Excellency the Governor of this State; the principal Officers of the different Departments; the foreign Ministers; and a great number of other persons of distinction."—*Gazette of the United States*.

TUESDAY, MAY 5.

At New York: "*May 5*.—This being a day for receiving company of ceremony, we had a numerous and splendid circle between the hours of two and three in the afternoon. A committee of the House of Representatives<sup>1</sup> waited on the President with a copy of the address of their House, and a request to know when it would be agreeable to him to receive it."—*Diary of Tobias Lear*.

Soon after the inauguration it became apparent that particular rules should be established for receiving visitors and entertaining company, so that the President might be able to attend to business without interruption. It was therefore decided that he should return no visits, that invitations to dinner should be given only to official characters and strangers of distinction, and that the visits of courtesy should be confined to the afternoon of Tuesday in each week between the hours of three and four. Foreign ministers and strangers were, however, received on other days. On Friday evenings the house was open for visits to Mrs. Washington, which were on a more sociable footing, and at which the President was always present. Mrs. Washington held her first levee on the evening of Friday, the 29th of May, two days after her arrival in New York. Thursday of each week was assigned for the state dinners.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Sinnickson, of New Jersey; Isaac Coles, of Virginia; and William Smith, of South Carolina.

## WEDNESDAY, MAY 6.

At New York: "*New York*, May 9.—On Wednesday the 6th inst. was held in *St. Paul's Church*, the annual COMMENCEMENT of COLUMBIA COLLEGE. . . . THE PRESIDENT—His Excellency the Vice-President—the Senate—the GOVERNOR, and principal officers of the Republic, honored by their presence, this highly useful and important literary Institution."—*Gazette of the United States*.

## THURSDAY, MAY 7.

At New York: "*May* 9.—Last Thursday evening [May 7] the subscribers of the Dancing Assembly gave an elegant Ball and Entertainment to his Excellency the President of the United States, who was pleased to honor the company with his presence. His Excellency the Vice President, most of the Members of both Houses of Congress, the Governor of New York, the Chancellor, and Chief Justice of the State [Richard Morris], the Hon. John Jay, and the Hon. Gen. Knox, the Commissioners of the Treasury [Samuel Osgood, Walter Livingston, and Arthur Lee], His Worship the Mayor of the city, the late President of Congress, the Governor of the Western Territory [Arthur St. Clair], the Baron Steuben, the Count de Moustier, Ambassador of his Most Christian Majesty, and many other foreigners of distinction were present. A numerous and brilliant collection of ladies graced the room with their appearance. The whole number of persons was about three hundred. The company retired about two o'clock, after having spent a most agreeable evening. Joy, satisfaction and vivacity was expressive in every countenance—and every pleasure seemed to be heightened by the presence of a Washington."—*New York Packet*.

The ball was held at the Assembly Room, on the east side of Broadway, a little above Wall Street, and it was decorated for the occasion with tasteful and appropriate magnificence. The President danced during the evening in the cotillion with Mrs. Peter Van Brugh Livingston and Mrs. James H. Maxwell, and in a minuet with Mrs. Maxwell's sister, Miss Van Zandt. It is said that an agreeable surprise was prepared by the managers for every woman who attended. A sufficient number of fans had been made for the



purpose in Paris, the ivory frames of which displayed, as they were opened, between the hinges and the elegant paper covering, an extremely well executed medallion portrait of Washington, in profile, and a page was appointed to present one, with the compliments of the managers, as each couple passed the receiver of the tickets.

#### FRIDAY, MAY 8.

At New York: "*New York*, May 8.—Mr. [William] SMITH, of South Carolina, informed the House [of Representatives], that the President was ready to receive their address [in answer to his speech to both Houses]. The House immediately rose, and following the Speaker, attended The President in the room adjoining, where [at twelve o'clock] the Address was presented by the Speaker, in the name of the House."—*Gazette of the United States*.

"*New York*, May 13.—Last Saturday [May, '9] the Mayor and Members of the Corporation of this city, attended by the proper Officers, waited on THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, and presented him with an Address."—*Idem*.

#### MONDAY, MAY 11.

At New York: "*May* 11.—I received a ticket from the President of the United States to use his box this evening at the theatre [John Street, near Broadway], being the first of his appearance at the playhouse since his entering on his office. The President, Governor of the State, foreign Ministers, Senators from New Hampshire [John Langdon and Paine Wingate], Connecticut [William Samuel Johnson and Oliver Ellsworth], Pennsylvania [William Maclay and Robert Morris], M., and South Carolina [Pierce Butler and Ralph Izard]; and some ladies in the same box. I am old, and notices or attentions are lost on me. I could have wished some of my dear children in my place; they are young and would have enjoyed it. Long might they live to boast of having been seated in the same box with the first Character in the world.

"The play was the 'School for Scandal.' I never liked it; indeed, I think it an indecent representation before ladies of character and virtue. Farce, the 'Old Soldier.' The

house greatly crowded, and I thought the players acted well; but I wish we had seen the *Conscious Lovers*, or some one that inculcated more prudential manners.”—*Journal of William Maclay*.

THURSDAY, MAY 14.

At New York: “*New York*, May 16.—Last Thursday evening [May 14], His Excellency THE MINISTER of FRANCE [Count de Moustier], gave a Ball to THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, which was uncommonly elegant, in respect both to the company and the plan of entertainment. As a compliment to our alliance with France, there were two sets of *Cotillion Dancers* in complete uniforms; one set in that of France, and the other in *Blue and Buff*: The ladies were dressed in white, with *Ribbands, Bouquets and Garlands of Flowers*, answering to the uniforms of the Gentlemen.—THE VICE-PRESIDENT—many Members of the Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States—THE GOVERNOR of this State—THE GOVERNOR of the Western Territory, and other characters of distinction were present.”—*Gazette of the United States*.

FRIDAY, MAY 15.

At New York: “*New York*, May 16.—Yesterday Mr. F. P. VAN BERCKEL had an audience of THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, in which he delivered his *Credentials* of RESIDENT from THEIR HIGH MIGHTINESSES THE STATES GENERAL OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS, having been introduced by the Hon. JOHN JAY, *Secretary of State for the Department of foreign affairs*.”—*Gazette of the United States*.

“*New York*, May 18.—Friday last [May 15], the Vice-President of the United States, the Heads of Departments, the Foreign Ministers, the Judges of the Supreme Court of this State, together with a numerous circle of citizens and foreigners, visited the President at his house.”—*Pennsylvania Packet*, May 20.

## MONDAY, MAY 18.

At New York: "*New York*, May 20.—Monday last [May 18] the Senate of the United States, with THE VICE-PRESIDENT at their head, went in a body, in carriages, from their Chamber of Congress, to the House of THE PRESIDENT, where the Vice-President read and presented to him an Address, in answer to his Speech, delivered to both Houses of Congress."—*Gazette of the United States*.

## TUESDAY, MAY 19.

At New York: "*May* 19.—Had agreed with sundry of our Pennsylvania friends to go to the levee. General Muhlenberg came to me and told me they would meet me in the committee-room. We did so, and went to the levee. I went foremost, and left them to follow and do as well as they could. Indeed, they had no great thing of a pattern, for I am but a poor courtier. The company was large for the room. The foreign Ministers were there, Van Berkel, the Dutch Minister (for the first time I suppose), gaudy as a peacock. Our Pennsylvanians withdrew before me. The President honored me with a particular *tête-à-tête*. 'How will this weather suit your farming?' 'Poorly—sir; the season is the most backward I have ever known. It is remarkably so here, but by letters from Pennsylvania vegetation is slow in proportion there.' 'The fruit, it is to be expected, will be safe; backward seasons are in favor of it, but in Virginia it was lost before I left that place.' 'Much depends on the exposure of the orchard. Those with a northern aspect have been found by us [in Pennsylvania] to be the most certain in producing fruit.' 'Yes, that is a good observation and should be attended to.' Made my bow and retired."—*Journal of William Maclay*.

## WEDNESDAY, MAY 27.

At New York: "*New York*, May 27.—This morning at 5 o'clock the President set off in his barge to meet Mrs. Washington at Elizabeth-Town Point."—*Gazette of the United States*.

"*New York*, May 30.—Wednesday [May 27] arrived in this city from Mount Vernon, Mrs. Washington, the amiable consort of The President of the United States. Mrs. Washington from Philadelphia was accompanied by the Lady of Mr. Robert Morris. At Elizabethtown-point she was met by The President, Mr. Morris, and several other gentlemen of distinction, who had gone there for that purpose.—She was conducted over the bay in the President's Barge, rowed by 13 eminent pilots, in a handsome white dress; on passing the Battery a salute was fired; and on her landing [at Peck's Slip] she was welcomed by crowds of citizens, who had assembled to testify their joy on this happy occasion.

"The principal ladies of the city have, with the earliest attention and respect, paid their devoirs to the amiable consort of our beloved PRESIDENT, viz. The *Lady* of His Excellency the Governor—*Lady Sterling*—*Lady Mary Watts*—*Lady Kitty Duer*—*La Marchioness de Brehan*—the *Ladies* of the Most Hon. Mr. Langdon, and the Most Hon. Mr. Dalton—the *Mayoress*—Mrs. *Livingston* of Clermont—Mrs. *Chancellor Livingston*—the Miss *Livingston's*—*Lady Temple*—*Madam de la Forest*—Mrs. *Montgomery*—Mrs. *Knox*—Mrs. *Thompson*—Mrs. *Gerry*—Mrs. *Edgar*—Mrs. *M'Comb*—Mrs. *Lynch*—Mrs. *Houston*—Mrs. *Griffin*—Mrs. *Provost*—the Miss *Bayards* and a great number of other respectable characters."—*Gazette of the United States*.

#### THURSDAY, MAY 28.

At New York: "*New York*, May 30.—Although THE PRESIDENT makes no formal invitations, yet the day after the arrival of Mrs. Washington [May 28], the following distinguished personages dined at his house, *en famille*.—Their Excellencies the Vice-President—the Governor of this State—the Ministers of France and Spain—and the Governor of the Western Territory—the Hon. Secretary of the United States for Foreign Affairs—the Most Hon. Mr. *Langdon*, Mr. *Wingate*, Mr. *Izard*, Mr. *Few*, and Mr. *Muhlenberg*, Speaker of the Hon. House of Representatives of the United States."—*Gazette of the United States*.

Paine Wingate, Senator from New Hampshire, one of the guests, has left the following description of this dinner: "It was the least showy dinner that I ever saw at the President's. As there was no clergyman present, Washington himself said grace on taking his seat. He dined on a boiled leg of mutton, as it was his custom to eat of only one dish. After the dessert a single glass of wine was offered to each of the guests, when the President rose, the guests following his example, and repaired to the drawing-room, each departing at his option, without ceremony."



## FRIDAY, JUNE 5.

At New York: "*New York*, June 8.—THEATRE—JOHN-STREET—Friday evening [June 5] was presented that excellent *Comedy* the CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE. The President of the United States and his Lady—the Most Honourable Robert Morris and Lady—the Gentlemen of the President's Suite—Honourable General Knox and Lady—Baron Steuben—and many other respectable and distinguished characters honoured the Theatre with their presence."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, June 10.

## MONDAY, JUNE 8.

At New York: "Although in the present unsettled state of the executive departments, under the government of the Union, I do not conceive it expedient to call upon you for information officially, yet I have supposed, that some informal communications from the office of foreign affairs might neither be improper nor unprofitable."—*Washington to John Jay*, Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

The secretaries of the several executive departments under the new government were not appointed till September. In the mean time the usual business of the departments was transacted by the officers who had charge of them when the old government expired. Mr. Jay continued to fill the office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs till Mr. Jefferson (appointed September 26) entered upon his duties in March, 1790. The name of the department was changed by law to that of the *Department of State*, and its head was thenceforward called Secretary of State. General Knox acted as Secretary of War till his new appointment to the same post on the 12th of September. The affairs of the Treasury were administered by a Board, consisting of Samuel Osgood, Walter Livingston, and Arthur Lee. These gentlemen retained their places till September 11, when Alexander Hamilton was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. Edmund Randolph was appointed Attorney-General September 26, and Samuel Osgood Postmaster-General on the same day.

## FRIDAY, JUNE 19.

At New York: "*New York*, June 19.—His Excellency the President of the United States has been much indisposed for several days past, which has caused great anxiety in the breast of every true friend to America; on Wednesday he was visited by several physicians, and a chain

extended across the street to prevent the passing of carriages before his door; it is however hoped, that this indisposition will not prove other than incidental, and the cause be soon removed.”—*Pennsylvania Packet*, June 22.

MONDAY, JUNE 22.

At New York: “The President has been confined to his bed for a week past by a fever, and a violent tumor on his thigh;—I have now, however, the pleasure to inform you that the former has left him, and the latter in a fair way of being removed, tho’ from its size it will be some time before he will be wholly relieved from the inconvenience of it.”—*Tobias Lear to Clement Biddle*, MS. Letter.

“*New York*, June 24.—I informed you in my last, of the 22<sup>d</sup> that the President was recovering from his indisposition, and I am now happy to add that he still continues to mend;—his weakness, and the effects of the tumor on his thigh are now his only complaints—these will be removed by time and attention, tho’ the latter having been very large & the incision, on opening it, deep, must require some time to be in a state to enable him to take exercise.”—*Tobias Lear to Clement Biddle*, MS. Letter.

FRIDAY, JULY 3.

At New York: “I have now the pleasure to inform you, that my health is restored, but a feebleness still hangs upon me, and I am much incommoded by the incision, which was made in a very large and painful tumor on the protuberance of my thigh. This prevents me from walking or sitting. . . . I am able to take exercise in my coach, by having it so contrived as to extend myself the full length of it.”—*Washington to James McHenry*.

The cause of the illness of Washington was a case of anthrax so malignant as for several days to threaten mortification. His medical adviser was Dr. Samuel Bard, who attended him with unremitting assiduity. Being alone one day with the doctor, Washington, regarding him steadily, asked his candid opinion as to the probable result of his case. “Do not flatter me with vain hopes,” said he, with placid firmness; “I am not afraid to die, and therefore can bear the worst.” The doctor expressed hope, but owned that he had apprehensions. “Whether to-night or twenty years hence makes no difference,” observed Washington. “I know that

I am in the hands of a good Providence." His sufferings were intense and his recovery was slow.

#### SATURDAY, JULY 4.

At New York: Is waited on by a committee of the Society of the Cincinnati of the State of New York, and addressed by its chairman, Baron Steuben.

The Society afterward marched in procession, attended by Colonel Bauman's artillery and a band of music, to St. Paul's Chapel, where Alexander Hamilton delivered an oration in honor of General Nathanael Greene. William Maclay, Senator from Pennsylvania, referring to this in his journal, says, "The church was crowded. The Cincinnati had seats allotted for themselves; wore their eagles at their button-holes, and were preceded by a flag. The oration was well delivered; the composition appeared good, but I thought he should have given us some account of his virtues as a citizen as well as a warrior, for I supposed he possessed them, and he lived some time after the war, and, I believe, commenced farming."

#### MONDAY, JULY 6.

At New York: "*New York*, July 6.—With pleasure we announce that the President is considerably recovered from his late indisposition, and has, for these few days past, been able to take an airing in his carriage."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, July 8.

#### THURSDAY, JULY 23.

At New York: "*New York*, July 25.—On Thursday last [July 23] that venerable patriot CHARLES THOMPSON, Esq. resigned to THE PRESIDENT of the United States his office of Secretary of Congress—a post which he has filled for nearly Fifteen Years, with reputation to himself, and advantage to his country.

"When Heav'n propitious smil'd upon our arms,  
Or scenes adverse spread terror and alarms,  
Thro' every change the Patriot was the same—  
And FAITH and HOPE attended THOMPSON'S NAME."

—*Gazette of the United States*.

The President, in accepting his resignation, wrote to Mr. Thomson under date of July 24, as follows: "The present age does so much justice to the unsullied reputation, with which you have always conducted yourself in the execution of the duties of your office, and posterity will find your name so

honorably connected with the verification of such a multitude of astonishing facts, that my single suffrage would add little to the illustration of your merits. Yet I cannot withhold any just testimonial in favor of so old, so faithful, and so able a public officer, which might tend to soothe his mind in the shade of retirement. Accept, then, this serious declaration, that your services have been important, as your patriotism was distinguished; and enjoy that best of all rewards, the consciousness of having done your duty well."

MONDAY, JULY 27.

At New York: "Among the first acts of my recommencing business, after lying six weeks on my right side, is that of writing to you this letter in acknowledgment of yours of the 1st instant. Not being fairly on my seat yet, or, in other words, not being able to sit up without some uneasiness, it must be short."—*Washington to Bushrod Washington.*

"*New York*, July 29.—THE PRESIDENT of the United States was so well as to receive visits of compliment from many official characters and citizens yesterday [July 28]; but we learn, that, until his strength shall be more fully restored, he proposes to receive them only once a week, and that on Tuesdays. Mrs. Washington, we are informed, will be at home every Friday, at eight o'clock P.M. to see company."—*Gazette of the United States.*

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19.

At New York: Receives and answers an address from "The Bishops, the Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States of *New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina*, in Convention at Philadelphia, 7th August, 1789."

The address was presented by the Right Rev. Dr. Samuel Provoost, the Rev. Mr. William Smith, Mr. Robert Andrews, Mr. John Cox, Mr. William Brisbane, the Rev. Dr. Abraham Beach, the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore, Mr. Moses Rogers, the Rev. Uzal Ogden, the Rev. Mr. George H. Spieren, the Rev. Mr. Henry Waddell, and the Hon. Mr. Duane.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 22.

At New York: "*New York*, August 22.—THE PRESIDENT of the United States will this day, at 11 o'clock, meet the Senate in their chamber of Congress; to confer with them upon the important subject of the approaching negotiations



and treaties with the Southern Indians; and to make the necessary previous arrangements of that business. This intention was announced to the Senate by message on Thursday last."—*Gazette of the United States*.

"August 22.—Senate met, and went on the Coasting bill. The door-keeper soon told us of the arrival of the President. The President was introduced, and took our Vice-President's chair. He rose and told us bluntly that he had called on us for our advice and consent to some propositions respecting the treaty to be held with the Southern Indians. Said he had brought General Knox with him, who was well acquainted with the business. He then turned to General Knox, who was seated on the left of the chair. General Knox handed him a paper, which he handed to the President of the Senate, who was seated on a chair on the floor to his right. Our Vice-President hurried over the paper. . . . I rose reluctantly. Mr. President: The paper which you have now read to us appears to have for its basis sundry treaties and public transactions between the Southern Indians and the United States and the States of Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. The business is new to the Senate. It is of importance. It is our duty to inform ourselves as well as possible on the subject. I therefore call for the reading of the treaties and other documents alluded to in the paper before us. I cast an eye at the President of the United States. I saw he wore an aspect of stern displeasure. . . .

"I had at an early stage of the business whispered Mr. Morris that I thought the best way to conduct the business was to have all the papers committed. . . . Mr. Morris hastily rose and moved that the papers communicated to the Senate by the President of the United States should be referred to a committee of five, to report as soon as might be on them. . . . I rose and supported the mode of doing business by committees; that committees were used in all public deliberative bodies, etc. I thought I did the subject justice, but concluded the commitment can not be attended with any possible inconvenience. Some articles are already postponed until Monday. Whoever the committee are, if committed, they must make their report on Monday morning. I spoke through the whole in a low tone of voice. Peevishness itself, I think, could not have taken offense at anything I said.

"As I sat down, the President of the United States started up in a violent fret. '*This defeats every purpose of my coming here,*' were the first words that he said. He then went on that he had brought his Secretary of War with him to give every necessary information; that the Secretary knew all about the business, and yet he was delayed and could not go on with the matter. He cooled, however, by degrees. Said he had no objection to putting off this matter until Monday, but declared he did not understand the matter of commitment. He might be delayed; he could not tell how long. He rose a second time, and said he had no objection to postponement until Monday at ten o'clock. By the looks of the Senate this seemed

agreed to. A pause for some time ensued. We waited for him to withdraw. He did so with a discontented air. Had it been any other man than the man whom I wish to regard as the first character in the world, I would have said, with sullen dignity.

"August 24.—The Senate met. The President of the United States soon took his seat, and the business began. The President wore a different aspect from what he did Saturday. He was placid and serene, and manifested a spirit of accommodation; declared his consent that his questions should be amended."—*Journal of William Maclay*.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 27.

At New York: "August 27.—Senate adjourned early. At a little after four I called on Mr. [Richard] Bassett, of the Delaware State. We went to the President's to dinner. The company were: President and Mrs. Washington, Vice-President and Mrs. Adams, the Governor and his wife, Mr. Jay and wife, Mr. [John] Langdon and wife, Mr. [Tristram] Dalton and a lady (perhaps his wife), and a Mr. Smith, Mr. Bassett, myself, [Tobias] Lear, [Robert] Lewis,<sup>1</sup> the President's secretaries. The President and Mrs. Washington sat opposite each other in the middle of the table; the two secretaries, one at each end. It was a great dinner, and the best of the kind I ever was at. The room, however, was disagreeably warm.

"First was the soup; fish roasted and boiled; meats, gammon, fowls, etc. This was the dinner. The middle of the table was garnished in the usual tasty way, with small images, flowers (artificial), etc. The dessert was, first apples, pudding, etc.; then iced creams, jellies, etc.; then water-melons, musk-melons, apples, peaches, nuts."—*Journal of William Maclay*.

"It was the most solemn dinner ever I sat at. Not a health drank; scarce a word said until the cloth was taken away. Then the President, filling a glass of wine, with great formality drank to the health of every individual by name round the table. Everybody imitated him, charged glasses, and such a buzz of 'health, sir,' and 'health, madam,' and 'thank you, sir,' and 'thank you, madam,' never had I heard before. Indeed, I had liked to have been thrown out in the hurry; but I got a little wine in my glass, and passed the ceremony. The ladies sat a good while, and the

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<sup>1</sup> A nephew of the President, son of his sister Betty Lewis.

bottles passed about; but there was a dead silence almost. Mrs. Washington at last withdrew with the ladies.

"I expected the men would now begin, but the same stillness remained. The President told of a New England clergyman who had lost a hat and wig in passing a river called the Brunks. He smiled, and every body else laughed. He now and then said a sentence or two on some common subject, and what he said was not amiss. Mr. Jay tried to make a laugh by mentioning the circumstance of the Duchess of Devonshire leaving no stone unturned to carry Fox's election. There was a Mr. Smith, who mentioned how *Homer* described *Aeneas* leaving his wife and carrying his father out of flaming Troy. He had heard somebody (I suppose) witty on the occasion; but if he had ever read it he would have said *Virgil*. The President kept a fork in his hand when the cloth was taken away, I thought for the purpose of picking nuts. He ate no nuts, however, but played with the fork, striking on the edge of the table with it. We did not sit long after the ladies retired. The President rose, went upstairs to drink coffee; the company followed. I took my hat and came home."—*Idem*.

#### TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

At New York: "*New York*, September 12.—On Tuesday last [September 8], being the first public levee at the President's since his mother's decease was known in this city, several gentlemen of the two Houses of Congress, and other respectable persons, attended it, in American mourning. This silent mark of respect, flowing spontaneously from the hearts of freemen sympathizing with him in this domestic misfortune, manifests sentiments and emotions which no language can express in a manner so unequivocal and delicate."—*Gazette of the United States*.

"FREDERICKSBURG [Virginia], August 27, 1789.—On Tuesday, the 25th inst. died at her home in this town, Mrs. MARY WASHINGTON, aged 82 years, the venerable mother of the illustrious President of the United States, after a long and painful indisposition, which she bore with uncommon patience. Though a pious tear of duty, affection and esteem, is due to the memory of so revered a character, yet our grief must be greatly alleviated from the consideration that she is relieved from the pitiable infirmities attendant on an extreme old age.—It is usual when virtuous and conspicuous persons quit this terrestrial abode, to publish an elaborate panegyric on their characters—suffice it to say, she conducted herself through this transitory life with virtue, prudence and christianity, worthy the mother of the greatest Hero that ever adorned the annals of history.



"O may kind heaven, propitious to our fate,  
Extend THAT HERO'S to her lengthen'd date;  
Through the long period, healthy, active, sage;  
Nor know the sad infirmities of age."

—*Gazette of the United States*, September 9.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

At New York: "New York, September 19.—Monday evening last [September 14], the President of the United States, his lady and family, and several other persons of distinction, were pleased to honor Mr. Bowen's exhibition of wax-work, with their company, at No. 74, Water-street, and appeared exceedingly well pleased with the late improvements made by the Proprietor."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 24.

"New York, September 29.—Yesterday morning [September 28] the Light Horse, and the other Independent Companies in this city, paraded in the Broadway, under the immediate command of Col. Bauman; from whence they proceeded to the Race Ground, where they went through a number of manœuvres in a manner that would do credit to regular troops;—after which they exhibited a sham fight, that afforded the highest entertainment to the President, his Excellency the Governor, and a large concourse of respectable characters."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, October 2.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1.

At New York: "October 1.—Exercised in my carriage in the forenoon. The following company dined here to-day, viz: M<sup>r</sup> [George] Read of the Senate, Col<sup>o</sup> [Theodoric] Bland and M<sup>r</sup> [James] Madison of the House of Representatives, M<sup>r</sup> [Samuel] Osgood and his lady, Col<sup>o</sup> [William] Duer, his lady and Miss Brown, Col<sup>o</sup> Lewis Morris and lady, lady Christiana Griffin [wife of Cyrus Griffin] and her daughter, and Judge [James] Duane and M<sup>rs</sup> [General Nathanael] Greene. . . . M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Nelson<sup>1</sup> joined my family [as a secretary] this day."—*Washington's Diary*.

"October 2.—Dispatching Commissions &c. as yesterday, for the Judiciary. The visitors to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington this evening were not numerous."—*Washington's Diary*.

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<sup>1</sup> Son of General Thomas Nelson, Governor of Virginia, 1781.



SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3.

At New York: "*October 3.*—Sat for M<sup>r</sup> Ramage near two hours to-day, who was drawing a miniature Picture of me for M<sup>rs</sup> Washington.

"Walked in the afternoon, and sat about two o'clock for Madam de Brehan, to complete a miniature profile of me, which she had begun from memory, and which she had made exceedingly like the original."—*Washington's Diary*.

A miniature in the possession of Mr. H. S. Stabler, of Baltimore, Maryland, is claimed to be the "miniature Picture," by Ramage, referred to in the Diary. It represents Washington in uniform, head three-quarters to the left, the order of the Cincinnati on the left breast, and is beautifully executed. A reproduction of it on wood, with a statement as to its authenticity, will be found in Vol. XLVII., p. 645, of *The Century Magazine*. John Ramage, an Irishman by birth, resided in New York until 1794, when he went to Canada, where he died.

Madame de Brehan, sister of the French Minister, Count de Moustier, was quite a skilful amateur artist and a great admirer of Washington. On the evening of the day of the inauguration the front of her brother's residence on Broadway (afterward occupied by the President) was beautifully decorated with paintings by her own hand. The "miniature profile," referred to in the Diary as "exceedingly like the original," has been engraved by A. F. Sergeant, B. Roger, and Charles Burt. Proofs of the print by Sergeant, executed at Paris in 1790, were sent to the President after her return to France. Madame de Brehan left New York with her brother about the middle of October.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 4.

At New York: "*October 4.*—Went to St. Paul's Chappel in the forenoon. Spent the remainder of the day in writing private letters for to-morrow's Post."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*October 5.*—Exercised on horseback between the hours of 9 and 11 in the forenoon, and between 5 and 6 in the afternoon, on foot. Had conversation with Col<sup>o</sup> Hamilton on the propriety of my making a tour through the Eastern States during the recess of Congress, to acquire knowledge of the face of the Country, the growth and agriculture thereof—and the temper and disposition of the inhabitants towards the new government, who thought it a very desirable plan, and advised it accordingly. *October 6.*—Exercised in a carriage with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington in the forenoon. Conversd with Gen. Knox, Secretary of War, on the above tour, who also recommended it accordingly. *October 7.*—Exercised on horseback, and called on the Vice-President. In the afternoon walked an hour. . . . Upon

consulting Mr Jay on the propriety of my intended tour into the Eastern States, he highly approved of it, but observed, a similar visit w'd be expected by those of the Southern."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, OCTOBER 8.

At New York: "October 8.—Mr Gardoqui took leave, proposing to embark to-morrow for Spain.<sup>1</sup> The following company dined with me to-day, viz: The Vice-President, his lady and son and her niece, with their son-in-law, Col° [William S.] Smith and his lady—Governor [George] Clinton and his two eldest daughters—Mr [Tristram] Dalton and his lady, their son-in law, Mr Dubois, and his lady, and their other three daughters.

"In the evening, the Count de Moustier and Madam de Brehan came in and sat an hour. Mr Madison took his leave to-day. He saw no impropriety in my trip to the eastward."—*Washington's Diary*.

"October 9.—Exercised on horseback between the hours of 9 and 11. Visited in my route the gardens of Mr Perry and Mr Williamson.<sup>2</sup> Received from the French Minister, in person, official notice of his having recd. leave to return to his Court, and intended embarkation. . . . The visitors this evening to Mr Washington were respectable, both of gentlemen and ladies. October 10—Pursuant to an engagement formed on Thursday last, I set off about 9 o'clock in my barge to visit Mr Prince's fruit gardens and shrubberies at Flushing, on Long Island. The Vice-President, Governor of the State, Mr Izard, Col° Smith, and Majr Jackson accompanied me. These gardens, except in the number of young fruit trees, did not answer my expectations. The shrubs were trifling, and the flowers not numerous. The inhabitants of this place shewed us what

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<sup>1</sup> "New York, October 14.—On Saturday [October 10] sailed the snow San Nicholas, Melide, for Bilboa. His Excellency Don DIEGO de GARDOSQUI, Encargado de Negocios, and Minister of his Catholic Majesty to the United States, went passenger in this vessel, accompanied by his son, and one of his secretaries. Previous to His Excellency's departure, he waited on THE PRESIDENT of the United States, and had his audience of leave in due form: At the same time His Excellency introduced the Hon. Mr. VIAR, as CHARGE DES AFFAIRES from His Most Catholic Majesty."—*Gazette of the United States*.

<sup>2</sup> Perry's garden was on the west side of the Bloomingdale road, west of the present Union Square. Williamson's was a flower and nursery garden, and a place of public resort, on the east side of Greenwich Street, extending about three squares up from Harrison Street.

respect they could, by making the best use of one cannon to salute. On our return we stopped at the seats of General and M<sup>r</sup> Gouvern<sup>r</sup> Morris [Morrisania] and viewed a barn of which I have heard the latter speak much belonging to his farm—but it was not of a construction to strike my fancy—nor did the conveniences of it at all answer their cost. From hence we proceeded to Harlaem, where we were met by M<sup>rs</sup> Washington, M<sup>rs</sup> Adams and M<sup>rs</sup> Smith. Dined at the tavern kept by a Capt. Mariner, and came home in the evening. *October 11.*—At home all day—writing private letters.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, OCTOBER 12.

At New York: “*October 12.*—Received the compliments of the Count de Penthere, commanding his most Christian Majesty's Squadron in the harbour of Boston—these were sent by the Marquis de Traversy in the Active Frigate; who, with all his officers were presented by the French Minister at one o'clock.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*October 13.*—At two o'clock received the Address from the People called Quakers.<sup>1</sup> A good many gentlemen attended the Levee this day. *October 14.*—Wrote several letters to France, and about 7 o'clock in the afternoon made an informal visit with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington to the Count de Moustier and Madame de Brehan, to take leave of them. Into the hands of the former I committed these letters, viz: to the Count de Estaing, Count de Rochambeau, the Marqs. de la Fayette and the Marqs. de la Rouirie.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15.

Leaves New York: “*October 15.*—Commenced my Journey about 9 o'clock for Boston and a tour through the Eastern States.<sup>2</sup> The Chief Justice, Mr. Jay—and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War Departments accompanied me some distance out of the city. About 10 o'clock it began to Rain, and continued to do so till 11, when we arrived at the house of one Hoyatt, who keeps a Tavern at Kings-bridge, where we, that is, Major Jackson, Mr. Lear

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<sup>1</sup> For this address and the answer to it, see PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIII. p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> Congress having adjourned from the 29th of September to the 4th of January, 1790, the President resolved to embrace the opportunity to make a tour through the Eastern States, omitting Rhode Island, that State not having, as yet, accepted the Federal Constitution.



and myself with six servants, which composed my Retinue, dined. After dinner, through frequent light showers we proceed'd to the Tavern of a Mrs. Haviland at Rye. . . . The distance of this day's travel was 31 miles, in which we passed through (after leaving the Bridge) East Chester, New Rochelle, and Mamaroneck."—*Washington's Diary*.

"October 16.—About 7 o'clock we left the Widow Haviland's, and after passing Horse Neck, six miles distant from Rye, we breakfasted at Stamford, [Connecticut] which is 6 miles further. . . . At Norwalk, which is ten miles further, we made a halt to feed our Horses. . . . From hence to Fairfield, where we dined and lodged, is 12 miles. October 17.—A little after sun-rise we left Fairfield, and passing through Et. Fairfield breakfasted at Stratford, wh. is ten miles from Fairfield. . . . At this place I was received with an effort of Military parade; and was attended to the Ferry, which is near a mile from the center of the Town, by sevl. Gentlemen on horseback. . . . From the Ferry it is abt. 3 miles to Milford. . . . From Milford we took the lower road through West haven, and arrived at New Haven before two o'clock; we had time to walk through several parts of the City before Dinner. . . . The address [of the Assembly] was presented at 7 o'clock—and at nine I received another address from the Congregational Clergy of the place. Between the rect. of the two addresses I received the Compliment of a visit from the Govr. Mr. [Samuel] Huntington—the Lieut. Govr. Mr. [Oliver] Wolcott—and the Mayor, Mr. Roger Sherman."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, OCTOBER 18.

At New Haven, Connecticut: "October 18.—Went in the forenoon to the Episcopal Church, and in the afternoon to one of the Congregational Meeting-Houses. Attended to the first by the Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Edwards, and a Mr. Ingersoll, and to the latter by the Governor, the Lieut. Governor, the Mayor, and Speaker.

"These Gentlemen all dined with me, (by invitation,) as did Genl. [Jedidiah] Huntington, at the House of Mr. Brown, where I lodged, and who keeps a good Tavern. Drank Tea at the Mayor's (Mr. Sherman). . . . At 7 o'clock in the evening many Officers of this State, belonging to the late Continental army, called to pay their respects to me."—*Washington's Diary*.

"October 19.—Left New-haven at 6 o'clock, and arrived at Wallingford (13 miles) by half after 8 o'clock, where we breakfasted, and took a walk



through the Town. . . . About 10 o'clock we left this place, and at the distance of 8 miles passed through Durham. At one we arrived at Middletown, on Connecticut River, being met two or three miles from it by the respectable Citizens of the place, and escorted in by them. While dinner was getting ready I took a walk round the Town, from the heights of which the prospect is beautiful. . . . Having dined, we set out with the same Escort (who conducted us into town) about 3 o'clock for Hartford, and passing through a Parish of Middletown and Weathersfield, we arrived at Harfd. about sundown. At Weathersfield we were met by a party of the Hartford light horse, and a number of Gentlemen from the same place with Col<sup>o</sup> [Jeremiah] Wadsworth at their head, and escorted to Bull's Tavern where we lodged."—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20.

At Hartford, Connecticut: "October 20.—After breakfast, accompanied by Col<sup>o</sup> Wadsworth, Mr. [Oliver] Ellsworth and Col<sup>o</sup> Jesse Root, I viewed the Woolen Manufactory at this place, which seems to be going on with spirit. Their Broadcloths are not of the first quality, as yet, but they are good; as are their Coatings, Cassimeres, Serges and Everlastings; of the first, that is, broad-cloth, I ordered a suit to be sent to me at New York—and of the latter a whole piece, to make breeches for my servants. All the parts of this business are performed at the Manufactory except the spinning—this is done by the Country people, who are paid by the cut. . . . Dined and drank Tea at Col<sup>o</sup> Wadsworth's, and about 7 o'clock received from, and answered the Address of, the Town of Hartford."—*Washington's Diary*.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21.

At Springfield, Massachusetts: "October 21.—By promise I was to have Breakfasted at Mr. Ellsworth's at Windsor, on my way to Springfield, but the morning proving very wet, and the rain not ceasing till past 10 o'clock, I did not set out till half after that hour; I called, however, on Mr. Ellsworth and stay'd there near an hour—reached Springfield by 4 o'clock, and while dinner was getting, examined the Continental Stores at this place. . . . A Col<sup>o</sup> Worthington, Col<sup>o</sup> Williams, Adjutant General of the State of Massachusetts, Gen. [William] Shepherd [Shepard], Mr. Lyman, and many other Gentlemen sat an hour or two with me in

the evening at Parson's Tavern, where I lodged, and which is a good House."—*Washington's Diary*.

"October 22.—Set out at 7 o'clock; came to Palmer, at the House of one Scott, where we breakfasted. . . . At Brookland [Brookfield] we fed the Horses and dispatched an Express which was sent to me by Govr. Hancock—giving notice of the measures he was about to pursue for my reception on the Road, and in Boston—with a request to lodge at his House. Continued on to Spencer, 10 miles further, and lodged at the House of one Jenks, who keeps a pretty good Tavern. October 23.—Commenced our course with the Sun, and passing through Leicester, met some Gentlemen of the Town of Worcester, on the line between it and the former to escort us. Arrived about 10 o'clock at the House of — where we breakfasted—distant from Spencer 12 miles. Here we were received by a handsome Company of Militia Artillery in Uniform, who saluted with 13 Guns on our Entry and departure. At this place also we met a Committee from the Town of Boston. . . . These matters [entrance into Boston] being settled, the Committee set forward on their return—and after breakfast I followed. The same Gentlemen who had escorted me into, conducting me out of Town. On the Line between Worcester and Middlesex I was met by a Troop of light Horse belonging to the latter, who Escorted me to Marlborough, (16 miles) where we dined, and thence to Weston (14 more) where we lodged."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24.

At Boston: "October 24.—Dressed by Seven o'clock, and set out at eight—at ten we arrived in Cambridge, according to appointment; but most of the Militia having a distance to come, were not in line till after eleven; they made however an excellent appearance, with Genl. [John] Brooks at their Head. At this place the Lieut. Govr. Mr. Saml. Adams, with the Executive Council, met me and preceeded my entrance into town—which was in every degree flattering and honorable. To pass over the Minutiæ of the arrangement for this purpose, it may suffice to say that at the entrance I was welcomed by the Selectmen in a body. Then following the Lieut't Govr. and Council in the order we came from Cambridge (preceeded by the Town Corps, very handsomely dressed,) we passed through the Citizens classed in their different professions, and under their own banners, till we came to the State House; from which across the Street an Arch was thrown; in the front of

which was this Inscription—‘To the Man who unites all hearts’—and on the other—‘To Columbia’s favorite Son’—and on one side thereof next the State House, in a pannel decorated with a trophy, composed of the Arms of the United States—of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—and our French Allies, crowned with a wreath of Laurel, was this Inscription—‘Boston relieved March 17th. 1776.’ This Arch was handsomely ornamented, and over the Center of it a Canopy was erected 20 feet high, with the American Eagle perched on the top. After passing through the Arch, and entering the State House at the S° End and ascending to the upper floor and returning to a Balcony at the N° End; three cheers was given by a vast concourse of people who by this time had assembled at the Arch—then followed an ode composed in honor of the President; and well sung by a band of select singers—after this three Cheers—followed by the different Professions and Mechanics in the order they were drawn up with their colours through a lane of the People, which had thronged abt. the Arch under which they passed. The Streets, the Doors, windows and tops of the Houses were crowded with well dressed Ladies and Gentlemen. The procession being over, I was conducted to my lodgings at a Widow Ingersoll’s, (which is a very decent and good house) by the Lieut. Govr. and Council—accompanied by the Vice President, where they took leave of me. Having engaged yesterday to take an informal dinner with the Govr. [John Hancock] to-day, but under a full persuasion that he would have waited upon me so soon as I should have arrived—I excused myself upon his not doing it, and informing me thro’ his Secretary that he was too much indisposed to do it, being resolved to receive the visit. Dined at my Lodgings, where the Vice-President favoured me with his Company.”—*Washington’s Diary.*

“October 25.—Attended Divine Service at the Episcopal Church, whereof Doctor [Samuel] Parker is the Incumbent, in the forenoon, and the Congregational Church of Mr. [Peter] Thatcher in the afternoon. Dined at my Lodgings with the Vice-President. Mr. [James] Bowdoin accompanied



me to both Churches. Between the two I received a visit from the Govr. who assured me that indisposition alone prevented his doing it yesterday, and that he was still indisposed; but as it had been suggested that he expected to *receive* the visit from the President which he knew was improper, he was resolved at all haz'ds to pay his Compliments to-day. *October 26.*—The day being Rainy and Stormy, myself much disordered by a cold, and inflammation in the left eye, I was prevented from visiting Lexington, (where the first blood in the dispute with G. Brit'n was drawn). Rec'd the complim'ts of many visits to-day. Mr. [Tristram] Dalton and Genl. [David] Cobb dined with me, and in the Evening drank Tea with Gov'r Hancock, and called upon Mr. Bowdoin on my return to my lodgings. *October 27.*—At 10 o'clock in the Morning received the visits of the Clergy of the Town. At 11 I went to an Oratorio [at King's Chapel]—and between that and 3 o'clock rec'd the Addresses of the Governor and Council—of the Town of Boston—of the President [Joseph Willard], &c of Harvard College, and of the Cincinnati of the State; after wch. at 3 o'clock, I dined at a large and elegant Dinner at Fanuiel Hall, given by the Gov'r and Council, and spent the evening at my lodgings. *October 28.*—At 11 o'clock I embarked on board the Barge of the Illustrious, Captn. Penthere Gion [commander of the French squadron], and visited his Ship and the Superb, another 74 Gun Ship in the Harbour of Boston, about 4 miles below the Town. Going and coming I was saluted by the two frigates which lye near the wharves, and by the 74s after I had been on board of them; as also by the 40 Gun Ship which lay in the same range with them. I was also saluted going and coming by the fort on Castle Isld. After my return I dined in a large company at Mr. Bowdoin's, and went to the Assembly in the evening, where (it is said) there were upwards of 100 Ladies. Their appearance was elegant, and many of them very handsome; the Room is small but neat, and well ornamented."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29.

At Salem, Massachusetts: "*October 29.*—Left Boston about 8 o'clock. Passed over the Bridge at Charles-Town, and went to see that at Malden, but proceeded to the College at Cambridge, attended by the Vice-President, Mr. Bowdoin, and a great number of Gentlemen. . . . From Boston, besides the number of citizens which accompanied me to Cambridge, and many of them from thence to Lynn—the Boston Corps of Horse escorted me to the line between Middlesex and Essex County, where a party of Horse, with Genl. [Jonathan] Titcomb, met me, and conducted me through Marblehead to Salem. . . . At the Bridge, 2 miles from this Town, we were also met by a Committee, who conducted us by a Brigade of the Militia and one or two



handsome Corps in Uniform, through several of the Streets to the Town or Court House, where an Ode in honor of the President was sung—an Address presented to him amidst the acclamations of the People; after which he was conducted to his Lodgings. Rec'd the Compliments of many differt. classes of People, and in the evening, between 7 and 8 o'clock, went to an Assembly, where there was at least an hundred handsome and well dressed Ladies. Abt. nine I returned to my Lodgings."—*Washington's Diary*.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30.

At Newburyport, Massachusetts: "*October 30.*—A little after 8 o'clock I set out for Newbury-Port; and in less than 2 miles crossed the Bridge between Salem and Beverly. . . . After passing Beverley, 2 miles, we come to the Cotton Manufactory. . . . From this place, with escorts of Horse, I passed on to Ipswich, about 10 miles; at the entrance of which I was met and welcomed by the Select men, and received by a Regm't of Militia. At this place I was met by Mr. Dalton and some other Gentlemen from Newburyport; partook of a cold collation, and proceeded on to the last mentioned place, where I was received with much respect and parade, about 4 o'clock. In the evening there were rockets and some other fireworks—and every other demonstration to welcome me to the Town."—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31.

At Portsmouth, New Hampshire: "*October 31.*—Left Newbury-port a little after 8 o'clock (first breakfasting with Mr. Dalton) . . . and in three miles came to the line wch. divides the State of Massachusetts from that of New Hampshire. Here I took leave of Mr. Dalton and many other private Gentlemen who accompanied me; also of Gen'l Titcomb, who had met me on the line between Middlesex and Essex Counties—Corps of light Horse, and many officers of

Militia—and was rec'd by the President of the State of New Hampshire [John Sullivan]—the Vice-President [John Pickering]; some of the Council—Messrs. [John] Langdon and [Paine] Wingate of the Senate—Col<sup>o</sup> [John] Parker, Marshall of the State, and many other respectable characters; besides several Troops of well clothed Horse in handsome Uniforms, and many officers of the Militia also in handsome (white and red) uniforms of the Manufacture of the State. With this cavalcade, we proceeded, and arrived before 3 o'clock at Portsmouth where we were received with every token of respect and appearance of cordiality, under a discharge of artillery. The streets, doors and windows were crowded here, as at all the other Places; and alighting at the Town House, odes were sung and played in honor of the President. The same happened yesterday at my entrance into Newburyport—being stopped at my entrance to hear it. From the Town House I went to Colonel Brewster's Ta'n, the place provided for my residence; and asked the President, Vice-President, the two Senators, the Marshall, and Majr. [Nicholas] Gilman to dine with me, which they did; after which I drank Tea at Mr. Langdon's."—*Washington's Diary*.

"November 1.—Attended by the President of the State (Genl. Sullivan), Mr. Langdon, and the Marshall, I went in the forenoon to the Episcopal Church, under the incumbency of a Mr. Ogden; and in the afternoon to one of the Presbyterian or Congregational Churches, in which a Mr. [Joseph] Buckminster Preached. Dined at home with the Marshall, and spent the afternoon in my own room writing letters. November 2.—Having made previous preparations for it, about 8 o'clock, attended by the President, Mr. Langdon, and some other Gentlemen, I went in a boat to view the harbour of Portsmouth. . . . In my way to the mouth of the Harbour, I stopped at a place called Kittery, in the Province of Maine. . . . From hence I went by the old Fort (formerly built while under the English government) on an Island which is at the entrance of the harbour, and where the Light House stands. As we passed this Fort we were saluted by 13 Guns. Having Lines, we proceeded to the Fishing banks a little without the Harbour, and fished for Cod; but it not being a proper time of tide, we only caught two, with w<sup>ch</sup>, about 1 o'clock, we returned to Town. Dined at Mr. Langdon's and drank Tea there, with a large circle of Ladies, and retired a little after seven o'clock. Before dinner I rec'd an address from the Town, presented by the Vice-President."—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3.

At Portsmouth: "*November 3.*—Sat two hours in the forenoon for a Mr — Painter,<sup>1</sup> of Boston, at the request of Mr. Breck of that place; who wrote Majr. Jackson that it was an earnest desire of many of the Inhabitants of that Town that he might be indulged. . . . About 2 o'clock, I received an Address from the Executive of the State of New Hampshire, and in half an hour after dined with them and a large company, at their assembly room, which is one of the best I have seen anywhere in the United States. At half after seven I went to the assembly, where there were about 75 well dressed, and many of them very handsome ladies—among whom (as was also the case at the Salem and Boston assemblies) were a greater proportion with much blacker hair than are usually seen in the Southern States. About nine I returned to my quarters."— *Washington's Diary*.

"*November 4.*—About half after seven I left Portsmouth, quietly, and without any attendance, having earnestly entreated that all parade and ceremony might be avoided on my return. Before ten I reached Exeter, 14 miles distance. . . . From hence, passing through Kingstown, (6 miles from Exeter) I arrived at Haverhill [Massachusetts] about half-past two, and stayed all night. Walked through the town, which stands at the head of the tide of Merrimack River, and in a beautiful part of the country."— *Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

At Watertown, Massachusetts: "*November 5.*—About sunrise I set out, crossing the Merrimack River at the town, over to the township of Bradford, and in nine miles came to Abbot's tavern in Andover, where we breakfasted, and met with much attention from Mr. [Samuel] Phillips, President of the Senate of Massachusetts, who accompanied us through Bellariki [Billerica] to Lexington, where I dined, and

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<sup>1</sup> The painter, whose name is not mentioned in the Diary, was Christian Gulager, a Dane, who settled in Boston about the year 1781. He left that city in 1791, and after living in New York for some years, went to Philadelphia, where he died in 1827. His portrait of Washington was engraved by William E. Marshall, and published in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society," Vol. I., 1855-58.



viewed the spot on which the first blood was spilt in the dispute with Great Britain, on the 19th of April, 1775. Here I parted with Mr. Phillips, and proceeded on to Watertown. . . . We lodged in this place at the house of a Widow Coolidge, near the Bridge, and a very indifferent one it is." — *Washington's Diary*.

"November 6.—A little after seven o'clock, under great appearances of rain or snow, we left Watertown, and passing through Needham (five miles therefrom) breakfasted at Sherburn, which is 14 miles from the former. Then passing through Holliston, 5 miles, Milford 6 more, Menden 4 more, and Uxbridge 6 more, we lodged at one Taft's, 1 mile further; the whole distance of this day's travel being 36 miles. November 7.—Left Taft's before sunrise, and passing through Douglass wood, breakfasted at one Jacobs' in Thompson [Connecticut], 12 miles distant; not a good house. Bated the horses in Pomfret, at Col<sup>o</sup> Grosvenor's distant 11 miles from Jacobs', and lodged at Squire Perkins' in Ashford, (called 10 miles, but must be 12). November 8.—It being contrary to law and disagreeable to the People of this State (Connecticut) to travel on the Sabbath day—and my horses, after passing through such intolerable roads, wanting rest, I stayed at Perkins' tavern (which, by the bye, is not a good one,) all day—and a meeting-house being within a few rods of the door, I attended morning and evening service, and heard very lame discourses from a Mr. [Enoch] Pond." — *Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9.

At Hartford, Connecticut: "November 9.—Set out about 7 o'clock, and for the first 24 miles had hilly, rocky, and disagreeable roads; the remaining 10 was level and good, but in places sandy. Arrived at Hartford a little before four. We passed through Mansfield . . . and breakfasted at one Brigham's, in Coventry." — *Washington's Diary*.

"November 10.—Left Hartford about 7 o'clock. . . . Breakfasted at Worthington, in the township of Berlin, at the house of one Fuller. Bated at Smith's on the plains of Wallingford, 13 miles from Fuller's which is the distance Fuller's is from Hartford—and got into New Haven which is 13 miles more, about half an hour before sun-down. At this place I met Mr. [Elbridge] Gerry, in the stage from New York, who gave me the first cert'n acct. of the health of Mrs. Washington. November 11.—Set out about sunrise, and took the upper road to Milford, it being shorter than the lower one through West Haven. Breakfasted at the former. Baited at Fairfield; and dined and lodged at a Maj. Marvin's 9 miles further. November 12.—



A little before sunrise we left Marvin's, and breakfasting at Stamford, 13 miles distant, reached the Widow Haviland's, 12 miles further; where, on acct. of some lame horses, we remained all night."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

At New York: "*November 13.*—Left Mrs. Haviland's as soon as we could see the road, and breakfasted at Hoyet's tavern, this side Kings-bridge, and between two and three o'clock arrived at my house at New York, where I found Mrs. Washington and the rest of the family all well—and it being Mrs. Washington's night to receive visits, a pretty large company of ladies and gentlemen were present."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*New York, November 14.*—Yesterday, at one o'clock, THE PRESIDENT of the United States returned to this city in perfect health, from his tour thro the Eastern States. This event was announced by a federal salute from the Battery."—*Gazette of the United States*.

#### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

At New York: "*November 14.*—At home all day—except taking a walk round the Battery in the afternoon. At 4 o'clock received and answered an Address from the President [John Wheelock] and Corporation of Dartmouth College [Hanover, New Hampshire]—and about noon sundry visits."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*November 15.*—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon—and after returning from thence was visited by Majr. [Pierce] Butler, Majr. [Samuel] Meredith and Mr [William] Smith, So. Car'a. Received an invitation to attend the Funeral of Mrs [Isaac] Roosevelt (the wife of a Senator of this State), but declined complying with it—first, because the propriety of accepting any invitation of this sort appeared very questionable—and secondly (though to do it in this instance might not be improper), because it might be difficult to discriminate in cases which might thereafter happen. *November 16.*—The Commissioners [General Lincoln, Colonel Humphreys, and David Griffin], who had returned from the proposed treaty with the Creek Indians before me to this city, dined with me to-day, as did their Secretary, Col<sup>o</sup> Franks, and young Mr Lincoln, who accompanied them. *November 17.*—The visitors at the Levee to-day were numerous. *November 18.*—Took a walk in the forenoon, and called upon Mr Jay on business, but he was not within. On my return, paid Mr Vaughan Sen<sup>r</sup> a visit, informal."—*Washington's Diary*.

## THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19.

At New York: “November 19.—The following company dined here to-day, viz: M<sup>rs</sup> Adams (lady to the Vice-President) Col<sup>o</sup> [William S.] Smith and lady, and Miss Smith, M<sup>rs</sup> Adam’s niece—Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton and lady, and Miss Cornelia Clinton—and Maj. Butler, his lady and two daughters.”—*Washington’s Diary*.

“November 20.—The visitors of gent’n and ladies to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington this evening were numerous and respectable. November 21.—Received in the afternoon the Report from the Commissioners appointed to treat with the Southern Indians—gave it one reading—and shall bestow another and more attentive one on it. November 22.—Went to St. Paul’s Chapel in the forenoon—heard a charity sermon for the benefit of the Orphan’s School of this city. November 23.—Rid five or six miles between breakfast and dinner. Called upon M<sup>r</sup> Vanberckel<sup>1</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Adams. November 24.—A good deal of company at the Levee to-day. Went to the play in the evening—sent tickets to the following ladies and gentlemen and invited them to seats in my box viz:—M<sup>rs</sup> Adams (lady of the Vice-President), Genl. [Philip J.] Schuyler and lady, M<sup>r</sup> [Rufus] King and lady, Maj<sup>r</sup> Butler and lady, Col<sup>o</sup> Hamilton and lady, M<sup>rs</sup> Green—all of whom accepted and came, except M<sup>rs</sup> Butler, who was indisposed.”—*Washington’s Diary*.

## WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 25.

At New York: “November 25.—Exercised on horseback between breakfast and dinner—in which, returning, I called upon M<sup>r</sup> Jay and Gen. Knox on business—and made informal visits to the Gov<sup>r</sup>, M<sup>r</sup> [Ralph] Izard, Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler, and M<sup>rs</sup> Dalton. The following company dined with me, viz: Doct<sup>r</sup> [William S.] Johnson and lady and daughter (M<sup>rs</sup> Neely) M<sup>r</sup> Izard and lady and son, M<sup>r</sup> [William] Smith (So. Carolina) and lady, M<sup>r</sup> Kean and lady, and the Chief Justice, M<sup>r</sup> Jay.

“After which I went with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington to the dancing assembly, at which I stayed until 10 o’clock.”—*Washington’s Diary*.

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<sup>1</sup> Peter John Van Berckel, of Rotterdam, Minister to the United States from the United Netherlands.

"November 26.—Being the day appointed for a thanksgiving,<sup>1</sup> I went to St. Paul's Chapel, though it was most inclement and stormy—but few people at Church. November 27.—Not many visitors this evening to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington. November 28.—Exercised on horseback. November 29.—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. November 30.—Went to the Play in the evening, and presented tickets to the following persons, viz: Doct<sup>r</sup> Johnson and lady, M<sup>r</sup> Dalton and lady, the Chief Justice of the United States and Secretary of War and lady, Baron de Steuben, and M<sup>rs</sup> Green. December 1.—A pretty full Levee to-day—among the visitors was the Vice-President and all the Senators in town. Exercised on horseback between 10 and 12. December 2.—Exercised in the post chaise with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington—visited on our return the Vice-President and family—afterwards walked to M<sup>r</sup> King's—neither he nor his lady were at home, or to be seen."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3.

At New York: "December 3.—The following gentlemen and ladies dined here, viz: Gen. Schuyler, his lady and daughter (M<sup>rs</sup> [Stephen Van] Ranselaer) M<sup>r</sup> Dalton and his lady, the Secretary of the Treasury and his lady, Gen. Knox and lady, and M<sup>rs</sup> Greene, Baron de Steuben, Col<sup>o</sup> Osgood (Post Master Gen<sup>l</sup>), and the Treasurer Maj<sup>r</sup> [Samuel] Meredith."—*Washington's Diary*.

"December 4.—A great number of visitors (gentlemen and ladies) this evening to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington. The Governor of New Jersey [William Livingston], and the Speaker of the House of Assembly of that State [John Beatty], presented an Address from the Legislature thereof and received an answer to it, after which they dined with me. December 5.—Exercised on horseback between 10 and 12 o'clock. The Vice-President and lady and two sons—Col<sup>o</sup> Smith and lady, and his sister, and M<sup>rs</sup> Adam's niece, dined here. December 6.—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. December 7.—Walked round the Battery in the afternoon. December 8.—Finished my extracts from the Commissioners' Report of their proceedings at the Treaty with the Creek Indians—and from many other papers respecting

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<sup>1</sup> On the 29th of September the first session of the first Congress was brought to a close. Before their adjournment the two Houses appointed a joint committee to wait on the President and "request that he would recommend to the people of the United States a day of public thanksgiving and prayer to be observed by acknowledging, with grateful hearts, the many and signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a constitution of government for their safety and happiness." The proclamation recommending Thursday, November 26, for a national thanksgiving was issued on Saturday, October 3.



Indian matters and the Western Territory. A full levee to-day. *December 9.*—Walked round the Battery.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At New York: “*December 10.*—Exercised on horseback between 10 and 12 o'clock. The following company dined here to-day, viz: M<sup>rs</sup> King and M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> [William] Few, M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Harrison, M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> [Oliver] Wolcott, M<sup>r</sup> Duer, his lady, and Miss Brown, M<sup>r</sup> [Samuel] Griffin and lady, and Lady Christiana [Griffin] and her daughter.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*December 11.*—Being rainy and bad, no person except the Vice-President visited M<sup>rs</sup> Washington this evening. *December 12.*—Exercised in the coach with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington and the two children (Master [George Washington Parke] and Miss [Nelly] Custis), between breakfast and dinner—went the 14 miles round. *December 13.*—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. *December 14.*—Walked round the Battery in the afternoon. *December 15.*—Exercised on horseback about 10 o'clock—called on the Secretary for the Department of War, and gave him the heads of many letters to be written to characters in the Western Country, relative chiefly to Indian Affairs. Visitors to the levee to-day were not very numerous, though respectable. *December 16.*—Dined with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington and all the family (except the two children) at Governor Clinton's—where also dined the Vice-President, his lady, Col<sup>o</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Smith, the Mayor (Col<sup>o</sup> [Richard] Varick) and his lady, and old M<sup>r</sup> Van Berkel and his daughter.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17.

At New York: “*December 17.*—The following company dined here, viz: The Chief Justice of the U. States and his lady; M<sup>r</sup> King, Col<sup>o</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> [John] Lawrence, M<sup>rs</sup> [Elbridge] Gerry, M<sup>r</sup> Egbert Benson, Bishop [Samuel] Provost [Provoost], and Doctr. Lynn<sup>1</sup> and his lady.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*December 18.*—Read over and digested my thoughts upon the subject of a National Militia, from the plans of the militia of Europe, those of the Secretary at War, and the Baron de Steuben. *December 19.*—Committed the above thoughts to writing, in order to send them to the Secretary for the Department of war, to be worked into the form of a Bill, with which

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<sup>1</sup> William Linn, first chaplain of the United States House of Representatives.



to furnish the Committee of Congress which had been appointed to draught one. *December 20.*—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. *December 21.*—Framed the above thoughts on the subject of a National Militia into the form of a Letter, and sent it to the Secretary for the Department of War. Sat from ten to one o'clock for a M<sup>r</sup> Savage, to draw my Portrait for the University of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts, at the request of the President and Governors of the said University."<sup>1</sup>—*Washington's Diary.*

#### TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22.

At New York: "*December 22.*—A pretty full and respectable Levee to-day—at which several members of Congress, newly arrived, attended."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*December 23.*—Exercised in the Post-Chaise with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington to-day. Sent the dispatches which came to me from the Assembly of Virginia, and from the Representatives of several Counties therein, respecting the state of the frontiers and depredations of the Indians, to the Secretary for the Department of War, requesting his attendance to-morrow at 9 o'clock, that I might converse more fully with him on the subject of the communications. *December 24.*—The Secretary of War coming according to appointment, he was instructed, after conversing fully on the matter, what answers to return to the Executive of Virginia, and to the Representatives of the frontier counties. *December 25.*—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. The visitors to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington this afternoon were not numerous, but respectable."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26.

At New York: "*December 26.*—Exercised on horseback in the forenoon. Chief Justice Morris and the Mayor (Col<sup>o</sup> Varick), and their ladies, Judge [John Sloss] Hobart, Col<sup>o</sup> Cole, Maj<sup>r</sup> [Nicholas] Gilman, M<sup>rs</sup> Brown, Secretary Otis,<sup>2</sup> and M<sup>r</sup> Beekley,<sup>3</sup> dined here."—*Washington's Diary.*

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<sup>1</sup> The bust portrait painted by Edward Savage from this and the subsequent sittings recorded in the Diary is still owned by Harvard College. It represents Washington in uniform, with the order of the Cincinnati on the left breast, and has always been considered a faithful likeness of the great original. Mr. Savage afterward (1792) engraved this portrait in the stipple manner. Impressions are held in much esteem by good judges of the art.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Allyne Otis, of Massachusetts, the first Secretary of the United States Senate. He served in that capacity with great fidelity and amenity until his death at Washington City, April 22, 1814.

<sup>3</sup> John Beekley, of Virginia, Clerk of the House of Representatives.

" *December 27.*—At home—all day—weather being bad. *December 28.*—Sat all the forenoon for M<sup>r</sup> Savage, who was taking my portrait. *December 29.*—Being very snowing, not a single person appeared at the Levee. *December 30.*—Exercised in a carriage. *December 31.*—Bad weather and close house. The Vice-President and lady, Col<sup>o</sup> Smith and lady, Chan<sup>r</sup> [Robert R.] Livingston, lady and sister, Baron Steuben, Messrs. [Alexander] White, [Elbridge] Gerry, [George] Partridge and [Thomas T.] Tucker, of the House of Representatives, dined here to-day."—*Washington's Diary.*

(To be continued.)

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES OF MATTHEW PRATT,  
PAINTER.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES HENRY HART.

“Copies of memorandums made by Matthew Pratt, in his own handwriting, and given to Thomas Pratt, his son, being incidents of the family history.”

“Matthew Pratt son to Henry and Rebecca Pratt was born between Walnut and Chestnut streets at 8 o'clock in the morning, in a house that stood at the corner of Taylor's Alley, on the lot where Robert Smith, merchant, built himself a fine house and in which he now lives.

“1734, *September 23rd.* born—at three years of age was inoculated for Small Pox by Mr. Philip Syng and had it very favorable.

“1744.—Wrote sixteen different handwritings under Mr. Stephen Vidal who kept a boarding school for youths in Philada.

“1747.—Wrote another piece of sixteen different handwritings, under same tuition school near Chestnut in Second street.

“1749.—My father Henry Pratt died 31st Jany. 1749 aged 40 years and 9 months, with gout in the head and stomach.

“1749.—Went apprentice to my uncle James Claypoole, Limner and Painter in general—served my time out 6 years and 8 months.

“1755.—Set my trade up, in company with Francis Foster, and followed it till the month of October 1757, when I left him, to carry my trade on, in my absence, whilst I went a Trading voyage to Jamaica. But I got taken, in our voyage, by a French Privateer, in sight of the Island, who kept us in company, on the south side of Cuba till the 6th day, when we were retaken by a Jamaica Privateer, and sent into Lucia the Port we were first bound to, and after

spending 6 months in Jamaica, very agreeably, at Col. Robert Haughton's seat in the parish of Hanover, by invitation, and having lost by the French Privateer one half of what was left, we happened to arrive at such markets as made us whole, when we returned to Philada. Tho' by the misfortune of my Limes, which I had brought home, being all rotten, I lost the advantage I should otherwise have made, as Limes would have made me a good gainer, as they were at \$20. the barrel in Philada. and had not cost me more than \$1. per Barrel.

"1758.—I arrived in Philada. in May, when I began to practice portrait painting. Took suitable Rooms at George Claypoole's, and met with great encouragement, having full employ, and much to my satisfaction; making money fast, with the approbation of every employer, and in August 1760, I married Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. Charles Moore, Hatter and Wholesale Dry Goods Merchant of Philada. with whom I received some money, and household furniture complete to begin housekeeping.

"1761.—My first son Henry Charles Pratt was born on the 14th May at Philadelphia in Market St. near 4th.

"1762.—My mother died Aug. 1st aged 50 years and 8 months, she was the daughter of Joseph Claypoole, of the city of Philada. Joiner and Cabinet Maker, born 26th Nov. 1710 in Walnut St. at a house owned by the Revd. Archibald Cummings, of my said Grandfathers, and at 15 years of age was married to my father Henry Pratt, in Christ Church Philada. in May 1727. By whom he had 10 children (as pr. Register) of whom she carefully raised seven—who all married, and raised children to themselves, as per Family Register viz: Hannah, Matthew, Rebecca, Joseph, Charles, Thomas, Deborah.

"1763.—My second son was born on the 10 Sept. who died aged 11 months, viz. Charles.

"1764.—June the 24th I took my departure from Phila. in company with Miss Betsy Shewell and Mr. John West, father to the famous Benj'n West, bound to London, where we arrived in a passage of 28 days.



“In a few weeks after our arrival, I had the pleasure of officiating as a father in the marriage ceremony at St. Martin’s Church, in the Strand, in joining Miss Shewell to Mr. Benja’n West as a wife. They having been engaged to each other in Phila. 3 years before our leaving it;—To the entire satisfaction of all their friends and relatives. And after the ceremony in the Church, we visited all Mr. West’s relatives; viz: Old Mr. West’s sister, then living at Marborough, near Thames in Oxfordshire. And Mr. Thomas West’s family at Reading in Berkshire, who is a very respectable member of the Society of Friends &c.

“After spending some weeks in our journey visiting Windsor Castle, Oxford, and all that was worth going to see in the Country, we returned to the City, where Mr. Benjn West had a very elegant house, completely fitted up, to accommodate a very large family, and where he followed his occupation, in great repute, as a Historical & Portrait painter. And where he kindly accommodated me with Rooms, and rendered me every good & kind office he could bestow on me, as if I was his Father, friend and brother.

“The old gentleman stayed with his sister at Marborough some time, and also with his son at Reading, and then visited us at London, as he inclined to pass his time between one or the other of us, till after I had continued 2 years and 6 months in London, and 18 months in the city of Bristol, where I practiced to much advantage in my professional line.

“1766.—March the 20th I took my departure from Bristol in company with young Mr. Reed and Dr. Slade, on board the Brig Concord, Captn Joseph Volance; had a very agreeable passage to Philada. where we arrived.

“1768.—May 30th. began my professional line at the corner of Front and Pine st., where I met with my old and good friend, the Revd. Thomas Barton, of Lancaster, who came purposely to introduce me to Governor Hamilton, Governor Johnson, Mr. Jno. Dickinson, Mr. Saml. Powel, and all the Willing family, the clergy &c., among whom I met with full employ for 2 years; when I was informed of

an advertisement in the Public papers, of a Legacy coming due to my Wife, from her mother's relations in Carlingford, in Ireland, and left in the care of Arch deacon Congreve of that place. After which I took all the necessary papers, with proofs of my wife's right, and the best of Letters of recommendation to many of the different Clergy of that Country, and departed for Newry in company with Mr. Joseph Reed, Attorney at Law, who took that route to get to London, for his wife. We left Philadā. 12 March.

"1770.—We left Delaware Capes and had a most agreeable passage with Mr. Reed, (who was afterwards Governor of Penna.)

"April 13th. arrived off Cape Clear, Ireland.

"April 15th. landed at Kingsale. Mr. Reed wrote to his friends in London.

"April 17th. we arrived and landed at Newry, where Mr. Reed parted with me to go to London; and I proceeded to Carlingford, and found the Revd. Arch Deacon Congreve, was then in Dublin, Ireland. To Newry, and from thence went to find John Pringle's brother, with whom I had some business.

"Passed thro' Armagh, Culloden, Tyngan &c. Returned to Newry and posted with Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Culloch of Philada. and set off for Dublin, with a Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Callister on horseback thro' Dundalk & Drogheda, crossed the river Boyne, near the monument to the memory of the Battle of the Boyne, where Oliver Cromwell, fortified a remarkable hill that overlooked and commanded the Town of Drogheda, a place of great trade, a handsome, pretty large sea-port town, with a strong fort, parallels &c. Lodged at Drogheda on the 27th. of April; on the 28th. took a round thro' the Town.

"1770.—April 28th. This morning I observed that Drogheda was a good sea-port town—That the river is narrow—Some shipping in the Harbor, with a pretty strong Fort, and a handsome Parade and Barracks. The town seems very full of business, a good Custom House, Mayoralty, many handsome, good houses and substantial; a Trading people, with some marks of opulence. There is the finest

of fresh Salmon caught in the river. On the opposite side, is a very high, steep hill, which overlooks the Town, on which is erected an old Fortification, said to have been built by Oliver Cromwell, by which he reduced Drogheda to subjugation. From this Hill, I saw the place where the Monument stood, in memory of the famous Battle of the Boyne, about 2 miles off on the River side.

“April 28th, in the evening got to Dublin, and next day, went in search for the Arch Deacon Congreve, and by the direction I had from his Chaplain, at Carlingford, soon found him, delivered my letters of recommendation to him, and opened my business. Found him a very venerable, good looking gentleman, and exceedingly polite and condescending; sat some time with him and made an appointment for another day.

“Then I proceeded to Arch Deacon, Dr Isaac Mann’s near the College, where after I had delivered him my letters of Recommendation, and was introduced to his Lady and two Daughters, they insisted on my staying to dinner, in so very polite and friendly manner, that I accepted their invitation, and was made very happy all that day by the attention they individually bestowed on me, and obliging me to promise to visit them, every time I could spare to call that way. The young ladies, between 15 & 20 were pleased to show me some specimens of their own drawings, on paper and silks, of different kinds, and some very elegant needle work on chairs, sofas, fire-screens, and pictures. And some most elegant and grand chairs, with the backs and seats worked in large flowers, in proper colors, with silk, on a black ground, being the work of the old lady and her daughters united. A work of great time and attention, of great value for neatness and elegance of taste; superior to any thing of the kind I have ever seen. Here I was induced to form a most agreeable intimacy, that was highly gratifying to me, whilst I stayed in Dublin: For I never called but he, himself, would take me about to see something, that but for his presence, I would not have expected to have got admission to, viz. Thro. the College apart-



ments—Public buildings and Gardens—some Noblemen's Collections of Pictures—The Lord Lieutenant's collection at the Castle &c. In short, he made me appoint day after day to call on him for these purposes. And when I was assured I should find a plate at his table always ready laid for me.

“Thus kindly treated, without any other motive than the pleasure he was determined to take in being kind to me whilst I stayed in Dublin, I could not tell how to return him a compliment any way suitable, but by pressing him to sit to me for his own picture, which by the intercession of his Daughters, he consented at last to do. In which I was very lucky, in executing to general satisfaction. I painted it at full length, as large as life, in his Canonicals & Robes, and took a lucky opportunity that offered itself at that time, of placing it in a public exhibition, that was to be made by the Society of Artists of the city of Dublin, in the present month. At which the Society readily agreed to give it a conspicuous situation, out of respect to the Doctor's general good character, and particularly from my introduction to one of the principal Directors, with whom I had many friendly interviews at the Director's house, where I painted it at the Doctor's desire.

“The Director took me with him among the artists often, and frequently to his own house at breakfast, dinners &c. I had the pleasure of being presented with a Catalogue & ticket of admission to the Exhibition, while it lasted, and could have formed an opening to a good run of business, if my pre-engagements would have admitted my stay in Dublin. But as soon as I settled my affairs with Arch Deacon Congreve, and painted Mrs. Besic's picture, with whom I lodged, I left Dublin on Friday June the 8th 1770, in a Packet Brig, Capt'n Troy. Saturday June the 9th. landed at Park Gate, in England, got to Liverpool that afternoon and took my departure, with Mr. Archd. M'Culloch, the person I came over with—the vessel is to sail in about two weeks. Here I painted a picture for Mr. M'Culloch and 4 or 5 others before Sunday June 24th. when we sailed from Liverpool, to touch at Cork, where I spent some days in



recreating around the City of Cork and its neighborhood. To ship at Cove near Cork, and just as we were going off in our boat, were accosted by a young woman in great distress, wanting a passage to Philada. where she said she had a Father, and brothers and sisters well to live. Mr. McCulloch knew her family and connections, but objected to give her a passage, as she had married a worthless Irishman who took her over to Ireland, and left her at Cove, where we found her, in the utmost distress imaginable.

“Mr. McCulloch said her Father would not be obliged to any one that should take her home again, as she had married against her Father’s consent, and as she had always been a bad girl. Which appeared to me to be so unfeeling and inhuman in him, that I told him I would undertake to pay her passage, if he would not. And as I had some guineas in my pocket, I gave her money to get what necessary clothing she could procure for her immediate wants. We waited for a short time before she came down to the Boat, with a cheerful heart, and jumped on board ready to burst with gratitude, for her deliverance from misery unspeakable. She behaved herself well all the passage over, and returned to her family without their knowledge of her late distressed situation.”

*Memoranda of Thomas Pratt in reference to his father Matthew Pratt.*

“I think about the year 1785, the Fine Arts were very poorly encouraged in Philada., and during which time, my Father, having little to do in that line, was prevailed upon by a number of his particular friends to paint some signs, and he consented thereto.

“The first which he painted was a very large one called ‘The representation of the Constitution of 1788,’ which contained excellent portraits of the Gentlemen composing that Convention. And which was hung up at the southwest corner of Chestnut and Fourth Sts., where the Philadelphia Bank was afterwards erected. Which attracted much attention. Persons pointing out particular likenesses,

such as Washington and others. At the bottom of which, the following lines were written by my Father.

“ ‘Those 38 great men have signed a powerful Deed  
That better times to us, should very soon succeed.’

“ Another sign called the ‘Fox Chase,’ was hung up in Arch St., on the north side above 6th St. at a House kept by Mr. Brown, representing in ‘Full View.’ The gentlemen on horseback, in full pursuit of the Fox, with a full pack of Hounds, and was much admired. The following lines appeared at the bottom of the sign by Matthew Pratt.

“ ‘Our Hounds are good and horses too,  
The Buck is quite run down,  
Call off the Hounds, and let them blow,  
Whilst we regale with Brown.’

“ Another sign was hung up at the old ‘Lebanon Garden,’ at the S. East corner of South & Tenth Sts. Philada. Representing on one side a ship in a ‘Still Calm’ at sea, and on the other side Neptune, in his triumphant car, riding thro. the Sea. With the following lines at the bottom of the sign :

“ ‘Neptune in his triumphant car,  
Commands the ocean to be silent,  
While universal calm succeeds.’

“ On the other side of the sign were these lines :

“ ‘Of the Waters of “Lebanon”—  
Coffee, chocolate and Tea,  
And kind entertainments  
By John McGawey.’

“ And also another sign representing a ‘Game Cock,’ which was hung in front of a two story house south side of Spruce St. above Front St. This sign was more generally admired, than any thing of the kind ever exhibited in Philada. Upon the removal of the person from the place, it was retouched by some person and completely spoiled. It was afterwards hung up in the neighborhood of the Navy Yard.”

JOURNAL KEPT ON BOARD THE UNITED STATES  
FRIGATE "CONSTITUTION," 1812, BY AMOS A.  
EVANS, SURGEON UNITED STATES NAVY.

CONTRIBUTED BY A. W. EVANS, ELKTON, MARYLAND.

(Continued from page 386.)

*October 16, Friday.*—Foggy, disagreeable weather. Dropped the ship down last night from the Navy yard opposite to Long Wharf. Busily employed getting everything ready for sailing in a few days.

*October 19, Monday.*—Rode out to Paul Revere & Sons Rolling Mills, beyond Canton, 17 miles from Boston, on the Taunton & Newport (R. I.) road. They have a furnace for smelting & refining the Copper pigs, & casting bells, cannon &c, and a mill with which they roll the copper into plates. There is another mill for the purpose of Boring the cannon. I was treated with much politeness by Mr. Eyres, one of the firm. He walked with me to the Cotton Factories, a short distance lower down the stream. At one of them they Gin, card, & spin the cotton by machinery, & have also some looms. At the other they card & spin wool, & make stuffing for ladies' pelisses out of cotton. The latter is something new in this country, & is consequently kept secret by the owner. The country between Boston & Canton is hilly & rocky, but in a much higher state of cultivation than I had expected to find it. I stopped at a Store in Canton & was accosted by an elderly man to know whether I would give him a seat in my chaise, & carry him as far as his house, which lay about 2 miles on my road. I answered in the affirmative & he amused me on the passage by telling me what the neighbours would say to him the next day; & how many inquiries would be made of him to know with whom he had ridden the preceding evening. I took the hint, & recollecting what Dr. Franklin had said of the Yan-



kees, gave him my name, abode, business, &c &c—He gave me a cordial invitation to stop at his house & drink some brandy with him, which I declined.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

*October 20, Tuesday.*—Got under way with a fair wind & went down to President-roads. As we pass<sup>d</sup> were saluted by three cheers from one of the forts which the sailors returned.

*October 22, Thursday.*—Cool & windy; Mrs Bainbridge & some other ladies came on board & dined.

*October 24, Saturday.*—Cool wind from N. & W. in forepart of the day. Haul<sup>d</sup> round to E. in the afternoon. Went to Town to-day & took my farewell of it. The *Hornet* got under way & came to anchor below the fort. The wind would not permit our going to sea when the Tide favoured.

*October 27, Tuesday.*—Weighed anchor at 3 o'clock & stood to sea with a fair wind, the *Hornet* in company. A cartel Brig with Prisoners pass<sup>d</sup> up as we went out & saluted us with three cheers, on board of which we saw Mid<sup>m</sup> Madison—Came on to blow Tuesday night with dirty weather & continues so till

*November 5, Thursday.*—Lat. ob. 37° 57' N. Long. by chronometer 50° 23' W. At 5 P.M. discovered a sail ahead: made sail in chase & cleared up for action. About 6 came up with & boarded the ship *Star*, Capt. Skinner, 25 days from Lisbon bound to New York. From him we learn that Bonaparte was in Moscow & expected in St. Petersburg by this time.

*November 8, Sunday.*—Boarded the American Brig *South Carolina* from Lisbon bound to Phil<sup>a</sup>. He hoisted American colours & said he was in ballast. We were under English colours & pretended we were going to send him into Halifax, when he produced a British licence. Mr. Cox, acting master of the *Hornet*, was then put on board to take charge of the papers, & the Capt. ordered to proceed with his vessel to the destined port. He appeared much cha-

<sup>1</sup> This hiatus is filled, in the original, with a description, accompanied by a rough ground-plan, of the copper-rolling mill of Paul Revere & Sons.



grined; said we had worked to windward of him this time, but he be damn'd if we ever did it again. Lat. ob: at mer.  $33^{\circ} 10' N.$  Long. by chronometer  $40^{\circ} 59'$ . After discharging the Brig we made sail & steered S.E. & by S. Fresh breeze & heavy swell. The berth deck has been almost constantly wet since we left port.

*November 19, Thursday.*—Threw a bottle overboard to-day with the intention of ascertaining the current. It contains a piece of paper on which was written the Latitude, Longitude, date, & my name, with a request that the finder would make it public. The paper was oiled. The bottle corked, sealed, & a piece of Tarr<sup>d</sup> muslin tied over it. Eat the Albacore caught yesterday. I found it an excellent fish.

*November 28, Saturday.*—Fine, pleasant weather; Sun shines out for the first time for several days. Fumigated the ship yesterday with muriatic acid gas and whitewashed it to-day. Lat. ob: at mer.  $59'$  minutes N. Long. by lunar at 10 o'clock  $25^{\circ} 13' W.$  In conversation a few days since with Comm<sup>d</sup> Bainbridge relative to Doct. Ro[torn] objections to the efficacy of the Lightning rod, he mentioned the circumstance of three American Frigates laying at Anchor amidst a British fleet at Gibraltar in a severe thunder storm, when considerable injury was done to most of the British vessels without the Americans suffering any except the destruction of one of their lightning rods. He also observed that the Dutch church in New York had been struck four times before a rod was hoisted, since which time it has not been injured. It was the only church in the city that had not a rod. The rest escaped injury in every instance. The Dutch objected to having one from religious principles, but were afterwards convinced of their error. He has known the spire [sphere] of attraction to be more than 50 feet in several cases. How much farther it would attract he is unable to say. I believe Doct. Franklin placed it at about 30 feet, perhaps not so much.

*December 2, Wednesday.*—Stood to the Westward under easy sail till 2 o'clock A.M. expecting to see land, when we hove to. At daylight made sail & at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 discovered

the Island of Fernando de Noronha ahead. At 12 came to anchor off the Town, consisting of the church, government house, Barracks, &c. This Island is small, & presents a desert, barren prospect. A few shrubs cover the hills, which are peaked & rocky. We anchored about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Citadél, in 17 fathoms water. The Hornet sent her boat ashore to the Governor to know whether we could procure water, provision, &c—and bro't for answer that we could procure cattle, hogs, poultry, &c. The boat bro't off some water-melons, & Bananas. Shortly after we came to anchor three Black men came paddling off to the Ship with Fresh fish, on what they call *Catamarans*, a kind of boat composed of six small logs sharpened at the ends & confined together by wooden pins—a small bench on which they sit while paddling, is fixed on the after part on four short legs. A rope with stones tied to it was coiled up on the forepart of it. Of them we purchased some fish, for which the Com<sup>d</sup> gave a dollar. We hoisted English colours. This Island belongs to the Portugese & is the place where convicts are sent. There are no women on it. I am told they have no communication with the main, except once a year when supplies are sent to them. There are several small Forts on the Island, manned, I believe, by Portugese soldiers. It is situated in Lat.  $3^{\circ} 53'$  S. Long.  $32^{\circ} 27'$  W. There are between 8 & 900 soldiers on the Island, 50 of whom are convicts. There constantly was a heavy surf on the Island, so as to render it dangerous to land with boats. The rocky peak is computed to be 1500 feet high.

*December 3, Thursday.*—The Boats returned last night without procuring any water owing to the heaviness of the surf; one [of] them was stoved, & another much injured. Several of the men were nearly drown<sup>d</sup>, & one of them much hurt on the rocks. Sent the boats ashore again to-day & procured some water; got off also some pigs, eggs, melons, Cocoanuts, Cashurnuts, & Bananas.

*December 4, Friday.*—Got under way in the evening & stood towards the American coast. I understand that no vessel has been at this Island for several months. The

officers are relieved every year. The Comm<sup>d</sup> left a letter with the Gov. directed to the Capt of the Southampton Frigate, meant I presume for Capt Porter of the Essex.

*December 6, Sunday.*—Made the coast of South America about 7 o'clock this morning. Stood off and on all day in from 50 to 17 fathoms water. Saw several *catamarans* during the day, out of sight of the land, sailing about; probably fishermen. The part of the coast that we made was supposed to be Cape Ledo.

*December 7, Monday.*—Squally with rain last night. Standing off and on all night, beating to windward. Pass<sup>d</sup> some *catamarans* laying to. Were about 20 miles from land this morning, in 17 fathoms water. The land in sight this morning is Cape Blanco, and presents the appearance of some of the high land on the Chesapeake Bay.

*December 9, Wednesday.*—Still beating to the Southard in sight of land. Pershaw, a marine, received 50 lashes at the Gangway this morning, agreeably to the sentence of a Court Martial lately held on him. Altho' very young he bore it much better than many hardy veterans would have done. A Barque-rigged vessel is in sight ahead. At least so say our Wiseacres, with what justness will be discovered in the sequel. At 4 P.M. the Hornet boarded the chase & found her to be a Portugese Brig loaded with Salt, from Pernambuco bound to Rio Janario. From her he learnt that the Portugese in Rio had just heard of the war between great Britain & America; that an American Brig had arrived with flour, & a ship from India had put in there in distress, & that two English vessels were loading there. These were the only vessels in that port; two vessels had lately sailed for London. Were abreast of Cape St. Augustine in the evening.

*December 12, Saturday.*—Lat. by ob: 13° 08' S. Long. 37° 50' W. Discovered land ahead this morning & several small craft close in with it. Ran near the shore in bold water. The Land supposed to be that immediately to the Eastward of St Salvador. At dinner time to-day the men came on deck in a mutinous manner & complained to the



Comm<sup>d</sup> that the allowance of bread & water are not sufficient. He spoke in a resolute manner & ordered them below, after a short explanation.

*December 14, Monday.*—Gentle breezes from N. & E. Land in sight at times. The Hornet sailed yesterday evening for St Salvador, in order to procure water & provision.

*December 17, Thursday.*—Lat. ob.  $13^{\circ} 9' S$ . Long. by chron.  $38^{\circ} 20' W$ . At noon The Castle of St Anthony bore N. W. five or six Leagues distant. The town of St Salvador is hidden from our view by a hill, and is distant from the Castle about three miles. On the Bluff to the Northward of the Castle is a large building with a steeple, resembling a church. This afternoon some of the sailors Harpooned a Porpoise. The weather has been delightfully pleasant ever since we have been on the coast of Brazil. We have been on an allowance of  $\frac{1}{2}$  Gallon of water since we left Boston; and  $\frac{3}{4}$  lbs of a ration. Our crew have been healthy for some time—a few cases of bilious cholic are the only diseases that have made their appearance for some days. The crew are apparently much debilitated, & the sick convalesce very slowly. Since we have been near the land we have generally had a land breeze every morning.

*December 18, Friday.*—Wind from N. & E. with rain, but not in sufficient quantity to catch any for the crew. In the afternoon the Hornet joined company, having procured at St Salvador some Bread, Water, Oxen & Jerked Beef; Beside Bananas, Oranges, Yams, Cocoanuts, Mangroes, & water melons for the crew. Capt Lawrence informs that there were several British merchantmen & a sloop of war called the Bonne Citoyenne: the latter, report says, has on board specie to the amount of \$1,600,000. The Portugese treated our officers with much politeness. The American merchantmen at that place yielded every assistance to the Hornet. Our consul, Mr Hill, is spoken of in the highest terms. The City of St Salvador is situated on a high hill & contains 120,000 inhabitants. We learn that there is a 74 at Rio Janeiro—a Frigate at the river La



Plata: these two, together with a Brig, constitute the British naval force on the Brazil coast. One ship only was said to be cruising to the windward of St Helena. The Faudreon has lately returned to England. Several British Merchantmen have lately sailed for England. Coffee is sold at 7 cents per pound in St Salvador at present. We purchased some Cape wine at \$1.25 per Gallon. The oranges are very large & cost \$2.50 per bbl. One of our Quartermasters, named McCay, who went in the Hornet, deserted whilst in the city, as did also one of his own men. One of his Master's mates was also left on shore. She brought out a Coast pilot with her who is rated as Sailingmaster. At 7 o'clock this morning we bro<sup>t</sup> to & boarded a Brig under Spanish colours, 57 days from the Canarie Islands bound to Rio de la Plata, with 400 passengers, male & female, on board. These people left the Canaries in consequence of the famine produced by the Locust last year. She had not seen any vessels on her passage. She was bound into St Salvador for water when we boarded her. The land about the Bay of All Saints in sight during the after part of the day.

*December 19, Saturday.*—Concluded getting our fresh provision & stores from the Hornet & in the afternoon she parted company, steering to the Southard & we to the Northward, intending, I believe, to cruise on each side of the harbour for the British vessels at present in St Salvador. I understand that the vessels bound to St Salvador from England generally make the coast from 6 to 12 leagues to the Northward of the cape. A considerable quantity of specie is yearly sent by the British Merchants from Rio Janeiro to Pernambuco for the purpose of purchasing cotton: these vessels pass from 4 to 10 leagues from the coast. Land in sight in the afternoon. A small vessel was in sight all day, apparently watching our motions.

*December 21, Monday.*—Boarded a Brig from Oporto bound to St Salvador, 57 days out. The Capt & a Portuguese Col. who had served in the last actions in the Peninsula, came on board. He says there is no truth in the

report of a peace having been concluded between France & Russia. He is a Col. of Cavalry, is a good looking man & wears a handsome, neat dress.

*December 22, Tuesday.*—Boarded a Brig from the Coast of Africa bound to St Salvador, with 150 slaves. The boarding officer says they had the “Yaws.” This Brig was spoken 5 days ago by a Frigate hoisting English colours.

*December 23, Wednesday.*—In chase of a vessel ahead steering for St Salvador, which appears to gain on us.

*December 24, Thursday.*—This morning the strange sail was in sight ahead. About 9 o'clock we discovered her to be a large ship laying to, distant at 7 miles. Cloudy & squally. Took two reefs in the topsails, backed the main-topsails, & beat to quarters. When the weather cleared up we again discovered her in the same situation. At noon she stood towards St Salvador with all sail—nearly calm. We made sail in chase but did not gain on her. Discovered the Hornet to windward standing down with a view of cutting her off. We fired several shot at her, but they did not reach more than half way to her. She ran close in shore & the Hornet fired at her several times. She appeared to leave the Hornet, & she gave up the chase at that time near the entrance of the Bay of All Saints. The Hornet then Haul<sup>d</sup> her wind & stood towards us. We [blotted] towards & boarded a Brig which proved to be a Portuguese from St Salvador bound to Oporto. From her we learned that the chased Ship hoisted English colours. Discovered just before night, a sail to the S. & E. Made sail in chase.

*December 25, Friday.*—Capt. Lawrence came on board, with some of the officers of the Hornet. From them we learn that the Hornet chased that ship, which they suppose was the British Packet, within half a mile of the land. Capt Lawrence says he could have taken her, but did not wish to violate the neutrality of the Portuguese government. The fact is, however, that all the shot from the Hornet were fired within the distance of 3 marine leagues of the land.

The sailing master of the *Hornet* came on board in the evening, with a view of piloting us into St Salvador.

*December 26, Saturday.*—Standing with light breezes into the Bay of All Saints. While we were standing in some American Merchant Capts came on board bringing letters from our Consul advising us not to enter the port, as the Portuguese were much irritated at our conduct towards the British merchantmen, together with our blockading their port so closely. The Commodore, after taking into consideration the circumstances, stood off shore & determined not to go in, our Consul promising to send out provision to us in three or four days.

*December 29, Tuesday.*—At 8 A.M. discovered two ships to windward of us. At 9 one of them stood along shore, the other towards us. At 10-30 min. within 8 or 9 miles coming up with us. At 11-30 The Comm<sup>d</sup> supposed the strange sail to be a two decker and made sail away from her: made the private signal of the day which was not answered. The strange sail hoisted a tri-coloured signal flag at her main topgallantmast head & kept it flying a long time. At 12 the sail gaining on us going 10 k. Lat. ob: 13° 6' S. Long. by chron. 37° 38' W. Hoisted our Ensign & pendant. The strange ship then hoisted an English Ensign at the peak. At 1.25 the strange sail gaining on us discovered her to be a Frigate. At 1.37 took in part of the sail & stood for the enemy, having previously had all clear for action. At 1.45 she bore down intending to rake us which we avoided by wearing. At 4 minutes before 2 P.M. we fired a broadside at her, when she bore up & returned it: she was at that time distant about 1 mile. She was standing bows on but had haul<sup>d</sup> down her peak with an intention of wearing, when an order was given to the 3<sup>d</sup> Division to fire one Gun in order to make her hoist her colours—but the whole broadside was fired without stopping. The action then commenced warmly on both sides. At 3.15 her main-topmast & foremast went over the side. At 4 her mizzenmast went about 10 or 15 feet from the deck. At this time her fire was stopped & we haul<sup>d</sup> aboard our fore & main



tack & stood from her to repair our braces, &c. At 4.25 her mainmast went nearly by the board. The colours still flying at the stump of the mizzen mast. At 4.50 wore & stood for the Enemy. At 5.25 got ahead of her in a raking position & were about giving the order to fire when she struck her colours, at which our crew gave 3 hearty cheers, as they had done when we first beat to quarters & several times during the action. At 6 sent the cutter with Lieut Parker on board, which returned with the 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut Chadds (the Capt being mortally wounded) who delivered his sword, together with His Majesty's Ship Java—rated 38 but mounting 47 Guns—Henry Lambert Esq. Capt. Employ<sup>d</sup> during the night in taking the officers & crew from the Ship. She had about — killed & — wounded. The exact number could not be ascertained. Their own account was — killed & 105 wounded. She had on board Supernumeraries & all were about 450. She was six weeks from England bound to Bombay. On board were Lt. Gen<sup>l</sup> Hyslop & suite, consisting of Major Walker, & Capt Wood; a Surgeon's Mate, Lt of Marines, & 2 Sea-Lts passengers, together with Capt Marshall, a master & commander, who all were actively employ<sup>d</sup> during the action.

On our part there were :

*Killed.*—Jonas Angrau, Joseph Adams, Patrick Connor, Barney Hart, John Chevers, Seamen; Mark Snow, Jno D. Allen, W<sup>m</sup> Cooper, Ord. Seamen; Thos Hanson, Private of Marines.

*Wounded.*—W<sup>m</sup> Bainbridge, Comm<sup>d</sup>, Severely; Jno C. Aylwin,<sup>1</sup> Lt, Dangerously; Chs F. Waldo,<sup>1</sup> M. M., Amp<sup>td</sup> Thigh; Lewis German, Mid<sup>m</sup>, Slightly; Peter Woodbury, QrM, Severely; Jno Clements, Seaman, Amp<sup>td</sup> Leg; Joseph P. Chevers, Seaman, Amp<sup>td</sup> arm; Joseph Ward, Seaman, Amp<sup>td</sup> Thigh; Phillip Brimblecomb, Seaman, Amp<sup>td</sup> arm; Nich. Wextram, Seaman, Slightly; W<sup>m</sup> Long,<sup>1</sup> Seaman, Dangerously; Stephen Webb, Seaman, Mortally; Reuben Sanderline, Seaman, Mortally; W<sup>m</sup> Weeden, Seaman,

<sup>1</sup> Descriptions of the wounds of Aylwin, Waldo, and Long are found in the book containing this Journal.



Slightly; Enos Bateman, Seaman, Dangerously; Js D. Hammond, Seaman, Slightly; Peter Furnace, Seaman, Severely; Stephen Sheppard, Seaman, Slightly; Abijah Eddy, Seaman, Slightly; Philip Cook, Seaman, Slightly; Sam<sup>l</sup> Brown, Ord. Seaman, Severely; Dan<sup>l</sup> Hogan, Ord. Seaman, Severely; Th. Williams 3<sup>d</sup>, Ord. Seaman, Slightly; Jno. Vogel, Ord. Seaman, Severely; Anthony Reeves, Private Marines, Slightly; Jno. Elwell, Private Marines, Slightly; Mich. Chesley, Private Marines, Slightly.

A few more men slightly wounded, but not sufficiently so to require particular notice. Employ<sup>d</sup> all night getting the prisoners and baggage on board.

*December 30, Wednesday.*—Employ<sup>d</sup> repairing damages, which were trifling, & getting the Java's baggage on board.

*December 31, Thursday.*—At 3 P.M.—having taken all the private baggage out, set fire to her & blew her up. The explosion was not so grand as that of the *Guerriere*, as her small Magazine only took fire. Lat. 13° 54' S. Long. by chron. 37° 52'. Immediately after blowing up the prize we stood in for the land.

*January 1, 1813, Friday.*—Discovered land about the Bay of All Saints. Saw a sail in shore. Beat to quarters & with much trouble got all the wounded & prisoners below, where they were nearly suffocated.<sup>1</sup> Discovered the strange sail to be the *Hornet* with a schooner & a ship in company—prizes—the former supposed to be worth \$150,000, the latter a prize to the Java & the same vessel that stood in shore the morning of the action. At 11.50 dropped the kedge anchor in 23 fathoms water. Capt Lawrence came on board. The *Hornet* ran alongside, mann<sup>d</sup> the tops & saluted us with three cheers which we returned. At 1 stood in to the Harbour of St Salvador. Leaving the *Hornet* out with an expectation that the *Bonne Citoyenne* would go out & fight her. At 7 P.M. anchored in 7½ fathoms, soft bottom, opposite the City of Bahia or St Salvador, which is situated on the side of a large

<sup>1</sup> See a communication by Dr. Evans to the *Boston Gazette* (reproduced in the *National Intelligencer* of March 10, 1814), in reply to strictures by Surgeon Jones, of the Java.

hill with a beautifully commanding prospect. Landed the officers & men prisoners on parole on condition that they return to England. Took in some water, bread & fresh provision. The houses are all whitewashed. A few miles below the town there is a fort call<sup>d</sup> St Antonio, but would not completely command the entrance of the harbour. Abreast of the city there are some others.

*January 3, Sunday.*—Laying at St Salvador to day—Capt Lambert died, & Stephen Webb, one of our seamen mortally wounded in the late action.

*January 5, Tuesday.*—Weighed anchor and stood out of the harbour. Capt Lawrence came on board of us.

*January 6, Wednesday.*—Sent some provisions on board the Hornet. At 6 P.M. parted company, taking the schooner, her prize, under our convoy, Mr Bill the master of the Hornet, & Mr Riley prize masters. The Hornet intends remaining off St Salvador to wait for the Bonne Citoyenne. Reuben Sanderline dies of his wounds.

*January 26, Tuesday.*—This evening Joseph P. Chevers died of a malignant intermittent caused by his wounds.

*January 29, Friday.*—About one o'clock this morning Lieut John Cushing Aylwin died of a malignant intermittent caused by a wound thro' the shoulder received in the action with the Java. A braver or better man never lived. His country has suffered an irreparable loss in the death of this young man. His many virtues have endeared him to the hearts of all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, particularly his messmates. He bore his pain with great fortitude & was resigned to his fate, observing that he had witness<sup>d</sup> death in too many shapes to be alarmed at his approach. He observed to me a short time before his dissolution, that if I knew the history of his life I would be astonished at what he had suffered. . . . In the evening his body was committed to the deep with the honors of war. Lat. ob: 16° 29' N. Long. 52° 30' W.

*February 6, Saturday.*—At 6 A.M. discovered a brig & schooner to windward. About 11 A.M. the Brig made a signal. We then hoisted a signal which she could not under-

stand. Haul<sup>d</sup> it down & ran up English colours. She then made sail away from & we in chase, but she escaped by her superior sailing. During the chase the Schooner haul<sup>d</sup> her wind & we lost sight of her. At dark gave up the chase: left the Brig steering for Bermuda. Lat. 31° 50' N. Long. 66° 22' W.

*February 7, Sunday.*—Last night at 10 o'clock Peter Furnace died of a malignant Intermittent caused by his wounds.

*February 12, Friday.*—Lat. 40° 12' N. Long. 71° 13' W. Boarded the brig Venus from Providence, (R. I.) bound to Havana. Left New Port last night. Carried away our Main Top sail yard at the time we beat to Quarters, by backing to wait for the vessel. Got another one up before morning. Boarded the Brig Sarah of New York, 55 days from Liverpool for New York. From the Vessel we boarded this morning we received some late news papers, from which we learn that the Frigate United States has taken his B. M. Frigate Macedonian, & the Wasp has taken the Sloop of War Frolick mounting 22 guns. That Madison is re-elected President. That Gen<sup>l</sup> Armstrong is appointed Sec'y at War & W<sup>m</sup> Jones Esq. Sec'y of the Navy. That Comm<sup>d</sup> Rodgers is laying at Boston repairing; that the Acosta is laying in Massachusetts bay; that there is a large squadron off New York, &c, &c. Report that Bonaparte was kill<sup>d</sup> in the action of Smolenski by the Russians; that Junot had returned to Paris to prevent commotions. Report that our Northern Army had been defeated in another army [*sic*—action?] with the Canadians. We learn also from the Capt of the Venus that \$100,000 had been voted to the officers & crew of the Constitution by Congress. That they have authorized the building of six additional Frigates & four 74<sup>s</sup>. From the Sarah we received English papers as late as the 9<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> '12. Nothing of importance later than we have seen, except a report of the death of Bonaparte & the success of the Russians.

*February 15, Monday.*—In sight of Cape Ann—Cold: blows fresh from N. & W<sup>d</sup>: beating up to Boston light house: about 11 o'clock a Pilot came on board.—



DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

(Continued from page 373.)

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“FORT MERCER, 17<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1 oClk P.M., 1777

“SIR :

“In Consequence of the Enemy’s armed Vessells, laying at Fort Mifflin, their Provision Vessells pass unmolested up to the Mouth of Schylkill, between Mud Island and Province Island. A considerable Number of Shipping have moved up this Day & anchored off Billingsport. It is probable they may intend landing the Troops from New York, w<sup>h</sup> in Addition to those already there, (I mean Billingsport) their Force may be such as to put it out of my Power to prevent a Siege.—It is my Opinion, if your Excellency intends taking Possession of Province Island, this Post should be held. If you give up all Ideas of preventing the large Shipping’s going up the River, this Post is of no essential Consequence ; Batteries along the Shore, between this & Manto Creek, might annoy greatly, or totally prevent the Shipping from raising the Cheveau de Frize, if the Troops besieging should be dislodged.—If your Excellency should think of establishing a strong post at Cooper’s Ferry, I imagine all the large Cannon should be removed to Mount Holley. In that Case the Troops here would be of great Service.—It will require a large Force to keep the Shore so as to play directly upon the Shipping—Was our Fleet to continue under the Cover of this Place, the Enemy’s Shipping would be in a worse Situation ; but, as they seem to be upon the Wing, the Enemy will soon be able to open Bomb Batteries from Fort Mifflin. This would not be terrible in itself, but connected with an Investiture, would deprive the Garrison of that Cover, w<sup>h</sup> might otherwise be derived from



the Bank of the River.—Col<sup>o</sup> Greene will write you the Sentiments of the principal Officers of the Garrison, upon their present Situation. Provided the Enemy should attempt crossing Timber and Manto Creeks at the same Time, Woodberry will be a more ineligible Situation than Haddonfield, as it will throw my Troops between the Enemy's Front and Fort Mercer; and prevent that Communication w<sup>h</sup> would be necessary. However, in that Case, I shall act according to immediate Circumstances.—I hope your Excellency's Earliest Orders may be given upon these Matters.—It is a great Misfortune, that we have lost Fort Mifflin; Nothing but the undaunted Bravery, & persevering Prudence of Major Thayer, prevented a much greater Effusion of Blood, than has taken Place.—The Ground was held until the principal Cann[ona]de was over, when the greater part of the Garrison were put off. The Major with a rear Guard of about forty Men, remained, 'till with amazing Address, he had sent off the most part of the Stores, he then came away. Had the Garrison been bro't away in the Day time, the Loss must have been very great, as the shipping would have sunk many of the Boats. I mention these Circumstances, in repetition of what was said in my last, as it may be said by some, that the Major continued too long upon the Island.—If that was the Case, the Fault was mine, not his. I can say from my Conscience, I think never did Man behave better.

“I have called for an exact return of the killed & wounded, w<sup>h</sup> will soon be transmitted; It is not so great as was imagined or expected.

“I am &c.

“J. M. VARNUM.”

CAPTAIN CRAIG TO WASHINGTON.

“FRANKFORT, 18<sup>th</sup> November, 1777

“SIR:

“I have not been able to gain any intelligence of Consequence since I had the Honour of Addressing your Excellency.

“The enemy intend some Grand Menouever in Jersey very shortly which I hope to be informed of—the[y] have been making small enquiries respecting the Northern Army, and what number of Men your Excellency has in Jersey.

“Enclosed is a rough Draught of the enemy’s lines. I have been so unfortunate as to meet with an Accident which prevents my being so active on the lines as I wou’d wish to be—shoud anything new Transpire I shall embrace the earliest Opportunity of communicating it. I have &c.

“CHARLES CRAIG.

“I have this Moment received information of Lord Cornwallace<sup>s</sup> crossing in Jersey last night with four thousand Men. I shall write more particularly this evening. I have &c.

“C. CRAIG.

“ $\frac{1}{2}$  past 11 o’Clock.

“Since my last I have had I believe a True Acct. of Lord Cornwallace<sup>s</sup> rout. Last night about 12 o’Clock his Lordship Marchd from the City with Two thousand Granadiers, & light Infantry, he intends his march for Willmington where he is to Cross the river and march up the other side and make an Attackt on Red Bank Fort. I have the Honor &c.

“C. CRAIG.

“NEAR FRANKFORT,  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 o’Clock.”

LIEUTENANT HEARD TO WASHINGTON.

“FRANKFORD, 18<sup>th</sup> Novemb<sup>r</sup> Half past 2 P.M.

“SIR

“I am just now creditably inform’d by M<sup>r</sup> Petre, direct from the City, that last Night at 11 oclock, a large Body of the Enemy under the command of Cornwallis, march’d to the Neck. their intentions are to cross over the River below the Fort. Mr. Cooper further adds, that this detachment has so much weaken’d them, that they have not now, in the City, Men sufficient to Man their Lines. I have receiv’d various Acc<sup>ts</sup> of this, which, tho’ in themselves they

do not all agree, yet all in this, that a large Number has actually gone off.

“Mr Cooper received this piece of Intelligence from a Sergeant, who supposing him & two or three who were with him to be well affected to the Royal Army, had communicated this to him. As Cap<sup>t</sup> Craig is now absent & I now command, I have thought proper to send this. I have the honor &c

“JOHN HEARD.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER TO WASHINGTON.

“SQUAIR, Nov<sup>r</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> Eight oClock P.M., 1777

“SIR :

“You have been informed of the enemys move to Chester last night and of Generals Reed and Cadwalder & me Reconnitring them—by Reeds letter of this day from Darbey I am now to inform you that the[y] are all Imbarked on Bord there ships and gon over to the Jarsey—Redbank must now fall. I am &c

“JAS. POTTER.

“P.S.—I send you enclosed the Deposition of Mr. Sellers.”<sup>1</sup>

JOSEPH REED TO WASHINGTON.

“LEWIS DAVIS'S 5 MILES FROM DARBY & NEAR

“SPRINGFIELD MEETING HOUSE, Nov. 18, 1777

“ $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 oClock.

“DEAR SIR :

“Since I wrote you this Afternoon we have got Intelligence, out of Chester, which may be depended on that the Troops at Chester began to embark at 11 oClock this Morning & past over to Billingsport with their Cannon, Waggon, &c.—they made no Secret of their Intentions to attack Red Bank—They gave out their Number was 5000 & the

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Sellers, of the borough of Wilmington, a shallopman, and lately a prisoner with the English. The deposition refers to the cruel treatment meted out to prisoners, and the efforts of the British to starve them into enlisting on their side.

Inform<sup>t</sup> says there was certainly a great Number chiefly British.

“They said they would storm it to night if practicable but they were so late that the Informant thinks they could not effect it to night. He farther adds that Troops went from on Board the Ships on the same Errand. L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis commands this Detachment. We have thought it best to despatch this Intelligence this Evening that you may be fully apprized of every Circumstance necessary for your Excell<sup>y</sup> to form a Judgment of what may be proper to be done in our present Circumstances.

“Gen<sup>l</sup> Cadwallader supposing from the Position of the British Troops that his Scheme was wholly frustrated, had directed Proctor to return & proposed crossing the River to Head Quarters tomorrow morning, but upon this Intelligence he has determined to stay. You may depend upon it that every Precaution will be taken for the Safety of the Pieces, & I make no Doubt they will be safely returned. I am &c<sup>1</sup>

“JOS: REED.”

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 18 November, 1777

“10 o’Clock P.M.

“DEAR SIR:

“A Body of the Enemy marched last Night from Philadelphia, across the Bridge at the Middle Ferry and proceeded to Chester. Their number is variously reported, being from 1500 to 3000, but I imagine the former is most likely, although some people, from the city, think their numbers are much lessened upon their lines. They this

<sup>1</sup> From Major Clark’s letters I obtain the numbers of the regiments, exclusive of the Hessians and light infantry, which enable me to give the names of the colonels:

Fifth Regiment, Hugh, Earl Percy.

Fifteenth Regiment, Richard, Earl of Cavan.

Seventeenth Regiment, Hon. Robert Monkton.

Thirty-third Regiment, Charles, Earl Cornwallis.

Fifty-sixth Regiment, John Irwin.



day embark'd their Horses from Chester on Board Ships and Brigs. This would seem as if they were going away, but in my opinion it is only a feint, and that they intend to cross over to Jersey and pay you a visit. Therefore keep a good look-out below; if you do this, they cannot surprise you because they must make a tedious debarkation of their Horses. To all matters contained in yours of yesterday I refer you to the Generals St. Clair, Knox and Kalb, who went down to consult with you and the Commodore. I expect a report from them to govern me in my operations, towards assisting you. If you could get some countrymen to go into Billingsport with a small supply of provisions, he might learn something of their intentions and numbers. I am &c<sup>1</sup>

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL GLOVER.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 19 November, 1777

“11 o'clock P.M.

“SIR :

“The Enemy having thrown a considerable part of their force over Delaware, with an Intention as I suppose of making an attack upon our Fort at Red Bank, occasions me to Reinforce the Garrison & troops already there with a large Detachment from this Army—in addition to which it is my desire & you are hereby order'd to March by the most convenient Route after receipt of this to Join the Continental Army which may be in the Neighbourhood of Red Bank under command of Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene, or any other Officer there commanding, & take his directions with respect to your conduct at that Post. You will take the Necessary precaution for the Subsistence of your Troops on their march to this place by Detaching Commissaries &c<sup>a</sup>, to provide for them. Your first Route should be Directed to Haddonfield & from thence as Circumstances will require. I am &c

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman.

WASHINGTON TO THE COMMANDING OFFICER OF EITHER POOR'S  
OR PATERSON'S BRIGADE.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 19<sup>th</sup> November, 1777

“SIR :

“Instead of proceeding to Coryels Ferry which I imagine is your intended Rout, I desire you will march down as far as Trenton, and there wait my orders before you cross the River. The moment you receive this, dispatch an Officer to me, to inform me where you are, when you will be at Trenton, & by what Road you will march, that I may send orders to meet you. I am &c.

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“If this should reach you between Flemington and Coryels Ferry, you are not to march towards Trenton, but cross at Coryels, as first intended.<sup>1</sup>

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 19 November, 1777

“DEAR SIR :

“In Consequence of advices rec<sup>d</sup> since I wrote you last Night, I have ordered Gen<sup>l</sup> Huntington to march to your Assistance. You will please to direct the detachment that went first down to Fort Mifflin under the command of Col<sup>o</sup> Smith to return to camp, they are in so much want of Necessaries that it is impossible for them to remain longer. Let the Militia that are with you be put in the best order, that they can be. I wish they had a good officer at their Head to arrange them properly. I am &c

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“P.S.—It would not be amiss to collect all the Militia you can in the Country adjacent.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.

<sup>2</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman.

WASHINGTON TO COMMODORE HAZELWOOD.

"HEAD QUARTERS, 19 November, 1777.

"SIR

"I am favor'd with yours of 15<sup>th</sup> Instant covering the Resolution of a Council of War held the preceding day upon the Subject of my Letter of the 13<sup>th</sup>.

"The General officers who have been sent from here to Examine into & determine upon the Measures to be adopted in that quarter have, I expect, by this time put things in such a Train as will be most conducive to the public Interest, & agreeable to the Officers concerned. Should any matter be left undetermined by them, I shall be able from their Report to form my Opinion thereon & shall immediately communicate it to you. In the mean time I have no doubt but you will afford every Assistance in your Power to repel any attempt which may be made to clear the channell or reduce the Fort.

"Inclosed you have a Letter from Presid<sup>t</sup> Wharton which he requested might be forwarded to you. I am &c

"G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON."

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

"19 November, 1777

"SIR:

"The Generals St. Clair, Knox and Kalb returned to Camp this Evening—they are all clear in their opinions that keeping possession of the Jersey shore at or near Red Bank is of the last importance.<sup>1</sup> I have therefore determined to make such an addition to the Reinforcement that marched this morning under Genl. Huntington that I am in hopes you will be able to give an effectual Check to the force which the Enemy at present have in Jersey. Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene will take the command of the Reinforcement—Very much will depend upon keeping possession of Fort Mercer,

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Reed gave to President Wharton another account of the conclusion of these generals, saying they "were of opinion that the fort would not be tenable against regular approaches, and that the galleys would be of no use."

as to reduce it the Enemy will be obliged to put themselves in a very disagreeable situation to them and advantageous to us, upon a narrow neck of land between two Creeks, with our whole force pressing upon their Rear—Therefore desire Colonel Green to hold it if possible till the relief arrives. All superfluous Stores may be removed if it can be done after this reaches you; that in Case of Accident as little may fall into the hands of the Enemy as possible. While we hold the fort it will be necessary for some of the Gallies to lay close under the Bank to keep the Enemy from making any lodgment under it, and it will also secure your Communication with the Water, which perhaps may be essential, for I do not remember whether there is a Well in the Works. There can be no danger to the Galleys while we keep the Bank above them, and if we evacuate, if they cannot get off, they may destroy them and put the Men on Shore. I have recommended this upon a supposition that they will be very serviceable to you; if you do not think they will, you need not keep them.

“Altho I am anxious to have the fort kept, I do not mean that it should be done at all events so as to endanger the safety of the Men without any probability of success. I am &c<sup>1</sup>

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

CAPTAIN CRAIG TO WASHINGTON.

“SIR:

“I received various Accounts yesterday respecting the Enemy’s Measures for making an Attack on Red Bank in my last Letter to your Excellency I mentioned the Enemy’s intending to march by Willmington, having receiv’d that information from the City, But I think it very improbable—That Cornwallace is march’d with a party of Troops is a Certainty, said to be two Thousand Granadiers and Light Infantry. But where he intends Crossing I am not able to learn. The Enemy were last Night alarmed, and Drew in their Piquets. Nothing New has Transpired since my last.

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman.



In that Sketch of the Enemy's lines I sent yesterday is mentioned a Comp<sup>y</sup> from each Reg<sup>t</sup> being Draughted—Those men were Draughted before the reduction of Fort Mifflin. I have the Honor &c.

“C. CRAIG.

“FRANKFORT, 19<sup>th</sup> Nov' 1777

“Since my last Letter I have received a Certain Account of a Number of Highlanders crossing to Jersey last Night about nine oClock. The[y] cross'd at Coopers ferry—their Piquets were Drawn in last night, their lines very weak by every information. I am &c.

“Wednesday one o'Clock”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WAYNE TO WASHINGTON.

“TWO MILE STONE, 2 oClock P.M. 19<sup>th</sup> Nov. 77

“DEAR GEN<sup>L</sup>

“The light Infantry who were Encamped on the Right between third & fourth Street have struck their tents this morning—their Picquets are drawn in—we took possession of the advanced Redoubt made of Rails, where they vacated this day. I am just proceeding along the line to the left. They have turned out the Guards from a house near the City with a few of their Horse, but don't seem Inclined to Advance—there is no *Abettu* to the Right. I am &c

“ANT<sup>X</sup> WAYNE.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“HADDONFIELD, Nov. 19<sup>th</sup> 5 P.M., 1777

“This Morning my flying Camp was removed from Woodberry to this Place, as a more fit Situation for benefiting Red Bank. One principal Inducement was a Concurrence of Reports that the Enemy from Philadelphia were to form a Junction with those from Billingsport. In w<sup>h</sup> Case we have a proper Position for attacking the Party first mentioned, & thereby facilitate the Retreat of the Garrison over Timber Creek, w<sup>h</sup> otherwise would be impracticable.—My Videts have just informed me from Manto Creek Bridge, Sunton, that the Enemy moved, three Hours since with

about one Thousand towards that Bridge, but as it was taken up, which they could not fail knowing, I imagine their Principal Manœuvre was filing off from their Rear to their Right, in Order to cross five Miles above, where the Creek is easily fordible. Should this be the Case, I fear the Garrison must retreat in the Morning. However, I am this Moment going to Red Bank, & its Vicinity to satisfy myself more fully, & consult with Col<sup>o</sup> Greene. I am so fully of Opinion that they will bend their whole Force to get full Possession of the Jersey shore, rather than<sup>1</sup> I shall recommend holding the Post longer than otherwise, thinking that you will contend with them here, in great force, rather than suffer their Points to be carried. Nevertheless, not knowing what your Result may be, I shall not suffer the Garrison to be sacrificed upon Conjecture; but continue them as long as I can cover them—That most of the Troops have left Philadelphia, appears in Corroboration of your Excellency's 'Intelligence,' by daily Deserters who come to me. I have no Doubt of it, and am fully of your Opinion respecting their Intentions.—I have Accounts from Billingsport, by Deserters, two of whom came to me last Night, of the sixty-third Regiment, that their Force consists of three British Regiments from New York, fifty five Rank & File in a Company. I am induced to believe the Calculation true in part, as all the recruits from England have joined in New York—Some Companies of Guards, three and an half Hessian Battalions, two Green Coats & Preston's Regiment of Horse. These in Addition to those before there. I have nothing more to add, but that I am &c.

“J. M. VARNUM.

“By Major Ward, I now have your favor of this Day; am much obliged for the Reinforcement proposed; but can not think much of the Militia of this part of Jersey. A Reg<sup>t</sup> from the Eastern part has left us to Day, but another, larger, came to us.”

<sup>1</sup> In turning the leaf the general seems to have omitted some words.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER TO WASHINGTON.

"Nov<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1777

"I am under the disagreeable necessity of Informing your Excilancey that on the eighteenth Instant one of my picquats that Consisted of 1 Cap<sup>t</sup> 2 sub<sup>s</sup> 50 privits had 28 privits, Lieut. & 2 Sarg<sup>t</sup> taken prisners, and 3 wounded. as to the perticulars I Refare you to General Cadwalder. I am &c.

"JA<sup>s</sup> POTTER."

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL POOR.

"HEAD QUARTERS, 20 November, 1777

"SIR

"Upon receipt of this you are to direct your march towards this Army, and to be as expeditious as possible in forming a Junction. I am &c

"G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

"If in consequence of yesterday's orders you should have filed off towards Trenton, continue that Rout and give me notice of it by a Messenger. He will probably find me at the Crooked Billet."<sup>1</sup>

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL PATERSON.

"HEAD QUARTERS, 20<sup>th</sup> November, 1777

"SIR

"I yesterday wrote you a Letter with conditional directions relative to your march; upon receipt of this, you will proceed by the way of Coryel's Ferry and join this army as expeditiously as possible. I am &c

"G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON."

CAPTAIN McLANE TO WASHINGTON.

"DICKESON HOUSE, Nov<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1777

"SIR

"Intelligences this day agree that the Enemy have but few Troops in the City its currently reported that our people

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens. The letter to General Paterson contained the same P.S. as that to General Poor.

have avacuated Red Bank last night this Evening I fell in with one Thornton as he was going to his family near the lines he is a [ ] to the Gallys & left them this morning in Bristol he left the River opposite Red Bank this morning at 3 oClock he thinks that the fort was then in our Possession and that our people had received Intelligence that there was a reinforcement Coming to their assistance he saw last Tuesday a Great Body of the Enemy Cross over province Island to Billingsport this day the Enemy's advance Sentries consist of horse and they are on a line from Delaway to Schuylkill distance about one & half miles from the City—no Picquets of foot his discovered this day outside their lines this Evening I heard a smart fire of small Arms for about one Minute it appeared to be across the Delaway towards Cooper's ferry. Inclosed you have a few lines from the same person that sent the last—this morning one Thomas Smith of my party deserted to the Enemy he was one of the Sixth Maryland regiment has many of my party are Bare of Cloaths & desire to be Active [?] if his Excellency thinks proper I will be prepared to receive the relief in German Town tomorrow Evening. I remain &c.

“ALLAN M<sup>C</sup>LANE.

[*Enclosure.*]

“The Meadows Before the Redouts under water fortification across the roads of 2<sup>d</sup> & 3<sup>d</sup> Streets Intrenching along the Brow of the hills all the rest of works as before mentioned The longer you Delay the more Difficult it will be.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“HADDONFIELD, 20<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 11 A.M., 1777

“SIR

“Upon my Arrival at Red Bank last Evening, I found that Col<sup>o</sup> Greene had rec<sup>d</sup> the same Acc<sup>t</sup>s w<sup>h</sup> I mentioned to your Excellency in my Letter of yesterday; he was farther informed that the Enemy were actually crossing the Ford, In Consequence, he had given Orders for an Evacuation. The Powder by Cap<sup>t</sup> Duplissis, was strewed over the Fort. However, upon an Apprehension that your



Excellency might make a great Effort to save it, the Garrison agreed to remain; Hoping to take up the scattered Powder by Day Light. Immediately they were alarmed by the rowing of many Boats near the Shore. This changed the Scene and induced us to bring off the Men, leaving a strong rear Guard to fire upon the Boats. Upon the Approach of this Party the Boats retired. This caused a diversity of Opinion at first; But, it was finally the prevailing Sentiment, that the Boats retiring was a feint to draw the attention of the Garrison, & lull them into Security, 'till a Party from the Ford should throw themselves between Tim[b]er Creek and the Fort. From these Considerations, added to a dismal Circumstance that the firing a single Musket in the Garrison would blow it up, or the bursting of a single shell,—it was concluded to take away the Men, leaving a small Number to set Fire in Case of Necessity, & trust to their Fate.—We have bro't off many Stores; a large Number of Waggons have gone this Morning for the same Purpose. I believe the Possission will be ours 'till we can get away every thing valuable, except the heavy Cannon, or till a strong Force might again be sent in. I am now ascertained the Enemy's Reason for not attacking us here before. By a young Gentleman, who left Philadelphia last Evening, It appears that General Howe imagined there was a very large Force in New Jersey, commanded by Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene. He has therefore ordered all the Grenadiers down, with some other Troops to join Gen<sup>l</sup> Willson: Lord Cornwallis commands the whole. It is given out that they will take Red Bank or sacrifice their whole Army—This Young Gentleman farther adds, that he verily believes there are not to exceed one Thousand Men in Philadelphia.  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12. Your Excellency's Favor of yesterday is delivered to me.—We shall send some Men into the Fort. The Gallies have gone past Philadelphia.—I cannot think the Enemy will attempt the Force, [fort?] after being once convinced that we are equal, or superior to them in the Field. Should General Greene arrive before they attack, & have sufficient Force to move over Manto

Creek, they must fight us, before they make any other Attempt. If we beat them, Billingsport as well as red Bank will be ours. Should they possess themselves of Red Bank previous to General Greene's Arrival, that will not prevent an Action, as the Fort will contain but few Men, and, in the Result, will be his who conquers in the Field. I am &c

“J. M. VARNUM.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“MOUNT HOLLEY, 21<sup>st</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR

“Last Evening Fort Mercer was evacuated. Some of the Shipping burnt this Morning. Most of the Stores bro't safely off. The Enemy, part at Billingsport, part between Manto & Timber Creeks, and some at Fort Mercer. We have moved to this Place as the first safe Position on Account of the Creeks. From hence we can move by the Head of the Creeks, go down upon the Enemy, secure both our Flanks by the Creeks, and by the same means, secure a Retreat in Case of Disaster. It is a fit Situation for making a Junction of the respective Cors. Gen<sup>l</sup> Huntington has already joined me. Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene is at Burlington. The Militia amount to Twelve Hundred. Three Hundred here, seven Hundred at Haddonfield. I have ordered them here, but am just told ‘they dont like the Manœuvre.’ Two Hundred at Coopers Ferry & Gloucester: They are to join. With the Great Force you have ordered, we shall be superior, I believe, to the Enemy in the Field. We have the Advantage by being at the Head of the Creeks; & it is my firm Sentiment we ought & shall attack them to Advantage. The Success of that Manœuvre, as I mentioned before, will determine the Possession of the Forts. I am &c.<sup>1</sup>

“J. M. VARNUM.”

<sup>1</sup>See a letter of this date from Joseph Reed to President Wharton, in Reed's "Life of Reed," Vol. I. p. 338, where it is wrongly dated the 25th.

MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE TO WASHINGTON.

"BURLINGTON, 5 oClock P.M. Nov. 21. 1777

"D<sup>r</sup> SIR.

"General Varnum this moment acquaints me that fort Mercer was evacuated last evening—Commodore Hasselwood informs me also that the greater part, if not all the fleet except the thirteen Gallies were burnt this morning; one or two of the smallest vessels attempted to pass the city and could not effect it, one was set on fire and one other fell into the enemies hands owing to the matches going out—the People made their escape. My division arrivd on the other side of the river about ten this morning, but the want of scows to get over the waggons will prevent our marching until this morning the greater part of the night if not the whole will be employd in geting over the baggage & Artillery.

"General Varnum has retreated to mount Holly. I purpose to see him and General Huntington early in the morning if it is practicable to make an attack upon the enemy it shall be done; but I am afraid the enemy will put it out of my power as they can so easily make us take such a circuitous march by taking up the bridges over timber creek—I cannot promise any thing until I learn more of the designs of the enemy, their strength and the position they are in. If it is possible to make an attack upon em with a prospect of success it shall be done.

"Col. Shrieve [Israel Shreve] was with me this afternoon about turning out the Militia. I wish he may succeed, but from the temper of the People, there appears no great prospect—I have heard nothing from General Glover's brigade. I hope Col. Morgan's Corps of light troops will be on in the morning and Cap<sup>t</sup> Lee's troop of light Horse.

"The fleet are greatly disgusted at the reflections thrown out against the officers; the Commodore thinks the Officers are greatly injured, he asserts they did their duty faithfully. I am &c.

"N. GREENE.

“N.B.—The Commodore this mom<sup>t</sup> informs me there is three Sloops & a Brigg past safe by the City.”<sup>1</sup>

INTELLIGENCE.<sup>2</sup>

“The lines at the North End of the City are nearly compleat, they are ditch’d & facin’d from Delaware to Schuylkill, between each Redoubt—They have dam’d the Run at the upper end of second street, in order to keep the back water in, the more to obstruct your coming up to their works—On Monday night Lord Cornwallis & Sir W<sup>m</sup> Erskine, with a large detachm<sup>t</sup> some say four, some 5 thous<sup>d</sup> men marchd thro’ Derby downwards, cross’d the Delaware & took Red bank which was evacuated before they came to it, in Consequence of which, our brave little fleet were put to the rout. I believe all the Gondelows & two topsails made a safe retreat up the River, the others are all burnt—this morning 21<sup>st</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777.

“One o’clock P.M. Just now a boat came from W<sup>m</sup> Cooper’s ferry with a flag of truce, Bringing a Hessian Doctor & four Ladies over, soon after she left the wharff, the Delaware Frigate fired a Shot at her, she proceeded, till the frigates Boat met her took them all out & made the officer & his Crew prisoners, the passengers were sett at liberty & the others took to jail. The reason of this Violation I cannot guess, perhaps the flag was not properly authenticated by a General Officer, or they were Exasperated at the Burning our Fleet.

“They continue getting up Provisions by way of Schuylkill, they sell Rum at a Guiney p<sup>r</sup> Gall: pork they [have in] plenty, Beef & Butter they have none, their flower all very Musty—they begin at the Chevaux de frees tomorrow—they say Cornwallis is to scower the Jerseys, whilst How is to

<sup>1</sup>“*Resolved*, That an enquiry be made into the causes of the evacuation of Fort Mercer, on the river Delaware, and into the conduct of the principal officers commanding that garrison; and that a committee be appointed to report the mode of conducting the enquiry.”—*Journals of Congress*, November 28, 1777. The members of the committee were William Duer, Francis Dana, and Francis Lightfoot Lee.

<sup>2</sup> From a new correspondent.



maintain this City with about 3000 men, they appear to be in the greatest security, notwithstanding I have the greatest reason to believe from every Acc<sup>t</sup> that they do not exceed that Number.

“Their different preparations plainly denote their determination of wintering here.

“They have pulled down peal hall & all the rest of the houses facing their Redoubts. They have ordered all the wood within their lines to be cutt for the use of the Army, they are takeing up houses & when the empty ones are full they quarter the rest on the Inhabitants—Beef in Market is sold for 5/ p<sup>r</sup> lb. paper, & 3/9 hard money—thank God, the Quakers Idol is fallen  $\frac{1}{2}$  already, & I hope soon will to nothing; ’tis reported & I believe it to be fact the Quakers have lent them 90,000 pounds the better to carry on the war & some of them at this time refuse to take it for goods.

“The army are very healthy & very saucy, say they have men enough to defend their Lines whilst Cornwallis clears the Country.

“I hope His Excellency General Washington will soon convince them to the contrary.”

MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE TO WASHINGTON.

• “MOUNT HOLLY, Nov<sup>r</sup> 22, 1777

“D<sup>B</sup> SIR

“I came to this Place yesterday morning—the Difficulty of crossing the Baggage over the River prevented its coming up last night. The Boats & Scows at Burlington are under very bad Regulations.—Gen. Varnum had retreated as I wrote your Excellency before to this place. He left a Party of Militia at Haddonfield: I am afraid there has a very considerable Quantity of Stores fallen into the Enemies Hands, but principally belonging to the Fleet. The Enemy and the Militia had a small Skirmish at little Timbercreek Bridge, the Enemy crossed there in the afternoon & encamped. They say they are going to take Post at Haddonfield to cover the lower Counties & open a Market from

thence; Those Counties are some of the most fertile in the State, from whence great Quantities of Provisions can be drawn—A large Number of Boats went up to Philadelphia from the Shipping yesterday morning—there were some Soldiers on board of them.

“Col<sup>o</sup> Morgan’s Corps of Light Infantry advanced this morning for Haddonfield. If the Troops can be got in Readiness I intend to put the whole in motion this afternoon. We are greatly distressed for want of a Party of Light Horse. I must beg your Excellency to forward some as soon as possible.

“I have heard nothing from Glover’s Brigade. I sent an Express to the commanding Officer yesterday, but from the present Situation of things, I believe it will be best not to wait their coming up.

“Every Piece of Intelligence necessary for my Information with Regard to the Movements of the Enemy in the City, I must intreat your Excellency to forward to me by Express.

“Col<sup>o</sup> Shreeve will attempt to turn out the Militia, but the Commissary’s Department is in such a bad Situation & the People so unwilling to furnish Supplies, that it will be difficult to subsist a large Body.

“A considerable Body of light Horse would be very useful here.

“Your Excellency’s Letter of the 22<sup>d</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> is just come to Hand. You have in this, all the Intelligence which I have received. I am &c.

“NATH. GREENE.”

WASHINGTON TO MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

“HEAD QUARTERS, WHITEMARSH, 22 November, 1777

“DEAR SIR:

“I am fav<sup>d</sup> with yours of yesterday afternoon from Burlington. As you have crossed the River, an attack upon the Enemy’s detachment, if it can be made with success, would be a most desirable object. But I must leave the propriety of it entirely to your own judgment. I have heard nothing

more of Glover's Brigade than that they are advancing down the Road from Morris Town. I sent an Express to meet them, and to turn them down towards you, but I think you had better despatch one of your family or an Officer to guide them to you. There are not more than one hundred and seventy of Morgan's Corps fit to march as they in general want Shoes—they went yesterday and will join you I suppose this day. Capt. Lee's Troop are not yet come from the other Side of Schuylkill, but they are expected every instant, and will be sent immediately over to you. If you can procure any account that you think can be depended upon of the Number that the Enemy detached from Philad<sup>a</sup>, I beg you will send it to me. Or if they send any part of their force back, let me know it instantly. I shall be anxious to hear of every movement of you or the Enemy, and I therefore wish to have the most constant advices. I am &c.

“G. W.

“P.S.—I shall order an express to be stationed at Bristol to bring on your despatches.”<sup>1</sup>

WASHINGTON TO CAPTAIN ALLAN McLANE.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 22 November, 1777

“SIR :

“I have this moment received your Letter containing the Proposals of some of the Inhabitants near the Enemy's Lines. I will undoubtedly accept their offers of service on condition that they give in a list of their names, and engage to be under the absolute command for the time specified of such Officer as I shall appoint. This precaution is necessary, for otherwise they may only receive the Public Money without performing the Duty expected of them. I am &c.<sup>2</sup>

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman. }

<sup>2</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

“ 22 November, 1777.

“ SIR

“ I have rec<sup>d</sup> your favors of 20<sup>th</sup> & 21<sup>st</sup> Inst. by this Express I shall write to Maj. Gen<sup>l</sup> Green from whom you will receive your Instructions respecting your Operations on that Shore.

“ I am at a loss to determine upon what Principle the Powder was strewed over the fort at Red bank as I expected that if an Evacuation was found necessary it might be brought off, & if that was impracticable I considered the best mode of destroying it was to throw it into the River unless it was determined to blow up the Works with it, which could never be effected by the mode which was adopted.

“ As the Destruction of the Fort would naturally accompany the Idea of being obliged to Abandon it, I shall be much disappointed if I hear it has not been executed. I am &c

“ G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

WASHINGTON TO MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

“ HEAD QUARTERS, 22 November, 1777

“ DEAR SIR.

“ I have received your Letter of this Day's date—it does not appear from any account worthy of credit, that any part of the Detachment which cross'd the Delaware under Lord Cornwallis has return'd to Philadelphia. I am inclined therefore to wish that you would advance to meet it as much in force as possible—and that for this purpose you would use every means to hasten the junction of Glover's Brigade. I am at a loss to account by what mistake Capt. Lee's Troop is not with you; that was originally intended for the Service you mention, as it was esteemed the best calculated for it. As a party of horse appears so essential, that or some other will be ordered to join you immediately. I am &c

“ G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.



"By an officer from Glover's Brigade I was informed that it reached Morris Town the evening of the 20<sup>th</sup>. I sent a message to him to urge them forward and have reason to think they are by this time in your Neighborhood."<sup>1</sup>

THE NAVY BOARD TO WASHINGTON.

"CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

"BORDEN TOWN, 23<sup>d</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

"SIR :

"It is with the greatest Concern we inform you of the total Destruction of the Continental Fleet at Red Bank; having been burned by our own Officers in Consequence of a Determination of a Council of War. We have not yet had an Opportunity of making a regular Enquiry into the Reasons of so desperate a Measure. As far as we can collect from the Officers and Crews here, it was occasioned by the Assurances of the Commander of the Land Forces, that they must expect no further Protection from his Army; not even to secure a Retreat in Case of Emergency. But this must be the Subject of future Enquiry. Be the Cause what it may, the Loss seems at present, to be irreparable.

"We request the favour of your Excellency to let the enclosed Packet go with your next Despatches to Congress, & are &c.

"FRAS HOPKINSON.

"JOHN WHARTON."

COLONEL JOSEPH ELLIS TO MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

"[HADDONFIELD], Nov<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> 1777

"By a Woman who came thro' the Enemy encampments this day, says, that their main Body lay at Woodbury & Lord Cornwallis quarter'd at M<sup>r</sup> Coopers—That they have a large encampment at Great Timber Creek Bridge and their advanced picquet consisting of about thirty are posted at Little Timber Creek Bridge.—They give out that they have 10,000 Men, but she thought they had not half the

<sup>1</sup>In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.

number; most of the Troops she saw were cloathed in Greene—she thought they had between 80 & 100 Light Horse.”

[Unsigned.]

MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE TO WASHINGTON.

“MOUNT HOLLY, Nov<sup>r</sup> 24, 1777

“D<sup>r</sup> SIR

“I have nothing new to communicate to your Excellency with Respect to the Motions of the Enemy—they remain or did remain last night at Woodbury, with a Guard at Timber Creek, consisting of about six hundred men. The Boats that went up, mentioned in my former Letter, I conjecture had on Board the Baggage of the Army; the Soldiers seen on board, were the regimental Guards to the Baggage.

“The Militia of this State is dwindling to nothing. Gen. Varnum says, there was upwards of 1400 a few days since—they are reduced now to between seven & eight. Col<sup>o</sup> Shreeve is gone out to see what Impression he can make upon the People, and to endeavour to draw together as large a Number as possible; but I cannot flatter myself with any considerable reinforcement.—I will endeavour to inclose your Excellency a Return of our Strength in Continental & Militia this Afternoon if possible.

“We are all ready to advance; but the General Officers think it advisable to wait the Return of the first Express sent to Glover’s Brigade; to learn the strength & time the Junction may be formed with that Brigade.—I have heard nothing where it is, notwithstanding I have sent three Expresses.—Capt. Lee is not arrived, neither have I heard any thing of him—I could wish if possible, some Horse might be sent, as every Army is an unwieldy Body without them; & in this Country, they are more immediately necessary, to prevent the Enemy from sending out theirs to collect Stock.

“Col<sup>o</sup> Cox who is with me at this Place, says, if the Enemy can open a Communication with the three lower Counties, they will be able, independant of all the surrounding Country, to draw Supplies of every kind, neces-

sary for the Subsistence of the Army & Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia.

“Your Excellency observes in your last, you must leave the Propriety of attacking the Enemy to me. Would you advise me to fight them with very unequal numbers. Most People, indeed all, agree they are near or quite 5000 strong—Our Force is upwards of three, exclusive of the Militia, which may be from seven to eight hundred at most. The Situation the Enemy are in, the Ease with which they can receive Reinforcements, & the Difficulty of our knowing it, will render it absolutely necessary, whenever we advance from this Place, to make the Attack as soon as possible.—I had much rather engage with three thousand against five, than attack the Enemy’s Lines, & there is a much greater prospect of succeeding, but still I cannot promise myself victory, nor even a Prospect of it, with Inferior Numbers. I have seen of late, the difficulty your Excellency seemed to labour under, to justify the Expectations of an ignorant Populace, with great Concern. It is our misfortune to have an Extent of Country to cover, that demands four times our Numbers—the Enemy so situated as to be very difficult to approach, and from pretty good Authority superior to us in numbers. Under these Disadvantages, your Excellency has the choice of but two things, to fight the Enemy without the least Prospect of Success, upon the common Principles of War, or remain inactive, & be subject to the Censure of an ignorant & impatient populace. In doing one you may make a bad matter worse, and take a measure, that, if it proves unfortunate, you may stand condemned for by all military Gentlemen of Experience; pursuing the other you have the Approbation of your own mind, you give your Country an opportunity to exert itself to supply the present Deficiency, & also act upon such military Principles as will justify you to the best Judges in the present day, & to all future Generations. For my own Part, I feel Censure with as great a Degree of Sensibility, as is possible, and I feel ambitious of doing every thing that common Sense can justify; but I am fully persuaded, in attempting more you

may make a temporary a lasting Evil.—The Cause is too important to be trifled with to shew our Courage, & your Character too deeply interested to sport away upon un-military Principles.—

“For your Sake, for my own Sake, & for my Country’s Sake I wish to attempt every thing which will meet with your Excellency’s Approbation—I will run any Risque or engage under any Disadvantages if I can only have your Countenance if unfortunate. With the Publick I know Success sanctifies every thing and that only. I cannot help thinking from the most Dispassionate Survey of the Operations of the Campaign that you stand approved by Reason & justified by every military Principle.—With Respect to my own Conduct, I have ever given my Opinion with Candour & to my utmost executed with Fidelity whatever was committed to my Charge.

“In some Instances we have been unfortunate.—In one I thought I felt the Lowliness of your Excellency’s Countenance, when I am sure I had no Reason to expect it—It is out of my Power to command success, but I trust I have ever endeavoured to deserve it.

“It is mortifying enough to be a common Sharer in Misfortunes, but to be punished as the Author, without deserving it, is truly afflicting.

“Your Excellency’s Letter of the 22<sup>d</sup>, but I suppose it was of yesterday, this moment came to hand. As I have wrote so fully upon the Subject I have nothing to add, only, that to advance from this place before Glover’s Brigade joins us, unless we attack the Enemy without them, will rather injure than facilitate our Designs. But if your Excellency wishes the Attack to be made immediately—give me only your Countenance & notwithstanding it is contrary to the Opinion of the General Officers here, I will take the Consequences upon myself.

“Inclosed is a copy of a letter from Colo. [Joseph] Ellis at Haddonfield.

“The Hospitals in the Jerseys are greatly complained of—they prove a grave for many of the poor Soldiery—prin-



cipally oweing to the Negligence of the Surgeons who have the Care of the Hospitals. How far these Complaints are well grounded I cannot pretend to say—but I would beg leave to recommend the sending of good trusty Officers to inspect the Management of the Hospitals & to remain there until regularly relieved. I am &c.

“NATH GREENE.

“Major Burnet has just returned from Glover’s Brigade—they will be at the black Horse to Night—Eight miles from this place.

“half past three oClock.”

(To be continued.)

A REGISTER OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND  
DEATHS, 1772-1822.

BY REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D.D.

(Continued from page 261.)

252. Alexander Whitesides & Mary Jackway,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Lord's Day Feb<sup>y</sup> 2. 1794.
253. David Williams of Germantown, &  
Mary Thomas of Abington, Phil<sup>a</sup> County,  
Saturday, March 1, 1794.
254. Amos Thomas & Martha Thomas,  
Both of Hilltown, Bucks County, Pennf<sup>a</sup>.  
Wednesday, April 2. 1794.
255. Ewing Wiley & Catherine Bayne,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Thursday, May 1. 1794.
256. Job Dicks of Springfield, Delaware  
County, Pennf<sup>a</sup> & Rachel Powell of  
Mount Holly, N. Jersey. Friday May 2. 94.
257. Anthony Stone of Bethlehem, Pennf<sup>a</sup>  
& Elenor Wilson of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday  
May 6. 1794.
258. Robert Shaw of Phil<sup>a</sup>, & Mary Graham  
of Pottsgrove, Pennf<sup>a</sup>lvan<sup>a</sup>. Thursday,  
May 8. 1794.
259. Benjamin Lee & Mary Wetherby,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Saturd<sup>y</sup> May 10. 1794.
260. Robert Williams & Anne Evans, (Blacks,)  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Tuesd<sup>y</sup> June 10. 94.
261. Duncan Robertson & Catherine M<sup>c</sup>Fall,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Thursd<sup>y</sup> July 3, 94.
262. W<sup>m</sup> Kerlin & Elizabeth Patterson,  
Both of Chester, Pennf<sup>a</sup>, Lord's Day,  
July 6. 1794.
263. W<sup>m</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Kinzey of Virginia, & Mary Lester  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Thursday July 17. 94.

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264. Joseph Boggs & Margaret Donnaldson,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Thursd<sup>r</sup>, July 24. 94.
265. Joseph Price & Margaret France.  
Both of Kensington, Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday,  
Aug<sup>t</sup> 4. 1794.
266. Cap<sup>t</sup> Silas Webb of New York, and  
Elizabeth Hener of Reading, Pennf<sup>a</sup>.  
Wednesday Aug<sup>t</sup> 13. 1794.
267. Asa Saul & Martha Smith,  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>, Thursday Aug<sup>t</sup> 14. 1794.
268. John Morrow & Mary Archibald.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Saturd<sup>r</sup> Aug. 16. 94.
269. John Maxwell & Mary Hall,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Saturd<sup>r</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 16. 94.
270. John Befsiere & Mary Greble,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day, Aug<sup>t</sup> 24. 94.
271. Asa Sutton of Bristol Township, Bristol  
County, Pennf<sup>a</sup> & Elizabeth Larzalere,  
of Bensalem, d<sup>o</sup>, Saturd<sup>r</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 30. 94.
272. Peter Pope of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Mary Murphy  
of Trenton, New Jersey, Wedn<sup>r</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 3. 94.
273. Lemuel Shaw & Rebecca Davis.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Tuesday Sep<sup>t</sup> 9. 1794.
274. Jacob Cheeseman & Sarah Stiles,  
Both of Gloucest<sup>r</sup> County, N. Jersey,  
Saturday Sep<sup>t</sup> 27. 1794.
275. George Graham & Elizabeth Wilson,  
Both of Burlington County, N. Jersey,  
Wednesday Oct<sup>r</sup> 1. 1794.
276. Isaac Crisfield & Grace Eyres,  
Blacks. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Friday Oct<sup>r</sup> 3. 94.
277. John Monington & Elizabeth Roberts.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Thursday Oct<sup>r</sup> 9. 1794.
278. Peter Rose & Margaret Elliot, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Thursday Oct. 16. 1794.
279. James Molony & Anne Moore, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Thursday Oct<sup>r</sup> 23. 1794.
280. Ashley Bowen & Hannah Moore,  
Both of Philadelphia, Lord's Day,  
November 9<sup>th</sup> 1794.

281. Thomas Gibbs & Elenor Felty,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Tuesday, Nov. 25. 94.
282. Samuel Piles & Rebecca Morgan,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Monday Dec<sup>r</sup> 8. 1794.
283. Joseph Howell & Hannah Kinnard,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Tuesday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 23. 1794.
284. George Harris & Juliana Dawson, (Blacks.)  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>r</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 24. 94.
285. Charles Nicholson & Hannah Davis,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Dec<sup>r</sup> 25. 94.

*Thirty Four Couple.*

286. John Wheeler & Margaret Hughes,  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>, Thursday, Jan<sup>r</sup> 15. 1795.
287. Joseph M<sup>c</sup>Guire of Bucks County,  
& Mary Morton of Delaware County,  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day, Feb<sup>r</sup> 22. 1795.
288. James Murray & Jane Doane,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Feb<sup>r</sup> 26. 95.
289. Thomas Evans of Dauphin County,  
& Elizabeth Thornburgh of Chester  
County, Penn<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday, March 3. 95.
290. Joseph Clark of Phil<sup>a</sup>. & Ann Wood-  
ard of Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>r</sup>  
March 18. 1795.
291. Thomas Shoemaker & Ann Mafsey.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> March 19, 1795.
292. Israel Clark & Sarah Hartshorn,  
Both of the N. Liberties, Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Lord's Day, March 22. 1795.
293. George Vanderslice & Elizabeth Cunnings.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Lord's Day, March 22. 1795.
294. Jacob Edwards & Lydia Stewart. Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursday April 2. 1795.
295. Joshua John Moore & Elizabeth Mafsey,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday April 7, 95.
296. Joseph Warner & Sarah Powell, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday April 16. 1795.



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297. George Stout, jun<sup>r</sup> & Ann Robinson,  
Both of Baltimore, Mond<sup>y</sup> April 20. 95.
298. Joseph Innes of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Rachel Warner  
of Wilmington Delaware.  
Thursday April 23. 1795.
299. Jacob Walter & Ann Roberts. Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday May 7. 1795.
300. Talman Pennock & Mary Talman, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday May 14. 1795.
301. William Mason & Ann Tomkins.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Thursday May 21. 1795.
302. Simon Boreas & Rachel Waterman. (Blacks.)  
He of Phil<sup>a</sup> She of N. Jersey. Frid<sup>y</sup> May 22. 1795.
303. W<sup>m</sup> Pearson of Sal<sup>m</sup> C<sup>r</sup> N. Jersey &  
Catherine Adams of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday  
May 25. 1795.
304. Loftus Noell & Ann Espey, Both  
of Dumfries, Virginia. Mond<sup>y</sup> May 25. 95.
305. Robert M<sup>e</sup>Koy & Ann Thomas,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday June 25. 1795.
306. W<sup>m</sup> Shippen & Ann Ashmead,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> June 27. 1795.
307. Thomas Branigan & Ann Morrison,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> June 27. 95.
308. Josiah Cool of Connecticut, Soldier  
1<sup>st</sup> Sub-Legion U.S.A. & Elizabeth Deutzell  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Friday Aug<sup>t</sup> 14. 1795.
309. John King & Hannah Davis, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day, Aug<sup>t</sup> 16. 1795.
310. Thomas Town & Sarah Tage, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day, Aug<sup>t</sup> 16. 1795.
311. Charles Souder & Susannah Monington,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Aug<sup>t</sup> 20. 1795.
312. W<sup>m</sup> Taylor & Ann Luff, Both of  
Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Aug<sup>t</sup> 27. 95. (Blacks.)
313. Joseph Marcer & Ann Rich, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Sep<sup>t</sup> 1. 95.
314. Francis Payerne & Ann Laraulle.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday Sep<sup>t</sup> 14. 95.

315. John Johnson & Sarah Campbell. Both  
of Burlington, N. Jersey. Monday  
Sep<sup>t</sup> 21. 1795.
316. Peter Menaden & Susannah Walon.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Friday Oct<sup>r</sup> 16. 95.
317. Major Joseph Ashton & Mary Elton,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wednesday Oct: 21. 95.
318. John Arnold & Hannah Krim, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Oct<sup>r</sup> 29. 1795.
319. Joseph Mechlin & Margaret Wright,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 31. 1795.
320. John M<sup>a</sup>Affer & Ann Martin,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Nov. 7. 1795.
321. Lewis Newel Clark & Hannah Naylor.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Nov. 12. 95.
322. Samuel Keen & Sarah Keiter, Both  
of the Northern Liberties, Philad<sup>a</sup>.  
Sunday Nov. 15. 1795.
323. Thomas Tomkins & Sarah Preston.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Nov. 19. 1795.
324. Aaron Pitner & Ann Alexander,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Dec<sup>r</sup> 3. 1795.
325. Sam<sup>l</sup> Miles, jun<sup>r</sup> & Lowry Foulke,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Dec<sup>r</sup> 8. 1795.
326. John Young & Mary Mathias, Both  
of New Britain, Bucks County, Pennfylv<sup>a</sup>.  
Tuesday Dec<sup>r</sup> 15. 1795.
327. John Phillips & Zilphar Williams,  
Blacks, Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursday  
Dec<sup>r</sup> 17. 1795.

*Forty Two Couple.*

1796.

328. John Moore & Hannah Elliott,  
Both of Delaware County, Pennf<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday Jan<sup>y</sup> 21.
329. Thomas Inskeep & Mary Stockton,  
Both of Burlington County, New Jersey,  
Sunday Jan<sup>y</sup> 31.

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330. Andrew Anderson & Lydia M<sup>c</sup>Kean,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Sunday March 6.
331. W<sup>m</sup> Tomlinson & Martha Taylor,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup> County, Wednesday  
March 9.
332. Zachariah Duffield & Elizabeth  
Williams (Blacks). Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Saturday March 12.
333. W<sup>m</sup> Johnson of Bristol, Penn<sup>f</sup><sup>a</sup> &  
Sarah M<sup>c</sup>Kean of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday  
March 13.
334. John Pinson & Hannah Roland,  
Both of Newtown, Chester Count<sup>y</sup>, Penn<sup>f</sup><sup>a</sup>.  
Tuesday March 15.
335. John Burnett & Margaret Reay,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wednesday April 6.
336. James Harkley & Mary Baker,  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday the 26<sup>th</sup>  
of April.
337. John Coates & Diadema Griffith,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> April 28.
338. Mathew Patton & Tacey Vanwinkle,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday May 8.
339. Samuel Test & Sarah Maxwell,  
Both of Salem, N. Jersey, Thursday  
May 19.
340. John Crone & Mary Ann Patrick,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Saturday May 21.
341. John Lang & Sarah Ustick, Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Wednesday May 25.
342. Sam<sup>l</sup> Carpenter & Jane Wiltbank,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday June 2.
343. Ebenezer Black & Esther Williams.  
Blacks, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday June 2.
344. Clement Gregory & Rachel Heslip,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday June 2.
345. Thomas Holmes & Tacey Richardson,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday June 13.

346. James Curren of Worcester County, Maryland & Esther White of Wilmington, Delaware.  
Thursday June 23.
347. James McDonald & Sarah Hugg,  
Both of Trenton, State of N. Jersey,  
Friday, July 1.
348. John Frederick Gebler and Eliza Breidenhart, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Aug<sup>t</sup> 25.
349. Alexander Anderson & Lydia Bryarly,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Sep<sup>t</sup> 4.
350. Stephen C. Ustick & Rebecca Shields,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 10.
351. John Kierle & Ann Murphy— Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Sep<sup>t</sup> 15.
352. Robert Erwin & Mary Fox, Both of  
Phil<sup>a</sup>. Saturday Sep<sup>t</sup> 17.
353. Charles Eagin and Elizabeth Stocksbarr, Both of the City of Philad<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday Sep<sup>t</sup> 29.
354. Robert Shields & Mary Jackson,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday Oct<sup>r</sup> 10.
355. Jonas Symonds & Elizabeth Miller,  
Blacks, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Saturday  
Oct<sup>r</sup> 15.
356. John Farow & Catherine M<sup>c</sup>Glade,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day. Oct. 23.
357. Levi Hughes & Rebecca Thomson,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day, Oct<sup>r</sup> 23.
358. Sam<sup>l</sup> Bell of Baltimore, & Eliza<sup>b</sup>  
McGee of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Nov. 1.
359. Laurence Ludenburgh & Christiana Slater, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Nov. 8.
360. John Pritner & Elizabeth Sturgis,  
Both of Montg<sup>y</sup> County, Penn<sup>f</sup>.  
Sat<sup>r</sup> Nov. 12.
361. Robert Bell Vallens & Jane Wilson,  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Monday Nov. 14.
362. George Edwards & Jane Ferguson,  
Both of Chester, Penn<sup>f</sup>. Thursday Nov. 17.



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363. Henry Weaver & Mary Wiley, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord' Day, Dec<sup>r</sup> 11.
364. Edward Harris & Jane Ustick, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 19.
365. John Mather, of Phil<sup>a</sup>, & Eunice Judd,  
of Harrisburgh, Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>r</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 28.
366. Henry Hisar & Parthenia Evans, Both  
of Lancaster County, Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 29.

*Thirty Nine Couple.*

1797.

367. John Wansley, of Wilmington, Delaware,  
& Pamela Aitkens, of Phil<sup>a</sup>. (Blacks.)  
Monday evening, Jan<sup>r</sup> 2.
368. W<sup>m</sup> Maghee of Greensburgh, Westmore-  
land County, Pennf<sup>a</sup> & Sarah Barnes  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Thursday Even<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> 19.
369. Rowland Smith & Mary Morris,  
Both of Derby, Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Even<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> 24.
370. Matthias Smith & Elizabeth Roberts,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>r</sup> Evening, Jan<sup>r</sup> 25.
371. James Ruxton & Sarah Gordon, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Even<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> 31.
372. John How & Eliza Flintham, Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Saturday Even<sup>s</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 4.
373. George Washington Morgan & Hetty  
Leib, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup>  
Feb<sup>r</sup> the 8<sup>th</sup>.
374. John McBride & Mary Nash,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Even<sup>s</sup> April 6.
375. Samuel Trivit & Catherine Stroop,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> April 30.
376. Patrick Welsh & Dolothea Kennedy,  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Even<sup>s</sup> May 2<sup>d</sup>.
377. William West & Eliza Crawford,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Saturd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> June 3.
378. John Sefsford & Martha Kerr, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> July 9.

379. David Waidner & Jane Anderson,  
Both of Montg<sup>y</sup> County, Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> July 22.
380. Archibald McClean of Alexand<sup>a</sup>  
Virginia & Mary Jones of Chest<sup>r</sup> Count<sup>y</sup>  
Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Evening Aug<sup>t</sup> 22.
381. James Colgan & Susannah Lewis,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday even<sup>s</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 26.
382. W<sup>m</sup> Griffin & Ann Dobson, Both of  
Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Evening Nov. 2.
383. John Harris & Sarah Barber, (Blacks.)  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Saturd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 4.
384. Levi Springer of Virginia & Elizabe<sup>th</sup>  
Moore of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 5.
385. John Nicholson & Mary Schuyler,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 6.
386. Nathaniel Stokely & Sarah Wiggins,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 9.
387. Isaac Attmore & Margaret Stroop,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 12.
388. W<sup>m</sup> Gardner of Nantucket, New England,  
and Edy Canary of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sund<sup>y</sup>  
Even<sup>s</sup>, Nov. 19.
389. W<sup>m</sup> Bethell & Mary Ash, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 10.

*Twenty Three Couple.*

1798.

390. Williamson Nutter, of Whitehaven,  
Great Britain & Sarah Wallace of  
Philad<sup>a</sup>. Saturday Even<sup>s</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 10.
391. George Wilson, Esq<sup>r</sup> of Mifflin County,  
Pennf<sup>a</sup> & Isabella White of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday Even<sup>s</sup> March 15.
392. Thomas Harding & Elizabeth Folts,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wed<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> March 21.
393. William James & Elizabeth Hoops,  
Both of Chester County, Pennfylv<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday, April 12.

394. Joseph Kidder & Lydia Houlton,  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Even<sup>s</sup> April 19.
395. Ezekiel Murphy & Elizabeth Davis,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wednesd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> May 9.
396. Rufus Walbridge (Sold<sup>r</sup>) of Hartford County,  
Connecticut, & Judith Yocum of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Wednesday Even<sup>s</sup> May 16.
397. Robert Maull & Mary Engle, Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Saturday Even<sup>s</sup> May 19.
398. Bowman Simpson & Clarisa Cashaday,  
Both of Gloucest<sup>r</sup> County, N. Jersey, Sunday  
June 3.
399. William Thomson & Jenny Wilson,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> June 14.
400. Ichabod Warner, Soldier, of the State  
of Mafsachufetts & Ruth Howard of Co-  
hansy, N. Jersey, Monday Even<sup>s</sup> June 18.
401. Nathaniel Kitfield and Elsey Oates,  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Saturd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> June 30.
402. Benjamin Gardner & Elizabeth Smith,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> July 3.
403. Samuel Garrets & Rebecca Davis,  
Both of Blockly Phil<sup>a</sup> County. Wedn<sup>y</sup>  
July 4. American Independence!
404. Robert Bewley of Talbot County, Mary-  
land, & Catherine Brining of Phil<sup>a</sup>, on  
Monday, July 9.
405. Hugh McKown & Hannah Neal,  
Both from Ireland—now of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>y</sup>  
Evening, July 9.
406. James Hutchison & Sarah Shubart,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> July 15.
407. Joseph Wood & Jane McCleland,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 12.
408. Richard E. Smith & Hannah Hilt<sup>n</sup>-  
heimer, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Tuesday Even<sup>s</sup> 13<sup>th</sup>  
of November.
409. Barzillai Gardner & Catherine  
Sheppard, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday  
Evening, Nov<sup>r</sup> 15.

410. Silas Suplee & Maria Berger,  
Both of Philadelphia, Saturday  
Evening, November the 17<sup>th</sup>.
411. Henry Ward & Rachel Robin-  
son (Blacks) Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup>  
Evening, Nov<sup>r</sup> 24.
412. Luke Tuckniss & Susan Lloyd,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 15.
413. John Humes & Elizabeth Carl,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 18.
414. Charles Read & Susan Richley,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 27.
415. Bartholomew Geoghegan &  
Elizabeth White—He of Warwick  
Township, Bucks County—She of West-  
Chester, Chester C<sup>y</sup>. Friday Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 28.
416. Allen Cathcart & Lethea Gentry,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 30.
417. Jacob Heston of Blockly, Phil<sup>a</sup> Count<sup>y</sup>  
& Patience Viall of Newport, R. Island.  
Monday Evening Dec<sup>r</sup> 31.

*Twenty eight Couple.*

(To be continued.)



## LIST OF VESTRYMEN OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

CONTRIBUTED BY THOMAS H. MONTGOMERY.

The following is a list of the vestrymen of Christ Church from the earliest records to the year 1895, with their terms of service, and includes those elected for the united churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, 1761-1832, and Christ Church, St. Peter's, and St. James's, 1810-1828. The earliest vestry minutes in existence are those of 1711, and from this period they appear complete. Messrs. Richard Anthony, 1711; J. Fogg, 1711; and Anthony Palmer, 1712, are found in an earlier church account book as wardens in audit of treasurer's accounts, and are included in the list. A list of the wardens of Christ Church is furnished by Dr. Dorr in his "Historical Account of Christ Church," 1841, pp. 294-300. The Easter election returns from 1761 to 1832 are mostly without reference to the particular constituency nominating the vestrymen, hence it is at present impracticable to point out their respective representation in the vestry of "the united congregations." The years given are those of the various Easter Monday elections.

|                         |                                |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Adcock, William.....    | 1779-87.                       |
| Allibone, William ..... | 1779-81, 93-97.                |
| Anthony, Richard.....   | 1711.                          |
| Ash, James.....         | 1781-82, 1789-1809.            |
| Ashburner, John.....    | 1812-16.                       |
| Assheton, Ralph.....    | 1718, 20, 21, 32, 35, 1743-45. |
| Assheton, Robert... ..  | 1717-27.                       |
| Assheton, William.....  | 1718-23.                       |
|                         |                                |
| Bache, Richard.....     | 1779-82.                       |
| Bache, T. Hewson.....   | 1877-90, 93, 95.               |
| Bacon, Job.....         | 1837-54.                       |
| Bancker, Charles N..... | 1813-27.                       |
| Bard, Peter.....        | 1749-51.                       |

|                           |                                 |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Bass, Robert.....         | 1779-80.                        |
| Baynton, John.....        | 1751-60, 67-71.                 |
| Baynton, Peter.....       | 1726-30, 35-37, 42.             |
| Beck, Paul.....           | 1811.                           |
| Bickham, George.....      | 1784-1811.                      |
| Bell, William.....        | 1740, 42-44.                    |
| Biddle, James.....        | 1772-77.                        |
| Bingham, James.....       | 1728-32, 35-37.                 |
| Bingham, William.....     | 1749-68.                        |
| Bingham, William.....     | 1791-1802.                      |
| Binney, Horace.....       | 1816-35, 37-44.                 |
| Blakiston, Presly.....    | 1779-83.                        |
| Bolton, Robert.....       | 1725-28, 31.                    |
| Bond, Samuel.....         | 1732.                           |
| Bond, Thomas.....         | 1747, 48.                       |
| Booth, James C.....       | 1847-67.                        |
| Bourne, Thomas.....       | 1728-31, 35-37, 40.             |
| Bradford, Andrew.....     | 1726-30, 32, 35-37.             |
| Bradley, Edward.....      | 1731, 32, 35-37, 42, 43.        |
| Bringham, George.....     | 1816-29.                        |
| Brobson, William.....     | 1869-80.                        |
| Brown, Jonathan.....      | 1774-78, 81, 82.                |
| Browne, Peter.....        | 1806-10.                        |
| Bulley, William.....      | 1737, 42-44.                    |
| Bullitt, John C.....      | 1870-72.                        |
| Bullock, Charles.....     | 1857-69.                        |
| Bullock, Joseph.....      | 1784-86.                        |
| Bunner, Andrew.....       | 1779.                           |
| Burk, Thomas.....         | 1799-1820.                      |
|                           |                                 |
| Carpenter, J. Edward..... | 1871-79.                        |
| Carpenter, Joshua.....    | 1717-21.                        |
| Carpenter, Samuel.....    | 1718, 20, 21.                   |
| Carter, Durden B.....     | 1823-28.                        |
| Casdrop, Thomas.....      | 1783, 84.                       |
| Cash, Caleb.....          | 1718.                           |
| Chaloner, John.....       | 1779-82.                        |
| Chaloner, John, Jr.....   | 1783, 84.                       |
| Chancellor, William.....  | 1721, 25, 27-29, 32, 35-37, 42. |
| Charlton, Thomas.....     | 1769.                           |
| Chase, Thomas.....        | 1722-30, 32.                    |
| Chew, Benjamin.....       | 1722, 23.                       |
| Child, James.....         | 1756-63.                        |
| Clark, Benjamin.....      | 1824-26.                        |
| Clark, Edward L.....      | 1853-71.                        |

|                         |                       |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Clark, Ellis.....       | 1832-47.              |
| Clark, Ephraim.....     | 1806-15.              |
| Clark, John.....        | 1794.                 |
| Clark, Michael F.....   | 1859.                 |
| Clarkson, Gerardus..... | 1775-77, 79-90.       |
| Clarkson, Matthew.....  | 1779-84.              |
| Claypoole, Joseph.....  | 1718-21.              |
| Claypoole, Joseph.....  | 1783-92, 94-1805.     |
| Clymer, William.....    | 1742-51.              |
| Coates, Edward H.....   | 1877-95.              |
| Coates, George M.....   | 1873-94.              |
| Coles, Edward.....      | 1880-95.              |
| Comegys, Cornelius..... | 1821, 26-28.          |
| Connolly, William.....  | 1736.                 |
| Conyngham, Redmond..... | 1754-66.              |
| Cooper, Collin C.....   | 1845-63.              |
| Cooper, Joseph.....     | 1823-29.              |
| Cooper, Thomas.....     | 1830, 31.             |
| Coxe, Tench.....        | 1778, 85-90.          |
| Coxe, William.....      | 1766-68.              |
| Creth, John E.....      | 1888-95.              |
| Creutzborg, Samuel..... | 1869-74.              |
| Cumpston, Thomas.....   | 1791-1814.            |
| Cuthbert, Thomas.....   | 1773-77, 79, 80.      |
| Cuthbert, Thomas.....   | 1789-1813.            |
| Cuzzins, William.....   | 1745-50.              |
|                         |                       |
| Da Costa, John C.....   | 1875-95.              |
| Dale, Richard.....      | 1813-25.              |
| Danby, John.....        | 1732, 35-37.          |
| David, John.....        | 1780-93.              |
| Davis, Merick.....      | 1722-24.              |
| Davy, Hugh.....         | 1756, 57.             |
| De Haven, Hugh.....     | 1810-24.              |
| De Haven, Peter.....    | 1773, 75-77, 79-1812. |
| Dexter, Henry.....      | 1728-32.              |
| Donnaldson, John.....   | 1794-99.              |
| Donnaldson, Joseph..... | 1774, 78-96.          |
| Dowers, John.....       | 1783.                 |
| Duché, Jacob.....       | 1745-77.              |
| Duffield, Edward.....   | 1756-72.              |
|                         |                       |
| Elliott, William.....   | 1882, 83.             |
| Ellis, Robert.....      | 1719, 20, 22-27, 35.  |
| Elwes, Henry.....       | 1749-55.              |

|                                      |                                 |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Evans, Peter.....                    | 1719, 23-31, 35-37, 40, 42-44.  |
| Eyre, Emanuel.....                   | 1783.                           |
| Fenton, Thomas.....                  | 1725-27.                        |
| Footman, Richard.....                | 1774, 78.                       |
| Fraser, William.....                 | 1721-29.                        |
| Frogg, J.....                        | 1711.                           |
| Fuller, Benjamin.....                | 1774.                           |
| Fuller, William A. M.....            | 1856-58.                        |
| Furman, Moore.....                   | 1774.                           |
| Gibson, John.....                    | 1767-73.                        |
| Gilpin, Hood.....                    | 1884-91.                        |
| Godfrey, Benjamin.....               | 1724.                           |
| Godley, Jesse.....                   | 1845, 63-67.                    |
| Goodman, Walter.....                 | 1745, 46.                       |
| Gookin, Charles.....                 | 1717.                           |
| Gordon, Thomas.....                  | 1745-48.                        |
| Gordon, Thomas.....                  | 1763-66.                        |
| Gostelowe, Jonathan.....             | 1792-94.                        |
| Graeme, Thomas.....                  | 1736.                           |
| Gurney, Francis.....                 | 1783-1815.                      |
| Hale, Thomas.....                    | 1812-28.                        |
| Hall, David.....                     | 1751, 53.                       |
| Hall, William.....                   | 1784-90, 95, 97-1805.           |
| Hamm, James.....                     | 1774.                           |
| Hand, James C.....                   | 1849-53.                        |
| Hand, Thomas C.....                  | 1839-47.                        |
| Harland, John.....                   | 1810-15.                        |
| Harrison, Henry.....                 | 1750, 51, 53-65.                |
| Harrison, John.....                  | 1717, 20, 23, 24.               |
| Hasell, Samuel.....                  | 1722-28, 32, 35, 37, 42-44, 47. |
| Hawkins, Henry.....                  | 1803-15.                        |
| Hazlewood, John.....                 | 1779-83.                        |
| Hellier, William.....                | 1735-37, 45-48.                 |
| Hicks, Nicholas.....                 | 1791, 92, 94.                   |
| Hillegas, Michael.....               | 1772, 73.                       |
| Hobart, Robert E.....                | 1810, 11.                       |
| Hoffman, George E.....               | 1868-80.                        |
| Hoffman, John W.....                 | 1875-79.                        |
| Holt, Samuel.....                    | 1742-44.                        |
| Hopkinson, <sup>1</sup> Francis..... | 1769-73, 88-91.                 |

<sup>1</sup> Was elected secretary to vestry 1764 and 1765.



|                           |                                   |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Horner, Alfred.....       | 1848-49.                          |
| Hover, Joseph E.....      | 1856-68.                          |
| Howard, Thomas.....       | 1735, 36.                         |
| Hubley, Adam.....         | 1784-87.                          |
| Huddell, Joseph.....      | 1796-1814.                        |
| Huddell, Joseph, Jr.....  | 1815-24.                          |
| Humphreys, James.....     | 1749, 50, 52-73, 75-77.           |
| Humphreys, James Y.....   | 1832-50.                          |
| Hutchins, Henry J.....    | 1829-33.                          |
| Hyatt, John.....          | 1829-32, 35-37, 42.               |
| Ingersoll, Joseph R.....  | 1826-31.                          |
| Irvine, James.....        | 1782.                             |
| Johnson, Robert S.....    | 1836-45.                          |
| Johnston, Samuel.....     | 1764.                             |
| Jones, Edward.....        | 1745-47.                          |
| Jones, Evan.....          | 1731.                             |
| Kearsley, John.....       | 1719-32, 35-37, 40, 42-44, 48-71. |
| Keith, Charles P.....     | 1893-95.                          |
| Keith, William.....       | 1718.                             |
| Kempton, Moses.....       | 1832-61.                          |
| Kent, William C.....      | 1847-56.                          |
| Knight, Daniel.....       | 1812-28.                          |
| Knight, Peter.....        | 1772-78.                          |
| Kuhl, Henry.....          | 1813-23.                          |
| Laisck, John.....         | 1725.                             |
| Lawrence, Thomas.....     | 1721-28, 35-37, 40, 43-53.        |
| Lawrence, Thomas, Jr..... | 1748-55.                          |
| Laycock, John.....        | 1719.                             |
| Leech, Thomas.....        | 1724-32, 35-37, 40, 42-60.        |
| Levis, Joseph C.....      | 1859-71.                          |
| Lewis, Lawrence.....      | 1828-31.                          |
| Litch, Wilbur F.....      | 1888-90.                          |
| Lowber, John C.....       | 1825-28.                          |
| McCall, Archibald.....    | 1766, 67.                         |
| McCall, George.....       | 1721, 24.                         |
| McCall, Peter.....        | 1854-62.                          |
| McCauley, Richard.....    | 1872-76.                          |
| McEuen, Thomas.....       | 1810-22.                          |
| McKenzie, William.....    | 1795.                             |
| Maddox, Joshua.....       | 1728-32, 35-37, 40, 42, 44-46.    |
| Markland, John.....       | 1811-28.                          |

|                            |                                       |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Maugridge, William.....    | 1742, 44.                             |
| Meredith, Charles.....     | 1768-72.                              |
| Meredith, William.....     | 1816-31.                              |
| Meredith, William M.....   | 1845-48, 51-57.                       |
| Miller, John.....          | 1795.                                 |
| Miller, John, Jr.....      | 1820-31.                              |
| Milnor, James.....         | 1810-12.                              |
| Monckton, Samuel.....      | 1719, 20.                             |
| Montgomery, Richard R..... | 1848, 49.                             |
| Montgomery, Thomas H.....  | 1879-95.                              |
| Moore, John.....           | 1719, 20, 24, 29, 31.                 |
| Morgan, Benjamin.....      | 1717-32, 35-37, 40, 42-44, 47, 48.    |
| Morgan, Evan.....          | 1747-62.                              |
| Morgan, John.....          | 1769-73, 75.                          |
| Morrell, John.....         | 1797-1812.                            |
| Morrell, William.....      | 1778.                                 |
| Morris, John.....          | 1777-88.                              |
| Mundell, John.....         | 1872-83.                              |
| Murdock, William.....      | 1810, 13-23.                          |
|                            |                                       |
| Neill, Lewis.....          | 1813-20.                              |
| Newbold, Clement B.....    | 1891-95.                              |
| Newbold, John S.....       | 1884-87.                              |
| Newbold, William H.....    | 1850-55.                              |
| Nicklin, Philip H.....     | 1827-41.                              |
| Nixon, Richard.....        | 1745-47.                              |
|                            |                                       |
| Oakeley, George.....       | 1793, 94, 96-1819.                    |
| Okill, George.....         | 1747, 48, 53-56.                      |
| Ord, George.....           | 1781.                                 |
|                            |                                       |
| Palmer, Anthony.....       | 1712, 18-21, 23, 25, 26, 30, 31.      |
| Parker, Richard.....       | 1740, 42-44.                          |
| Paschall, William.....     | 1725, 45, 46.                         |
| Patterson, Jonathan.....   | 1842-44.                              |
| Paul, William W.....       | 1858.                                 |
| Percival, Joshua.....      | 1822-31.                              |
| Perot, John.....           | 1792, 95.                             |
| Perry, Charles.....        | 1821, 22.                             |
| Peters, Richard.....       | 1740, 45-52.                          |
| Phile, Frederick.....      | 1783.                                 |
| Phillips, John.....        | 1745, 74.                             |
| Phillips, William.....     | 1820-31.                              |
| Physick, Edmund.....       | 1775-77.                              |
| Plumley, George.....       | 1718-20, 22-28, 31, 35-37, 40, 42-45. |

|                        |                                      |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Plumsted, William..... | 1755, 58-65.                         |
| Polegreen, Thomas..... | 1722-29.                             |
| Pollard, William.....  | 1774, 79-88.                         |
| Powel, Samuel.....     | 1773, 75-82, 85-93.                  |
| Poyntell, William..... | 1811.                                |
| Pratt, Henry.....      | 1815-35.                             |
| Price, Benjamin.....   | 1748.                                |
| Price, William.....    | 1782-85.                             |
| Pyewell, William.....  | 1731, 32, 35-37, 40, 42-44, 1749-68. |

|                         |                                 |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Rawle, William, Jr..... | 1828.                           |
| Read, Charles.....      | 1717-21, 23-28, 31, 32, 35, 36. |
| Read, John.....         | 1717, 19-23.                    |
| Read, John, Jr.....     | 1816-28.                        |
| Read, Samuel.....       | 1779, 80.                       |
| Redman, Joseph.....     | 1747-71, 73-78.                 |
| Reynolds, James.....    | 1774-78, 80.                    |
| Ritter, Jacob B.....    | 1862, 63.                       |
| Roach, Isaac.....       | 1779, 80.                       |
| Roach, Isaac.....       | 1829-31.                        |
| Roberdeau, Daniel.....  | 1756, 57.                       |
| Robinson, John.....     | 1735-37.                        |
| Robinson, William.....  | 1717.                           |
| Rolfe, Josiah.....      | 1717, 18, 24.                   |
| Ross, John.....         | 1742-48, 51-65, 67, 68.         |
| Rundle, Richard.....    | 1778.                           |

|                               |                           |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Sawer, James.....             | 1791-96, 1800-02.         |
| Sayre, John.....              | 1754-61.                  |
| Scovell, Richard.....         | 1748.                     |
| Scull, Gideon.....            | 1846-48.                  |
| Searle, John.....             | 1744.                     |
| Seeds, Thomas M.....          | 1880-95.                  |
| Sewell, Richard.....          | 1746, 47, 49-52, 79.      |
| Shippen, Edward.....          | 1772, 73, 75-78.          |
| Shippen, Joseph.....          | 1737.                     |
| Simmons, Leeson.....          | 1781, 82, 87-90, 95-1812. |
| Sims, Joseph.....             | 1745-47, 61-73, 77.       |
| Sims, Joseph.....             | 1794-1812, 14-31.         |
| Sims, Wooddrop.....           | 1781, 82, 84-93.          |
| Smith, Daniel.....            | 1798-1831.                |
| Smith, George Washington..... | 1864-76.                  |
| Smith, James S.....           | 1829-31.                  |
| Smith, John.....              | 1776.                     |
| Smith, Wade T.....            | 1837-45.                  |

|                                       |                                        |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Smith, William.....                   | 1836-41.                               |
| Snowden, Joseph.....                  | 1803-09.                               |
| Sober, Charles.....                   | 1717.                                  |
| Sonmans, Peter.....                   | 1761-63, 65-67.                        |
| Souder, Edmund A. ....                | 1850-68.                               |
| Sparks, James.....                    | 1774, 78.                              |
| Stamper, Joseph.....                  | 1764-73, 77, 78.                       |
| Stedman, Alexander.....               | 1758-66.                               |
| Stedman, Charles.....                 | 1752-74, 76-78.                        |
| Steever, George W. <sup>1</sup> ..... | 1870.                                  |
| Stocker, John Clement.....            | 1795-1813.                             |
| Stride, Joseph.....                   | 1796-98.                               |
| Swanwick, John.....                   | 1786-89, 91.                           |
| Swift, George.....                    | 1792-93.                               |
| Swift, Joseph.....                    | 1764-73, 75-78, 83, 85-1803.           |
| Syng, Philip.....                     | 1745-49.                               |
|                                       |                                        |
| Taylor, Abram.....                    | 1749, 50, 52-54.                       |
| Taylor, Bankson.....                  | 1835, 36.                              |
| Taylor, Samuel.....                   | 1779, 80.                              |
| Thayer, M. Russell.....               | 1881-95.                               |
| Thomas, William.....                  | 1790.                                  |
| Tilghman, William.....                | 1804-27.                               |
| Till, William.....                    | 1736, 37.                              |
| Tod, Alexander.....                   | 1778.                                  |
| Towers, Robert.....                   | 1784-91.                               |
| Trent, William.....                   | 1717-20.                               |
| Tresse, Hugh.....                     | 1718.                                  |
| Tresse, Thomas.....                   | 1717-19, 21-24, 25-28, 30, 31, 36, 37. |
| Tryon, George.....                    | 1824-40.                               |
| Turner, Peter.....                    | 1745, 51-55, 57-64.                    |
| Turner, Peter, Jr.....                | 1765-71.                               |
| Tuthill, James.....                   | 1717-21, 23-27.                        |
|                                       |                                        |
| Usher, Abraham.....                   | 1774-75.                               |
|                                       |                                        |
| Venable, Thomas.....                  | 1743.                                  |
| Vining, Benjamin.....                 | 1717-21.                               |
|                                       |                                        |
| Wagner, Samuel.....                   | 1849-78.                               |
| Wallace, John B.....                  | 1814-19.                               |
| Watts, Henry M. ....                  | 1848-55.                               |
| Wayne, Caleb P.....                   | 1813-37.                               |

<sup>1</sup> Declined election same day.



|                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Wayne, William H. ....       | 1838.                       |
| Welsh, Isaac.....            | 1860-87.                    |
| West, Francis.....           | 1841-52.                    |
| Wetherill, Samuel.....       | 1857-69.                    |
| Wheeler, Charles.....        | 1830-36.                    |
| Wheeler, Joseph K.....       | 1864-74.                    |
| Wheeler, Samuel.....         | 1796-1812.                  |
| White, John.....             | 1829-47.                    |
| White, Thomas H.....         | 1817-36.                    |
| White, Townsend.....         | 1748-72, 74, 78-87.         |
| White, William, Jr.....      | 1894, 95.                   |
| Whyte, Robert.....           | 1774-78.                    |
| Wilcocks, Alexander.....     | 1775-78.                    |
| Wilcocks, John.....          | 1746.                       |
| Wilcocks, John.....          | 1767-74, 88-94.             |
| Willday, John.....           | 1770, 71.                   |
| Williamson, Joseph.....      | 1777, 78.                   |
| Willing, Charles.....        | 1735-87, 44, 49, 50.        |
| Willing, Richard.....        | 1775, 76.                   |
| Willing, Thomas.....         | 1762, 63, 66-72.            |
| Wiltbank, William White..... | 1868-92.                    |
| Wood, R. Francis.....        | 1891-95.                    |
| Wooddrop, Alexander.....     | 1726-28, 32, 35-37, 40, 42. |
| Woods, John.....             | 1781, 82, 91-94.            |
| Worrell, James.....          | 1774.                       |
| Wynkoop, Benjamin.....       | 1769-73, 75, 76, 84-90.     |

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

*Notes.*

THE SLEIGHING EXCURSION. (Copied from the manuscript book of Caroline Warder.)—

A chosen few of late set out,  
 Upon a charming sleighing rout;  
 Well cloak'd & tippeted with care  
 To shield them from the piercing air;  
 The moon was up as bright as day  
 And shew'd belles in and out the sleigh.  
 Thus well equipped with every good  
 We rode along in merry mood,  
 Our tongues and belles kept equal time,  
 We talked in prose but laughed in rhyme,  
 And with such speed our sleighs were drawn  
 We seemed on Fancy's pinions borne.  
 Quickly we reached the Bell & there  
 Our friends with us did soon repair.  
 Then, then began the mirth and glee;  
 We turned out old formality,  
 And with him old Miss Prude did run  
 Nor enter'd once to spoil our fun.  
 You now would wish to know no doubt  
 Who formed this joyous sleighing rout;  
 And tho' I must indeed despair  
 To give to each their proper share  
 Of ease, of gaiety and spirit  
 And tell each one's peculiar merit,  
 Yet still will strive to let you know  
 The name of ev'ry belle and beau.  
 Margaret,<sup>1</sup> thy name shall proudly stand  
 The first among this social band;  
 For wit, for pleasantry and song  
 Thou stand'st unrivalled midst the throng.  
 And Ann<sup>2</sup> for beauty all must own,  
 On that gay eve usurp'd the throne.  
 Eliza<sup>3</sup> thou wert not outvied  
 By any belle or beau beside—  
 For gaiety, for social pleasure  
 And playful satire without measure.  
 And Nancy,<sup>4</sup> dear high favor'd maid,  
 Such intellectual powers displayed,  
 With shrewd remark & ready sallies,  
 In turn she all completely rallies.  
 And Hannah's<sup>5</sup> plaintive voice I ween  
 Made many a youthful heart beat keen,  
 And tho' to me the truth's not known,  
 I think one there she made her own.

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Roberts.

<sup>4</sup> Nancy Pleasants.

<sup>2</sup> Ann Shoemaker.

<sup>5</sup> Hannah Fisher.

<sup>3</sup> Eliza Morris.

Dear Henrietta,<sup>1</sup> sweetest fair,  
 Thy angel form & graceful air,  
 Join'd to thy modest downcast smile,  
 Our saddest moments did beguile.  
 Eliza,<sup>2</sup> dear vivacious maid  
 Delighted all with what she said,  
 And to her such rich powers are given,  
 She makes on earth a little Heaven.  
 And Hannah,<sup>3</sup> sure such mirth as thine,  
 In every company must shine;  
 They who were there will all agree,  
 Much pleasure was received from thee.  
 And Sarah's<sup>4</sup> unaffected ease  
 Must surely all beholders please;  
 I ne'er can doubt her thrilling strain  
 Gave many a palpitating pain.  
 Eliza F.<sup>5</sup> was also there  
 And did in each diversion share;  
 She seemed to be amidst the many  
 As gay & frolicsome as any.  
 The beaux too now may justly claim  
 The many wreaths of gallant Fame,  
 Which on that great, auspicious night,  
 Encircled all their brows so bright.  
 Both Jew and Christian claim a share  
 For Mordecai<sup>6</sup> himself was there;  
 And with his genuine wit & play  
 Made all most anxious for his stay.  
 Madeira<sup>7</sup> tho' so full of spirit,  
 Did not his namesake's power inherit,  
 Yet with full power to glad the heart  
 He joy and pleasure did impart.  
 For ready wit and gallantry  
 Joseph<sup>8</sup> unrivalled still must be,  
 And oh could morpheus but tattle  
 What tales he in his ears would rattle.  
 But should I tell all that was said  
 He'd think (by leap year privileged)  
 It real flattery; so I'll end  
 And leave it for some other friend.  
 But still—I think he knows the art  
 To win a lady's fickle heart.  
 And now I think we all must own,  
 That Samuel<sup>9</sup> first in beauty shone;  
 Attentive, pleasant, gay and free,  
 Can with much truth be said of thee.  
 Nixon<sup>10</sup> comes next with courteous grace  
 And pleasure dancing on his face  
 Delighted with his joyous glee  
 All those who did his actions see.  
 And William<sup>11</sup> ever sure to please  
 With true politeness, native ease,

<sup>1</sup> Henrietta Hocking.<sup>4</sup> Sarah Pleasants.<sup>7</sup> George A. Madeira.<sup>10</sup> — Nixon.<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Pleasants.<sup>5</sup> Eliza Franklin.<sup>8</sup> Joseph Paxton.<sup>11</sup> William Collins.<sup>3</sup> Hannah Churchman.<sup>6</sup> Mordecai Lewis.<sup>9</sup> Samuel Canby.

And manners ever form'd to shew  
 A pleasant, lively, polished Beau.  
 With well turned compliment & grace  
 Nevins<sup>1</sup> shall claim the brightest place  
 And seems full well, I think, to know  
 How far in flattery to go.  
 Mifflin,<sup>2</sup> those thrilling notes of love  
 Would surely stoic bosoms move.  
 We all admire thy soul refined,  
 Thy polished and enlightened mind.  
 And one<sup>3</sup> there was whose middle age  
 Was pictured on his visage sage;  
 I neither know his name or race  
 And therefore can't my poem grace,  
 With one who seem'd so gay and free  
 And full of mirth and pleasantry.  
 Oh, that I had the power to sing  
 How Margaret cut the pidgeon wing,  
 And then how Anna's nimble feet  
 Moved like a courser proud & fleet,  
 Eliza and her namesake too  
 Went down the dance quite thro' & thro'  
 And Nancy's quickly moving foot  
 Made all astonishment and mute.  
 And how with mirth & pleasure gay  
 They danced & sang the hours away.  
 They walked & talked in merry chat,  
 Now talked of this and then of that,  
 Thus passed the eve & not a sigh,  
 Nor e'en a tear drop dim'd the eye.  
 Nor lover's glance, nor maiden's wile  
 Was seen to check the evening smile,  
 But all was happy mirth and glee  
 A scene of sociability.  
 But soon the enemy gave warning  
 And told us it was nearly morning.  
 With much regret we left the spot,  
 Where all our cares had been forgot,  
 We bade each other an Adieu  
 And o'er the snow we swiftly flew,  
 In safety reached our home & friends  
 And here my story quickly ends.  
 And should it for a moment please  
 Will compensate and set at ease,  
 A youthful heart who well must know  
 Her numerous faults & follies too—

*Composed by E. Franklin, 1816.*

THE GERMANTOWN AND NORRISTOWN RAILROAD.—“... This afternoon, notwithstanding the rain, we had a meeting at Mason's Tavern, Cresheim Run, above Mount Airy, when it was resolved to take measures to construct a railroad from Philad'a out Broad Street, across friend Logan's farm, by William Fisher's Mills, up the valley south side of Kelley's dam near Waterview, back of Mount Airy, east of

<sup>1</sup> Pine Neving.

<sup>2</sup> Loyd Mifflin.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Firth.



Chestnut Hill, through the limestone district of Plymouth, and terminate at Norristown on the Schuylkill.

"It is calculated the toll on lime alone would pay the interest of the cost. It will also supply us with coal at a very cheap rate, and induce many citizens of Philad'a to settle in Germantown, as they will be able to get to the City by a cheap and easy conveyance in forty minutes. The measure appears to be a very popular one. I have not given it much reflection yet. . . .

T. S.

"GERMANTOWN, November 13, 1831."

LADY ST. CLAIR.—From the correspondence between Amelia Evans, daughter of Lewis Evans, the geographer, and the wife of Dr. Charles Moore, of Philadelphia, the following references to the wife of Sir John St. Clair have been extracted. Miss Evans was residing at Tunis, Africa, as the governess to three of the daughters of Mr. Traill, British consul in 1769, and in her letters to Mrs. Moore describes her life and experiences in England and Wales for several years prior. In 1770 she married a Captain Barry, of the merchant marine. Benjamin Franklin, writing to his wife from London in July of 1774, says of her, "She has some connexion, I think, with the whole globe; being born herself in America, and having her first born in Asia, her second in Europe, and her third in Africa."

"TUNIS, Oct'r 29, 1769.

" . . . At last I recollected having heard that Lady St. Clair, an old school-fellow of mine, (was Miss Moreland) had been some time in England, and was then upon the point of returning to America. I addressed a few lines to her, which were immediately answered by Sir John, desiring me, in my Lady's name to call upon them at their lodgings in town. . . . I instantly acknowledged the receipt of this favour & fixed a day in the following week, to wait on her Ladyship. . . . The day appointed I waited upon my countrywoman, she received me with civility, tho' at first she c'd not recollect me; however, I soon made myself known to her. I saw but the faint traces of the once agreeable Miss Moreland in Lady St. Clair; a title empty as is that of a knight's wife, seems to have, in some degree obscured those qualities which alone can render wealth and grandeur truly respectable. She agreed to take me with her as far as New York, but to have nothing further to do with me when there, as she said she should be obliged to remain some time at that city upon business & till that was settled, sh'd stay at a friend's house. . . . The Monday following I was to have gone to Prince's Court, where they lodged, in order to assist Lady St. Clair in preparing for her embarkation. . . . I borrowed some money of my good friend Mr. Franklin,<sup>1</sup> & purchased a variety of bagatelles, &, in short, with what I had with me I was decently equipped for my new expedition. . . ."

"TUNIS, Nov'r 20, 1769.

" . . . I consulted my friends upon the contents of my uncle's letter & they unanimously gave it as their opinion that it would be highly imprudent to leave England . . . to call on Lady St. Clair & entreat her to dispense with my attendance on her to New York. . . . I called on Lady St. Clair, but her ladyship *was not at home*. I was not a stranger to the genteel airs which fine folks assume, when they have a mind to play the farce of quality, therefore I found means to make the little black footman admit me to a sight of his Lady. She met me at the

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Benjamin Franklin was Miss Evans's godmother.

door of her dressing room or bed chamber & asking my excuse, said she could not take time to speak to me that day, as Sir John was indisposed. I told her six minutes would be sufficient for what I had to say, which I added was of some importance, if she would favour me with her ear for that time. But this she declared utterly impossible, & left me very unceremoniously. I went away not a little mortified at such treatment & thinking any further attendance unnecessary, I contented myself with writing a few lines to her. . . . This finished my affair with Lady St. Clair, for I never heard a syllable from her afterwards."

LETTER OF COMMODORE THOMAS TRUXTON, 1813.—At the date of the following letter Commodore Truxton was living in Moorestown, New Jersey.

"WOOD LAWN, October 13<sup>th</sup> 1813.

"MY DEAR SIR.

" . . . In all my walks through life, I have been regulated by the Eternal principles of honor & rectitude, and to my grave will I be regulated by those principles. I am easily irritated by nature, owing to a keen sensibility and especially as relates to ingratitude. The time is not far back, when all the Navy bowed and looked up to me, that time is past—*be it so*. I ask nought from the present rulers; I interfere with none; I despise those who govern; I am in no man's way. But all seem to go with the current of power, and power is against me by all sneaking means. Yes, Sir, I spurned overtures to one from Washington at the commencement of this unjust, unnecessary war, in which I would have no concern, because it was not declared on sound principles, and because I had been treated ill by the party who rule, *When all was peace*—hence I was not to be made a Creature of, in their moments of difficulty brought on themselves, through folly, wickedness and an undue attachment to the Interest of that usurper & scoundrel Bonaparte. Had I been otherwise treated & continued in the Navy, eating the bread of the Nation in peace, I must have obeyed the mandates of the Gov<sup>t</sup> & served in the war, however opposed in my *private* opinions to its iniquity,—as it was otherwise I would have nought to do with it. Here is a part of the invitation I received *first*, immediately after the Declaration of war—then it was repeated more at length: 'Come on to Washington immediately, and you will *I assure you*, be received as a hero.' I gave no answer to the above; to a second invitation I refused having anything to do with Madison and his war, in the most pointed manner.

"Excuse my Dear friend the trouble I give you, but I will not permit my name to be used improperly by any one on earth. *My motives ever honourable and pure*, forbid it, & I have here been actuated by principles, that must be obvious to you and all who have an Interest in them.

"With great respect & Esteem, I remain my Dear Sir,

"Truly & Sincerely your

"Assured friend & Ob<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

"THOMAS TRUXTON.

"DANIEL SMITH ESQ."

LETTER OF SAMUEL MORRIS TO SAMUEL POWEL, 1765, PER CAPTAIN BUDDEN.—

" . . . I have sold 4 old battered porringers, a pepper box and 8 Silver buttons amt<sup>s</sup> to 44 oz. 3.12. to I. Richardson a 8/ p. oz.—they were country made & not having ye Hall mark would not exceed that price, indeed I had try'd others before him & they would not give more. . . . Household goods may be had here as cheap & as well made from Eng-

lish patterns. In the humour people are in here, a man is in danger of becoming Invidiously distinguished, who buys anything in England which our Tradesmen can furnish. I have heard the joiners here object this against D<sup>r</sup> Morgan & others who brought their furniture with them.—

“I mentioned to thee in my last a claim that John Hughes makes to the lot where Bevan lives on ye W. side of Walnut Street Bridge & my making up a small Chaise house on ye Dock street corner to avoid his taking possession, as some people have done here this Spring on ground of very considerable Value, part of R. Hill’s Estate. . . . Hughes has not spoke to me or Brother, but says to others, that ye Lot was laid out to his Grandfather Hugh Hughes, and that he is sure of making out his title—he is a bold enterprising person and I thought it best not to allow him any advantage, thy Title is by Patent dated 1707. . . .

“My letter concludes with what art always assured of, the Utmost affection & esteem of thy Uncle.

“S[AMUEL] M[ORRIS].

“May 18, 1765.”

WILLIAM PENN IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.—A correspondent of *The Nation*, of New York, who has recently had access to the records of the Privy Council Office, Whitehall, sends the following from the minutes of the proceedings of the Council, upon consideration, at the Board, of a petition from Admiral Sir William Penn, with reference to his son’s “late ffaylings.” The petition itself is not preserved at the Privy Council office:

*Minutes of the proceedings of the Privy Council, held at the Court at Whitehall the 31st March, 1669.*

PRESENT

The King’s Most Excellent Ma<sup>ty</sup>  
&c &c &c &c

Bishop of London to proceed: The humble petition of Sir William  
in y<sup>e</sup> Examinacon of Pen’s: Penn being this day read at the Boord,  
scandalous Booke. : setting forth that ye late ffaylings of His  
..... Son William Penn by his departure  
from y<sup>e</sup> Protestant Religion hath been, & still is his very great Affliction,  
the Education he bestowed upon him being such as could have no  
tendency to those Courses by which he hath incurred his Ma<sup>ty</sup>’s Dis-  
pleasure, yet for as much as the Pet<sup>r</sup> is not without hopes that God will  
in due time reclaim him, and being confident that he will act nothing to  
y<sup>e</sup> Prejudice of His Ma<sup>ty</sup>’s Government: and being informed, That he  
hath given reasonable good satisfaction to those worthy persons who  
were appointed to examine him, He most humbly prayed that His  
Ma<sup>ty</sup> would be graciously pleased to give Order for his Liberty, which  
His Ma<sup>ty</sup> having taken into Consideration, and also that the Booke  
printed & published by the said William Penn intituled [Sundry ffoundations shaken &c] conteyneth in it severall dangerous & blasphemous  
Haeresies to y<sup>e</sup> scandal of y<sup>e</sup> Christian Religion, Did this day Order &  
require the R<sup>r</sup> Reverend Father in God the Lord B<sup>p</sup> of London to take  
cognizance & to proceed to y<sup>e</sup> Examination and judging of y<sup>e</sup> said  
Haereticall Opinions according to such Rules & fformes as belong to y<sup>e</sup>  
Ecclesiasticall court by the Lawes of this Kingdome, & in such manner  
as hath been formerly accustomed in like cases. And to that end It



was further Ordered by His Ma<sup>ty</sup> That S<sup>r</sup> John Robinson, Knt. & Bar<sup>t</sup> Lieutenant of y<sup>e</sup> Tower of London be, and he is hereby required freely to permit Citations & Processes to be served upon the said William Penn within y<sup>e</sup> Tower of London, w<sup>ch</sup> shall be issued out by the B<sup>p</sup> of London in this Cause of Haeresy & also to suffer y<sup>e</sup> said William Penn in company of a Keeper & sufficient Guard to make his Appearance in y<sup>e</sup> Consistory of y<sup>e</sup> said B<sup>p</sup>.

NEW YORK STEAM FERRY, 1812.—“ . . the once formidable Hudson has ceased to present a barrier between the two great cities of the U. S. . . it can now be passed over with as much ease as Frankford Creek or the High Bridge at Kensington. The Steam Ferry boat, which moves with all the Majesty of a Floating Island is certainly the greatest masterpiece of human ingenuity that I have ever witnessed. You drive from a floating wharf which is always exactly of the height, on to its noble deck, and, by magic, as it were, are transported to the other side of the river. The machinery is all enclosed, and there is nothing to alarm the most timid horse. The helmsman is stationed 8 or 10 feet above the common deck, on the octagon case that incloses the works; there is a frame of floating timbers on either side of the dock, so that the boat cannot miss coming to the exact spot to land, and even the jar occasioned by so large a body striking full against the wharf, is completely prevented by a frame of timbers that slide out from the wharf 10 or 12 feet to receive the first shock, but present but little resistance, *at first*, as the weights are casks of water under the surface of the river, but being gradually hoisted out by the power which the boat applies to the sliding frame, become much heavier when they get into the air. Grappling irons immediately seize the boat and hold her close to the wharf, so that you may instantly drive ashore, and as there are two rudders she is immediately ready to perform her voyage back again without turning. As I gazed upon this wonder, which certainly presents a new epoch in the art of transportation, which will not be excelled until the art of flying shall have been brought to perfection. . . .” S.

RARE INSTANCE OF SURVIVAL.—Here is an interesting and somewhat rare instance of survival. Mrs. Eliza Sims, widow of the late William Dillwyn Sims, writes from Ipswich, under date of March 14, 1895, as follows:

“ . . an old servant whom Mrs. Emlen took with her from Ipswich in 1818, and who remained with her till she died, is still living at our Lodge—she is 93, and well remembers Westhill, and it is one of her principal pleasures to talk of the years she spent in America.”

This would make the old servant about sixteen years of age when she came to America. Mrs. Emlen (Susanna, wife of Samuel Emlen the younger and daughter of William Dillwyn) died at Burlington, November 23, 1819. Mr. Sims was a grandson of William Dillwyn.

JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE.—“The great Orator, John Randolph, about a week since, on a visit to a brother member, Mr. Key of this place, stepping from the door, fell and dislocated his hip—he wept and sobbed like an infant, with the pain, shewing less dignity and fortitude on the occasion than a fine lady would have done; he said he once thought he could have borne to be cut in inch pieces without complaint, but then he did not know what pain was. They say the Ran-



dolphins have some of the blood of Pocahontas in their veins, but this savors not of Indian fortitude."—*Letter of Sarah H. Young*, Georgetown, February 8, 1808.

THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION OF 1780.—In "Records of the State of Connecticut" (Vol. II., Appendix, p. 572 *et seq.*) will be found the Journal of the Philadelphia Convention of 1780. If Vol. III. is printed, it is expected that the Appendix will contain the Journals of the Boston, Second Hartford, and Providence Conventions, 1780–81.

H.

MISSING RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.—The following note occurs in the register of the church:

"The vacant spaces left at the conclusion of each year from 1774 to 1778 inclusive, are for the insertion of persons married by the Rev. Mr. Combe, when their names can be obtained, he being at present in England, and his register not to be found in this city. S. P.

"Sept. 1, 1779."

Perhaps Mr. Combe's register is still extant in England. If so, and its whereabouts known, reference thereto would be most acceptable. The "S. P." probably stands for Samuel Powel, the patriot mayor, who was, I think, a vestryman of the church. C.

RECORDS OF THE REVOLUTION.—The Assembly of Connecticut recently passed an act requiring the town clerks of every town in the State to carefully examine the records between the years 1774 and 1784, make a copy of all that relates to the Revolutionary War, and certify and transmit the same to the State Librarian.

There is undoubtedly still considerable material in this State, covering the same period, hidden away in public institutions and in private hands, that could be reached through some official action. Let the attempt be made.

AUTHORSHIP of the (anonymous) "Authentic Account of the Fatal Duel fought on Sunday the 21st March 1830, near Chester, Penna. between Mr. Charles G. Hunter, late Midshipman of the U. S. Navy, and Mr. William Miller, Jun. late Attorney at Law of Philadelphia; . . . Published by Jonathan Elliot, Bookseller, Washington City, 1830."

The following is from a manuscript note in a copy of the above:

"*Mem.* Augustus Newton, Esq. (son of John Francis Newton, Esq. of London and Lincolnshire, a cousin of Sir Isaac Newton) was author of this pamphlet, which his daughter gave to Thos. Helsby; who presented it to M<sup>r</sup> Stewardson. . . . Mr. Newton's protest against M<sup>r</sup> Dillon Drake, & against the action of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, produced, at the time, great hostility towards him & his Philadelphian friends. He was travelling in the U. States at this period, & on several occasions also afterwards visited them. . . . M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Stephenson of Chestnut St. (agent for M<sup>r</sup> Newton's Estate of 2500 acres, in Virginia) seems to have been some connection of the Drakes; & his wife (*née* Newton) was Mr. Newton's aunt. P. S. A Miss Osborne, of Philadelphia, was a cousin of M<sup>r</sup> Newton."

The authorship of the pamphlet was and is no secret, and it is only for the sake of the few genealogical particulars that the foregoing is submitted. The *mem.* is by Mr. Thomas Helsby, editor of Ormerod's "History of Cheshire."

S.

TWO MARRIAGE CERTIFICATES OF THE WILLIAMS FAMILY.—The PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE for July, 1894, contained the Williams Family Record, contributed by Mr. Howard Williams Lloyd. The record was copied from the family Bible now in the possession of a descendant in Cincinnati, Ohio. The present contributor has in his possession the original marriage certificates of his two ancestors, Thomas Williams, of St. Austle, and Thomas Williams, of Philadelphia, son of the former. The two following abstracts may, therefore, be of interest to some of the descendants of Thomas Williams who are now residing in or near Philadelphia. The first certificate is printed on a beautiful piece of parchment, that still looks fairly clean and bright, considering its age. In the upper left-hand corner the English coat of arms is stamped into the parchment, and beneath this stamp there is another one bearing the cipher of George I., surmounted by the royal crown.

Thomas Williams (Son of Andrew Williams of the parish of Mewan) of the Parish of Austle, Serge Maker, And Mary Reed of Austle, Daughter of John Reed, of Menhennit, All of the County of Cornwall . . . Having Declared their Intentions to take each other in Marriage . . . in Austle . . . Now these are to certify all whom it may concern, That for the full accomplishing of their said Intentions, this second Day of the fifth Month, called July in the Year, according to the English Account, One Thousand seven Hundred & twenty two . . .

|                       |               |                     |                |                   |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Ephm Goodoare         | Abigail Boles | Mary Ward           | Jane Mitchell  | Thomas Williams   |
| Edw Jennings Jun.     | Ann Boles     | Constance Jenkins   | Eliz. Maye     | Mary Williams     |
| Peter Williams        | Anna Deboth   | Mary Tuckinghorn    | Margaret Young |                   |
| Richard Hutchins Jun. | Joshua Goss   | Jane Hewett         |                | Mary Williams     |
| Jno Casely            |               | Joan Goss           |                | Thos Freeman      |
| John Shortridge       |               | Mary Young          |                | Catherine Freeman |
| William Lobb          |               | Dorcas Ward         |                | Saml Hopwood      |
| Joseph Bennett        |               | Mary Pearce         |                | Ann Hopwood       |
| John Hobbs            |               | Eliz. Cahy          |                | Saml Hopwood Jun. |
| Joseph Tregollies     |               | Ann Bullock         |                | Matilda Hopwood   |
| Philip Stephens       |               | Henry Harrison      |                | Joanna Goodoare   |
| John Higan            |               | William Livingstone |                | Sarah Freeman     |
| John Tregenna         |               | Margaret Verioe     |                |                   |
| Nicholas Robins       |               |                     |                |                   |

The second certificate is that of Thomas Williams, of Philadelphia, son of Thomas Williams, of St. Austell, who came with his parents and three brothers—Joseph, Samuel, and Andrew—to Philadelphia, November 19, 1733. The certificate is beautifully written on a large piece of parchment.

Whereas Thomas Williams of the city of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, son of Thomas Williams late of sd City Deceased, And Rachel Warner, Daughter of John Warner late of the Township of Blockley in the County of Philadelphia . . . Having declared their Intentions of Marriage at Merion & Radnor . . . that for the full accomplishing . . . this Fourteenth day of the tenth month one thousand seven hundred & fifty . . . have as witnesses thereunto set our hands . . .

David George  
Owen Jones  
Richd George  
Jesse George  
James Whiteall  
Daniel Durborow  
James Ennis  
Eleanor Scull  
Sarah Scull  
Hannah Thornhill  
Sarah Ennis  
Jon. Shoemaker Jr.  
Saml Ennis  
John Taylor

Katherine Kite  
Ann Warner  
Margaret George  
Mary Wynn  
Samuel Kirk  
John Kirk  
Jesse Kirk

Thomas Williams  
Rachel Williams

—  
Mary Williams  
Mary Warner  
Sarah Pollin  
Benjamin Warner  
Thomas Pollin  
Joseph Williams  
Samuel Williams  
Joseph Kirk  
Isaac Warner  
Esther George  
Philip Syng Junr  
Hannah Warner  
Barbara Warner  
Catherine Warner

CHARLES B. WILLIAMS, M.D.

**PORTRAIT OF GEORGE FOX.**—We are indebted to Charles F. Jenkins for a copy of the Wigton School portrait of George Fox. This portrait of Fox was discovered some time ago in an attic of the Friends' School in Wigton, Cumberland County, England. It was without a frame and the canvas had received some injury, but this latter has been carefully repaired and the picture is perfect. The name George Fox is inscribed on the canvas. "A felt hat covers the head, a white handkerchief encircles the throat; the coat is leather-colored, and may represent that material, thus, if so, confirming Carlyle's description of George Fox."

It was taken to London and placed on exhibition, where many Friends were struck with its resemblance to the Sir Peter Lely portrait. It is not difficult to believe that they are pictures of the same person, at different ages, by different artists. Joseph Smith, the bibliographer, and perhaps one who could speak with the most authority, pronounced it an undoubtedly genuine portrait of Fox.

**A NEW PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.**—Dodd, Mead & Co., of New York, announce that they are now ready to receive subscriptions for a new engraving of Colonel George Washington. It is an engraving in pure mezzotinto by Mr. Max Rosenthal, from the painting done at Mount Vernon, 1772, by Charles Willson Peale, from which the three-quarter length was made, known as the "Arlington Picture." The original sketch from which this mezzotinto has been engraved was retained by the artist and formed one of the interesting features of his gallery of Revolutionary heroes included in Peale's Museum. At the time of the dispersion and sale of the Peale Gallery, October, 1854, this study was purchased by Mr. Charles S. Ogden, of Philadelphia, and was presented by him to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, February, 1892.

**PRIVATEER "INTEGRITY."**—The Provincial privateer "Integrity," of Philadelphia, mounting fourteen guns, was captured January 10, 1777, and carried into Jamaica. She had taken four ships, homeward bound, and sent them into Salem.

**DEATH OF ANTHONY MORRIS.**—The following account of the wounding and death of Anthony Morris, a brother of Captain Samuel Morris, of the "Troop," is taken from a letter of Dr. Potts to Owen Biddle, of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety:

"MY D'R FRIEND,

"Tho' the Acc't I send is a melancholy one (in one respect), yet I have sent an Express to give you the best information I can collect. Our mutual friend, Anthony Morris died here, in three hours after he received his wounds on Friday morning. They were three in number, one on his chin, one on the knee, and the third and fatal one on the right temple, by a grape shot. Brave man! He fought and died nobly, deserving a much better fate. . . .

"Your most obt humble Servant

"JON'N POTTS.

'On the Field of Action near Princeton  
'Sunday evening Jany 5th."



### Queries.

EVANS.—Information is requested of John Evans, an Indian trader, who lived west of the Alleghany Mountains as early as 1750.

C. A. HANNA.

FINLEY.—John Finley, an Indian trader in Western Pennsylvania, 1750-70, was connected with the Braddock expedition, and is claimed to have been one of the first to explore Kentucky. Who were his parents and brothers and sisters?

Four brothers—John, Samuel, Andrew, and Clement Finley—were early settlers of Western Pennsylvania, and at least two of them were officers in the Revolutionary War. What is known of them, and to what family do they belong?

C. A. HANNA.

MONTGOMERY.—Who was John Montgomery, who married Mary Willcox, of Concord, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, and moved to North Carolina prior to 1790? Montgomery County, North Carolina, was named after him.

J. W.

DR. UPTON SCOTT.—Some personal particulars are requested relating to Dr. Upton Scott, whose residence I have visited. He died February 23, 1811, in the ninety-second year of his age, and, as his epitaph recites, was "A Native of the County of Antrim, Ireland, and for sixty years a distinguished and respected citizen of this city" (Annapolis).

M.

RALPH LEE appears as a witness in a deed recorded in Chester County, Pennsylvania, Book E, p. 55, dated September 2, 1727, executed in London by Elizabeth Green, wife of John Green, of London, *et al.*, and acknowledged by Ralph Lee, October 15, 1731, before Jeremiah Langhorn, Register and Recorder of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, which appears to show that Ralph Lee was in London in 1727, and in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in 1731. It would, therefore, seem probable that he is a relative—perhaps father or brother—of William Lee, who first appeared in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in 1725, was married there in 1727, and had a son named Ralph Lee.

Wanted, record of any Lee family, through any will or pedigree record, probably Virginia, or London, England, or other English Lee lines, having in the family a Ralph Lee and a William Lee living during the above-mentioned years.

EDWARD CLINTON LEE.

Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

KNOWLTON.—All persons of the name of Knowlton, especially those who are descended from Captain William Knowlton, and from either of his three sons, John, William, and Deacon Thomas Knowlton, who came from England to Ipswich, Massachusetts, are requested to send all information concerning their descent, and whatever else may be of interest in their own history or of others bearing the name, to Rev. C. H. W. Stocking, D.D., 16 Prospect Terrace, East Orange, New Jersey, as he is preparing a history of the Knowlton family.

LIFE OF GENERAL NATHANIEL LYON, BY ASHBEL WOODWARD, M.D.—Public libraries or private persons having in their possession copies of the "Life of General Nathaniel Lyon," by Ashbel Woodward,

M.D., and published by Case, Lockwood & Co., Hartford, 1862, or having Vol. XV. *New England Genealogical and Historical Register* (1861), are requested to send their names and addresses to

REV. C. H. W. STOCKING, D.D.

East Orange, New Jersey.

SIMCOCK.—Can any one give me the maiden name of Elizabeth, wife of John Simcock, the Provincial councillor? She was living at the time of his making his will, which was dated Fifth Month 25, 1702, proved at Philadelphia April 24, 1703.

Has any one marriage certificates of the early Simcocks prior to 1700?

HOWARD W. LLOYD.

WALLACE.—Information wanted concerning lineage of James Wallace, of Tinicum Township, Bucks County, who died in 1765; widow's name Hannah; had sons William, Robert, Samuel; daughter Jean married a Hutchinson. What connection, if any, with James Wallace, of Warwick, Bucks County, who died 1777? Information as to ancestry of latter also wanted.

W. S. W.

MILLER.—Information requested as to the ancestry and native place of William Miller, Sen., of Warwick, Bucks County, born about 1672, came to Bucks County 1726, died 1759. Who did his son Robert marry?

W. S. W.

AUTHOR OF "PRINTZ HALL."—The name is requested of the author of "Printz Hall, a Record of New Sweden," by the "Author of Blackbeard," published in Philadelphia in 1839.

E. J. SMITH.

2 Nassau Street, New York.

### Book Notices.

THE ANCESTORS OF LIEUTENANT THOMAS TRACY, OF NORWICH, CONNECTICUT. By Lieutenant Charles Stedman Ripley, U. S. N. Boston, 1895. 100 pp. Price, \$2.50.

Lieutenant Thomas Tracy, a son of Sir Paul Tracy, of Stanway, County of Gloucester, England, was born in 1610, and in 1636 immigrated to America. In April of the latter year he arrived at Salem, Massachusetts, and ten months later removed to Wethersfield, Connecticut, where in 1741 he married Mary, the widow of Edward Mason. After a residence at Saybrook, where his children were born, he removed in 1660 to Norwich, and died there in November of 1685, after filling many civil and military offices. The ancestors of the family through the Norman, Saxon, and Scotch lines have been ascertained from visitations, wills, and other authentic documents, and the text is illustrated with numerous pedigree charts. The Tracy arms, inherited from their Norman ancestors about the middle of the twelfth century, are given in the frontispiece. The book is attractively printed and bound. Copies may be obtained of Walter Kendall Watkins, 18 Somerset Street, Boston.

ANCESTRY.—To all who seek for the objects and requirements relating to membership in the various hereditary societies, "Ancestry," compiled by Mr. Eugene Zieber, will prove of great value. It is beautifully printed, and published by the Bailey, Banks & Biddle Company, of Philadelphia, and is mailed on receipt of twenty-five cents by the publishers.

**HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS RELATING TO GWYNEDD.**—I shall be obliged if the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE* will mention that I am considering the issue of a second edition of my volume with the above title, published in 1885. It has been for eight years or more out of print, and frequent applications being made to me for copies, I have decided to reprint it, with some (not extensive) additions and needful corrections, provided there be a sufficient demand for the work. The price I propose to make four dollars per copy. (The original price was four dollars and fifty cents.)

HOWARD M. JENKINS.

Gwynedd, Pennsylvania, or 921 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

**HISTORY OF NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT.** From the first survey of the coast in 1612 to 1860. By Frances Manwaring Caulkins. New London: H. D. Utley, 1895. Pp. 696. 8vo. Extra cloth. \$5.00.

This work was first published in 1852, and only a part of the edition bound up at that time. In 1860 the remaining sheets were bound with additional matter. The merit of the compilation attracted the attention of historians and genealogists and the general reading public, so that the edition has been exhausted for some years. The present enlarged edition is, therefore, opportune. Some of the noteworthy chapters are the accounts of the Rogerene Baptists, the burning of New London by the traitor Arnold, the battle of Groton Heights and the massacre of the garrison. The genealogical data and early church history add much value. The book is illustrated and well printed.

**THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.**—We have received the first number of this new quarterly, published by Macmillan & Co., of New York, for the collegiate interests connected with the enterprise. The Board of Editors is composed of the following gentlemen: George B. Adams, Albert B. Hart, Harry P. Judson, John B. McMaster, William M. Sloane, H. Morse Stephens, and J. Franklin Jameson, managing editor. The principal contributions are "History and Democracy," by Professor Sloane; "The Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution," by Professor Moses Coit Tyler; "The First Castilian Inquisitor," by Henry C. Lea; "Count Edward de Crillon," by Henry Adams; and "Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era," by Professor Frederick J. Turner. Typographically the new serial is attractive. The price of subscription is three dollars a year.

**MERION IN THE WELSH TRACT, WITH SKETCHES OF THE TOWNSHIPS OF HAVERFORD AND RADNOR.** Historical and Genealogical Collections concerning the Welsh Barony in the Province of Pennsylvania, settled by the Cymric Quakers in 1682. By Thomas Allen Glenn. Philadelphia, 1896. Published for the subscribers.

In a recent number we announced the approaching publication of this work, and the many persons who are interested in the history and genealogies of the principal colonists on the old barony will be gratified to learn that it has been issued. Heretofore our local historians have done but little towards elucidating the history of the "Great Welsh Tract," probably owing to the difficulty in obtaining the records; we are therefore the more indebted to Mr. Glenn, through whose patient researches, both locally and in Wales, we have at last an exhaustive history with full genealogies. A reference to some of the leading chapters will afford an estimate of the scope and value of the work: The Great Welsh Tract or Barony in Pennsylvania, 1682-1700; Roll of Welsh Settlers in Pennsylvania; Social and Domestic Affairs in



Wales and on the Welsh Tract in Pennsylvania; Merion Meeting; The Merioneth Adventurers: Dr. Edward Jones and John ap Thomas and Company; Rees, John William, of Merion, and his Descendants; John and William ap Edward, of Merion, Sons of Edward ap John, of Cynlas; Edward Rees and the Price Family; Roberts, of Pencoyd; Hugh John Thomas, of Merion; Owen Family, of Merion, and allied Lines; Descendants of Hannah Jones, Daughter of Owen and Susanna Jones, of Merion, and Amos Foulke; The Bevan Family, of Treverigg and Merion; Bryn-Mawr and Rowland Ellis; The Humphreys Family; Ellis Lewis and Descendants; The Cadwalader Pedigree; Wynnewood and the Wynnes; The Parry Family, of Radnor; The Roberts Family, of Blockley; Dr. Edward Jones; The Lloyds, of Bryn-Mawr; John ap Thomas; Hugh Roberts and Family; Lloyd, of Dolobran; and Rees Thomas and the Awbrey Family. We note that the chapter "Wynnewood and the Wynnes" was contributed by Mr. Howard Williams Lloyd, one of our foremost Welsh genealogists. The text is richly embellished with full-page engravings made from photographs taken in Wales and printed on Japan paper, fac-similes of manuscripts, coats of arms, and autographs, and the numerous foot-notes, an appendix, and an index give additional value to this attractive volume. The edition is limited. Price, \$8.50.

REGISTER OF PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF THE COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA. Philadelphia, 1895. 8vo. Pp. 129.

The dainty volume before us, from the Lippincott press, is the first issued by the Pennsylvania Society, which was instituted in the year 1891 through the exertions of the late Mrs. Crawford Arnold and Miss Anne H. Wharton. It contains lists of the officers of the National Society; the State Society and the officers from its institution; founders and signers of the charter; original members; and a register of members, with the services of their ancestors. We note that a few Dames are so fortunate as to derive their eligibility through the military and civil services of thirty and more of their ancestors, and also that in a membership of upwards of three hundred, only about fifty are from Pennsylvania families alone. Among the latter represented are the following: Atlee, Bache, Baynton, Bevan, Biddle, Bradford, Brooke, Burd, Butler, Cadwalader, Carpenter, Chew, Darrah, Denny, Dewees, Evans, Farmer, Fox, Franklin, Grubb, Henry, Hillegas, Hopkinson, Howell, Irwin, Jones, Lloyd, McKean, Maris, Mifflin, Moore, Morris, Muhlenberg, Nixon, Norris, Owen, Plumsted, Powel, Preston, Rhoads, Richardson, Shippen, Thomas, Waln, Wharton, Wilcox, Wood, and Wynne. The frontispiece is the flag of the Society, and the attractive insignia is represented in colors on the cover.

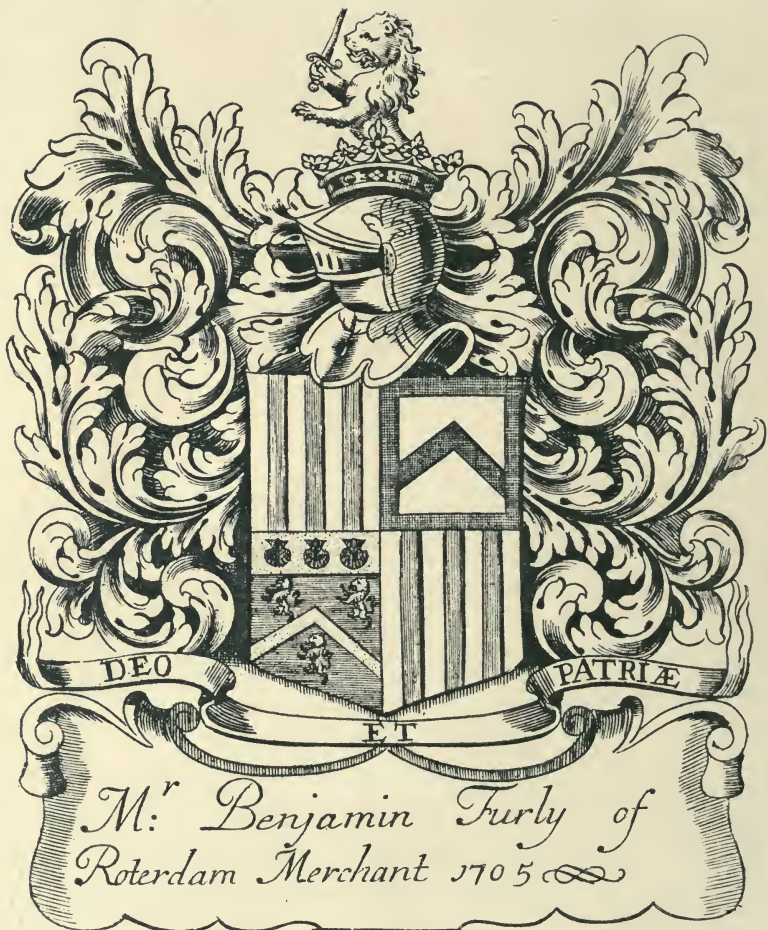
THE GERMAN PIETISTS OF PROVINCIAL PENNSYLVANIA. By Julius Friedrich Sachse. Philadelphia, 1895. Royal 8vo. Pp. 504. Price, \$5.

This valuable contribution to the early history of Pennsylvania is divided into two parts, and covers the period between 1694 and 1708. The first part mainly deals critically with the company of religious and mystical enthusiasts who came to the Province in 1694 and founded among the hills of the Wissahickon the Rosicrucian community known as "The Woman in the Wilderness," and later as "The Hermits of the Ridge." The second part is devoted to biographies of the prominent members of the community, Magister Johannes Kelpius, Koester, Seelig, Daniel and Justus Falkner, Conrad Matthäi, and Dr. Christopher



Witt, the last of the mystics. An appendix also contains sketches of Benjamin Furly, the promoter of the first German emigration to America, Johann Jacob Zimmerman, and Andreas Rudmann, the Swedish missionary. In the preparation of his work Mr. Sachse has freely drawn from the original records, journals, and correspondence of the community, consequently we have an extraordinary amount of interesting and important data, much of it hitherto unpublished, on a subject which few of our historians have treated satisfactorily. We heartily commend this work to all interested in our local history and in the early German movement to this Province. The book, which has been printed from new type and specially made paper, is embellished with twenty-two full-page tinted plates and two hundred and forty portraits, autographs, and fac-similes of rare titles and manuscripts, and is further amplified with over five hundred foot-notes and references and a copious index. It is bound in an artistic cloth cover, with gilt top and uncut edges. The edition is limited, and copies can only be obtained at 3608 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.





MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA, 1895.

A stated meeting of the Society was held January 13, 1895, President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

Captain Henry Hobart Bellas, U.S.A., read a paper on "The Defences of the Delaware River during the Revolution," on the conclusion of which a vote of thanks was returned.

A special meeting of the Society was held February 11, President Charles J. Stillé presiding.

Joseph G. Rosengarten, Esq., was introduced and read a paper entitled "The Château de Rochambeau."

On motion, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Rosengarten.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on Monday evening, March 11, President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

Mr. Paul Leinster Ford, of Brooklyn, New York, read a paper entitled "The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776: its Relations to the Revolution."

On motion of Colonel George Mead, the thanks of the Society were offered to Mr. Ford.

Nominations for officers of the Society, to be voted for at the next stated meeting, being in order, Mr. Crawford Arnold placed in nomination the following names:

*President.*

Charles J. Stillé.

*Honorary Vice-Presidents.*

Craig Biddle,

Ferdinand J. Dreer.

*Vice-Presidents (to serve for three years).*

William S. Baker,

Samuel W. Pennypacker.

*Corresponding Secretary.*

Gregory B. Keen.

*Recording Secretary.*

Hampton L. Carson.



*Treasurer.*

J. Edward Carpenter.

*Auditor.*

Francis H. Williams.

*Members of Council (to serve four years).*

John C. Browne, Richard M. Cadwalader,  
William G. Thomas,  
Charlemagne Tower, Jr.

(For unexpired term of Edwin T. Eisenbrey, deceased).

No other nominations being made, the chair appointed tellers to conduct the election on May 13.

Librarian Frederick D. Stone announced the following gifts since the last meeting: A painting in oil of the Philadelphia Water-Works on Centre Square, from Clarence S. Bement; and an etched portrait by Rosenthal of the late Chief-Justice George Sharswood, the gift of William J. Campbell.

A special meeting of the Society was held April 8, President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, of North Carolina, read a paper on "Southern Quakers and Slavery," on the conclusion of which the thanks of the Society were tendered.

Hampton L. Carson, Esq., offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

*Resolved*, That The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is in hearty sympathy with the efforts of Hon. C. Wesley Thomas to obtain a repeal of that portion of the Public Building Commission Act which requires, upon the completion of the City Hall, the removal from Independence Square of the historic buildings at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets and at the southwest corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets.

*Resolved*, That the members of this Society be invited to address their Representatives and Senators, and urge them to uphold the hands of Senator Thomas in his patriotic and public-spirited efforts to preserve these buildings, which belong in a certain sense to the whole American people, and ought to be cherished as sacred memorials of an honorable and historic past.

The annual meeting of the Society was held May 13, President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

Dr. Stillé read a paper entitled "Maximilian in Mexico, and the Monroe Doctrine," the object of which was to show the meaning of the "Monroe Doctrine" and how it was enforced by the United States when

the Emperor Napoleon sought to establish by a French army an empire in Mexico under Maximilian in 1862-67.

A vote of thanks was passed.

Professor Gregory B. Keen read the annual report of the Council.

The tellers appointed to conduct the annual election reported that the gentlemen nominated at the last stated meeting had been unanimously elected.

A stated meeting of the Society was held November 11, President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

Dr. Herbert Friedenwald was introduced and read a paper entitled "The Continental Congress—Picturesque Episodes in the History of its Foreign Relations and Domestic Affairs."

On motion, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Dr. Friedenwald.

Librarian Frederick D. Stone announced that substantial and satisfactory progress was being made in copying the Journals of the Lords of Plantation and Trade in the Public Record Office, London.

Dr. Stone also announced the gift by Mr. Patterson, son of the late General Robert Patterson, of a collection of books made by his father relating to the Mexican War.

OFFICERS  
OF  
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

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PRESIDENT.

CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

CRAIG BIDDLE,

FERDINAND J. DREER.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,

ISAAC CRAIG,

WILLIAM S. BAKER,

HENRY C. LEA,

JAMES T. MITCHELL,

CHARLEMAGNE TOWER, JR.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

GREGORY B. KEEN.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

HAMPTON L. CARSON.

TREASURER.

J. EDWARD CARPENTER.

AUDITOR.

FRANCIS H. WILLIAMS.

LIBRARIAN.

FREDERICK D. STONE.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.

JOHN W. JORDAN.

COUNCIL.

JAMES T. MITCHELL,

CHARLES HARE HUTCHINSON,

WILLIAM S. BAKER,

SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,

JOHN C. BROWNE,

WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE,

RICHARD M. CADWALADER,

CHARLES ROBERTS,

GEORGE HARRISON FISHER,

WILLIAM G. THOMAS,

JOHN B. GEST,

CHARLEMAGNE TOWER, JR.

TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLICATION AND BINDING FUNDS.

CHARLES J. STILLÉ,                      CHARLES HARE HUTCHINSON,  
JAMES T. MITCHELL.

TRUSTEES OF THE LIBRARY FUND.

CHARLES J. STILLÉ,                      FREDERICK D. STONE,  
JOHN BACH MCMASTER.

TRUSTEES OF THE GILPIN FUND.

CHARLES J. STILLÉ,                      WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE,  
SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,      CHARLES HARE HUTCHINSON,  
GEORGE HARRISON FISHER.

TRUSTEES OF THE ENDOWMENT FUND.

CHARLES J. STILLÉ,                      CHARLEMAGNE TOWER, JR.,  
HAMPTON L. CARSON.

TRUSTEES OF THE FERDINAND J. DREER COLLECTION  
OF AUTOGRAPHS.

HAMPTON L. CARSON,                      WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE,  
FREDERICK D. STONE,                      GREGORY B. KEEN,  
EDWIN GREBLE DREER.

STATED MEETINGS.

January 13, 1896.                      May 11, 1896.  
March 9, 1896.                      November 9, 1896.  
January 11, 1897.

---

|                                      |   |   |   |   |   |   |        |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|--------|
| Annual membership.                   | . | . | . | . | . | . | \$5.00 |
| Life membership                      | . | . | . | . | . | . | 50.00  |
| Publication Fund, life subscription. | . | . | . | . | . | . | 25.00  |
| Pennsylvania Magazine, per annum     | . | . | . | . | . | . | 3.00   |

Payments may be made to the Librarian, at the Hall, 1300 Locust Street, or to the Collector.



## EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

### *Statement of Finances, December 31, 1894.*

#### DR.

The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following :

|                             |              |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| To Real Estate <sup>1</sup> | \$126,201 41 |
| To Investments              | 98,359 28    |
| To Cash                     | 9,846 23     |

#### CR.

The Treasurer and Trustees claim credit for :

|                                                    |                                         |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| General Fund, Capital Invested                     | \$5,500 00                              |
| "    "    Loan Account to Real Estate              | 5,500 00                                |
| "    "    Cash, Interest Account                   | 10 26                                   |
| Binding Fund, Capital Invested                     | 5,300 00                                |
| "    "    Cash, Interest Account                   | 129 09                                  |
| Library Fund, Capital Invested                     | 19,505 00                               |
| "    "    "    Uninvested                          | 1,000 00                                |
| "    "    Cash, Interest Account                   | 534 01                                  |
| Publication Fund, Capital Invested                 | 35,054 28                               |
| "    "    "    Uninvested                          | 1,910 47                                |
| "    "    Cash, Interest Account                   | 1,865 46                                |
| Endowment Funds, Capital Invested                  | 33,000 00                               |
| "    "    Cash, Capital Account                    | 3,645 03                                |
| Investments of Real Estate                         | 120,701 41                              |
| Balance Donation for Harleian Publications         | 58 00                                   |
| "    in hands of Treasurer, Real Estate<br>Account | 193 42                                  |
| Church Records Fund                                | 100 00                                  |
| Sundries                                           | 400 49                                  |
|                                                    | <u>\$234,406 92</u> <u>\$234,406 92</u> |

<sup>1</sup> Heretofore this item has appeared as \$131,701.41 in consequence of an erroneous duplication of the amount of the loan to this account of \$5,500.00 mentioned below.

*General Fund.*

|                                                              |                   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1894 . . . . .            | \$20 32           |
| Annual Dues, 1894 . . . . .                                  | 7,170 00          |
| Interest and Dividends . . . . .                             | 749 37            |
| Trustees Endowment Fund . . . . .                            | 1,620 00          |
| Donations . . . . .                                          | 205 80            |
|                                                              | <u>\$9,765 49</u> |
| Disbursements: General Expenses and Taxes for 1894 . . . . . | 9,755 23          |
| Balance in hands of Treasurer . . . . .                      | \$10 26           |

*Binding Fund.*

|                                                   |                 |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1894 . . . . . | \$259 18        |
| Interest and Dividends . . . . .                  | 307 00          |
|                                                   | <u>\$566 18</u> |
| Disbursements for Binding, 1894 . . . . .         | 437 09          |
| Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .            | \$129 09        |

*Library Fund.*

|                                                   |                   |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1894 . . . . . | \$266 10          |
| Interest, Dividends, and Sales . . . . .          | 1,105 00          |
|                                                   | <u>\$1,371 10</u> |
| Disbursements: Books purchased in 1894 . . . . .  | 837 09            |
| Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .            | \$534 01          |

*Publication Fund.*

|                                                   |                   |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1894 . . . . . | \$2,884 18        |
| Interest, Dividends, and Rents . . . . .          | 2,128 28          |
| Subscriptions to Magazine, etc. . . . .           | 688 75            |
|                                                   | <u>\$5,201 21</u> |
| Disbursements for 1894 . . . . .                  | 3,335 75          |
| Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .            | \$1,865 46        |

*Endowment Fund.*

|                                                            |            |
|------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Receipts: Interest and Dividends . . . . .                 | \$1,620 00 |
| Disbursements: Paid to Treasurer of General Fund . . . . . | 1,620 00   |

*Gilpin Fund Income.*

|                                                         |                   |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Cash on hand, January 1, 1894 . . . . .                 | \$1,363 34        |
| Interest . . . . .                                      | \$2,171 56        |
| Sale of Duplicates . . . . .                            | 725 00            |
|                                                         | <u>2,896 56</u>   |
|                                                         | <u>\$4,259 90</u> |
| Disbursements for 1894 . . . . .                        | 3,688 04          |
| Balance in hands of Trustees, January 1, 1895 . . . . . | \$571 86          |

THE ORIGIN, CONSTITUTION, AND PRESENT STATUS  
OF THE  
SEVERAL FUNDS AND TRUSTS  
OF  
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
OR  
IN WHICH IT IS BENEFICIALLY INTERESTED.

(In accordance with the directions of the Council of the Society the following statement was annexed to its annual report for the year ending December 31, 1894, for the information of the members of the Society.)

I. GENERAL FUND.

Prior to the creation in 1877 of the Endowment Fund, all legacies, donations to the Society for the purposes of investment but for no specific object, and life membership payments were carried by the Treasurer of the Society to a separate account called the General Fund. The investments thereof have been made in the corporate name of the Society, and the interest therefrom is applied generally for its uses.

This fund amounted on December 31, 1894, to, . . . \$11,000 00

Which sum is derived from:

|                                              |          |             |
|----------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|
| Legacy of Paul Beck . . . . .                | \$100 00 |             |
| Donation of the Athenian Institute . . . . . | 350 00   |             |
| Legacy of Peter S. Du Ponceau . . . . .      | 200 00   |             |
| Legacy of Thomas Sergeant . . . . .          | 100 00   |             |
| Legacy of George Chambers . . . . .          | 100 00   |             |
| Legacy of Jesse George . . . . .             | 1,000 00 |             |
| Legacy of Mrs. Eliza Gilpin . . . . .        | 5,100 00 |             |
| Life membership account . . . . .            | 3,616 00 |             |
| Profits on investments, etc. . . . .         | 434 00   |             |
|                                              | <hr/>    | \$11,000 00 |

II. THE PUBLICATION FUND.

This, the first of the Special Funds established by the Society, was originated by virtue of the following resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Society held February 13, 1854, viz.

WHEREAS, The publications by the Society, notwithstanding the valuable matter they contain, are a heavy drain upon its funds, and are unsatisfactory in their form because of their liability to loss; and it being desirable to secure a permanent efficiency in the mode of preserving the materials of history; be it

*Resolved*, That any person, member or other, who shall pay to the Treasurer the sum of twenty dollars for that purpose, shall be, during his life, entitled to one copy of each book or other matter published by the Society subsequent to the date of contribution.

*Resolved*, That the Treasurer open an account under the head of Publication Fund, in which shall be entered all payments for this object and contributions thereto, as also the sums received from time to time from the sale of the Society's publications.

*Resolved*, That the payments and contributions to the Publication Fund be invested at convenient times in good securities, and that the interest accruing thereon be the only money from that fund to be used in the expenses of publication.

At a meeting of the Society held May 8, 1854, it was

*Resolved*, That George W. Norris, M.D., John Jordan, Jr., and Thomas S. Mitchell be constituted Trustees of the Publication Fund, with power to invest the same on good security, and apply the income for the objects of said fund, as stated in the resolutions of February 13, 1854.

By resolution of the Society dated April 13, 1857, the constitution of the fund was changed, and provision made that in every second year after 1856 one Trustee of the fund should be elected by the Society upon the nomination of the Executive Committee, and that vacancies occurring in the mean time should be filled in a similar manner. It was also then provided that all investments of moneys by the Trustees of the fund should be made in the corporate name of the Society, and that the Trustees should annually present full reports in writing to the Society.

In 1866 the amount of the subscription to the fund was increased to twenty-five dollars.

The Trustees of the Publication Fund of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, elected by the Society (hereafter by the Council), now consist of:

Charles Hare Hutchinson, elected to serve until May, 1896.

Hon. James T. Mitchell, elected to serve until May, 1898.

Charles J. Stillé, elected to serve until May, 1900.

The capital of the Publication Fund on December 31, 1894, amounted to . . . . . \$36,964 75

Which sum is derived from:

|                                     |             |             |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Life subscription account . . . . . | \$36,364 75 |             |
| Legacy of James Hamilton . . . . .  | \$500 00    |             |
| Legacy of Miss Anne Willing         |             |             |
| Jackson . . . . .                   | 100 00      |             |
|                                     | <hr/>       | 600 00      |
|                                     |             | <hr/>       |
|                                     |             | \$36,964 75 |



## III. THE BUILDING FUNDS AND REAL ESTATE ACCOUNT.

The "First Building Fund" was established in pursuance of a resolution of the Society of August 13, 1855, which provided for the collection of money for the erection of a building for its use, the amount to be held by the Trustees of the Publication Fund, and the interest arising therefrom to be devoted to the same purpose as the interest of the Publication Fund until the capital of that fund should amount to \$20,000, whereupon the capital of the two funds was to be separated, and the interest arising from the Building Fund was to be added to its capital until the entire fund should be needed to furnish the Society with a fire-proof building. Subscriptions amounting to \$4950 were collected for this purpose, and when the capital of the Publication Fund reached \$20,000, the funds were separated, and the interest of the Building Fund was added to the capital until the building at Locust and Thirteenth Streets was eventually purchased as hereafter stated.

As it was found impossible to raise sufficient funds to erect a building entirely fire-proof, and as the growth of the Society required more extensive quarters than those it had been occupying in the Athenæum Building, at the corner of Sixth and Adelphi Streets, since the year 1843, a subscription was taken up, under a resolution of the Council of January 25, 1869, with the object of furnishing the Society with more commodious quarters. While subscriptions for this purpose were being solicited, a building known as the "Picture House," originally erected for the accommodation of Benjamin West's painting of "Christ Healing the Sick," situated on the south side of Spruce, between Eighth and Ninth Streets, on the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital, was in 1871 offered to the Society at a nominal rent for ten years, the Society to make whatever alterations were necessary to render it suitable for its needs. The subscriptions which had been paid in under the resolution of Council of January 25, 1869, amounting to \$5825, were invested, and became known as the "Second Building Fund," the interest arising therefrom being added to the capital until the property at the corner of Locust and Thirteenth Streets was purchased in the year 1882. The uncollected subscriptions under the resolution of January 25, 1869, were, with the consent of the subscribers, applied, when paid, to the improvement of the Spruce Street building. All other outlay for the alteration, fitting up, and furnishing of the same, over and above the amounts contributed for the specific purpose, was paid for out of the general funds of the Society not held by trustees for special purposes.

In November, 1882, a portion of the property now occupied by the Society, at the southwest corner of Locust and Thirteenth Streets, originally built in the most substantial manner for John Hare Powell, and subsequently, for many years, occupied as a residence by General Robert Patterson, the lot containing in front on Locust Street ninety-five feet and in depth on Thirteenth Street one hundred and twenty

feet, was offered to the Society for \$50,000. Steps were at once taken to raise a sufficient amount for the purchase and alterations of the property, and the sum of \$67,601.34 was readily obtained. The house and lot, together with thirty feet additional to that first offered, adjoining it on the west, were accordingly purchased. The securities of the "First Building Fund" were sold, realizing \$8381.21, and those of the "Second Building Fund," \$14,115.44. These sums added to the \$67,601.34, collected as above mentioned, and money received from interest on deposits, the sale of old material, etc., amounting to \$1870.92, together with \$5500 borrowed from the General Fund of the Society, covered the entire cost of the hall and buildings, with the alterations of the same, as at first adapted to the Society's use. In accordance with the provision that the building erected with the proceeds of the "First Building Fund" should be fire-proof, the money of that fund was used in constructing the northeastern wing of the building at the corner of Locust and Thirteenth Streets.

In the year 1886 the late Joseph E. Temple, who had been one of the contributors for the purchase of the building, and who had watched with interest the rapid growth of the Society, expressed the opinion at one of its social receptions that before long the Society would need additional room, and that to provide for this contingency and for protection against fire it should secure the lot of the width of twenty-five feet which still remained vacant adjoining its building on Locust Street on the west. The price asked for the lot was \$13,000, of which sum he offered to contribute \$5000 if the Society would raise the balance. The Misses Cope, the owners of the lot, generously contributed \$2000, and in a short time the entire sum, with \$732.50 in addition, was obtained. In 1889 the late John Jordan, Jr., a life-long benefactor of the Society, who saw its growing needs, presented the Society with \$15,000 for the erection of the fire-proof building on the southern part of the Thirteenth Street front of its property, the only condition being that if the Society should move from its present location and the money received from the sale of its present building should not all be required for its future quarters, the \$15,000 which he then presented should be transferred to the Trustees of the Library Fund and the interest used for the purchase of books.

From this it will be seen that the cost of the hall, buildings, and ground containing one hundred and fifty feet on Locust Street and one hundred and twenty feet on Thirteenth Street, as now occupied by the Society, amounted to \$126,201.41, all of which money was contributed by its members for purposes for which it has been used, with the exception of \$5500 borrowed from the General Fund of the Society, which it is hoped will some day be repaid.

The title to the hall, buildings, and lots of ground stands in the name of "The Historical Society of Pennsylvania."

## IV. THE GILPIN FUND.

This fund is derived from the bequest of the Honorable Henry D. Gilpin, contained in his will, proved at Philadelphia February 3, 1860, to the President and the eldest Vice-President for the time being of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Richard A. Gilpin, Henry D. Gilpin, Jr., Charles Macalester, and J. Francis Fisher, and the survivors and survivor of them, of one-third of his residuary estate in trust to erect a fire-proof library building in connection with the building of the said Society, to be designated "The Gilpin Library of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania," and to appropriate annually to the use of the said Gilpin Library the entire income of the residue of the said legacy, with a provision that none of the books or other articles should be taken therefrom, but used by students at the library, vacancies in the trust to be filled by the remaining Trustees or a majority of them, and the same being confirmed by a court at Philadelphia having jurisdiction over the subject.

On October 28, 1876, the Trustees received authority from the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia County to apply the income of the fund to the payment of rent of part of the building occupied by the Society, including the proper fitting up and care of the library room, purchase of books, binding of the same when necessary, and the employment of a proper person as librarian, at a salary to be fixed upon by the Trustees, in lieu of erecting and maintaining a fire-proof library building as provided for in the will of Mr. Gilpin.

The Trustees of the Gilpin Library of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania now consist of the President of the Society, Charles J. Stillé, the eldest Vice-President thereof, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, Charles Hare Hutchinson, William Brooke Rawle, and George Harrison Fisher.

The capital of the Gilpin Fund amounted on December 31, 1894, to \$58,611.65.

## V. THE BINDING FUND.

This fund was originated by Dr. Thomas B. Wilson, as appears from the following letter:

PHILADA: March 9th, 1861.

DEAR SIR,—In accordance with your suggestion to create a permanent Trust Fund, I would like you to use the seven hundred dollars which I placed in your hands, in the purchase of a one-thousand-dollar bond of the North Penna. R. R. Co. and one share of the Penna. R. R. Co., to be held as a Permanent Binding Fund, the interest to be first used, under direction of the Trustees of the Publication Fund, on the collection of books relating to the French Revolution.

Yours respectfully,

THOMAS B. WILSON.

TO TOWNSEND WARD.



At a meeting of the Council held March 28, 1861, Mr. Ward announced the donation from Thomas B. Wilson, M.D., of one bond of the North Pennsylvania Railroad Company, for one thousand dollars, and one share of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, as a permanent Binding Fund. And on his motion it was *Resolved*, That the securities be placed in the hands of the Trustees of the Publication Fund.

The Trustees of the Binding Fund of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, elected by the Society (hereafter by the Council), now consist of:

Charles Hare Hutchinson, elected to serve until May, 1896.

Hon. James T. Mitchell, elected to serve until May, 1898.

Charles J. Stillé, elected to serve until May, 1900.

The capital of the Binding Fund on December 31, 1894, amounted to . . . . . \$5300 00

Which sum is derived from:

|                                                                                |           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Donation of Dr. Thomas B. Wilson (represented by the securities mentioned) . . | \$700 00  |
| Donation of John Jordan, Jr. . . . .                                           | 1000 00   |
| Donation of Penn Manuscript Fund . . . .                                       | 1000 00   |
| Legacy of William Man . . . . .                                                | 2000 00   |
| Contributions and profits on investment . .                                    | 600 00    |
|                                                                                | <hr/>     |
|                                                                                | \$5300 00 |

## VI. THE LIBRARY FUND.

This fund was originated in consequence of the following letter of George Washington Smith, one of the founders of the Society, entered on the minutes of the Society December 5, 1872:

911 CLINTON STREET, PHILADELPHIA, November 20, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to enclose my check for one thousand dollars. I desire that the proceeds be invested in some security lawful for trustees to invest in, in the names of yourself, John Jordan, Jr., and Frederick D. Stone (any vacancy in the trust to be supplied by the remaining trustees or trustee from members of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania), and the interest of the fund applied from time to time, at the discretion of the trustees, by them in the purchase of books, printed or manuscript, for the use of the Society, and to be kept as part of its library.

I would be happy if this should prove the commencement of a Permanent Library Fund securely set apart and devoted to the enlargement and maintenance of the library.

I trust that the Historical Society with which I have been so long connected will consider the sum thus given as a mark of my good will and of the sincere satisfaction with which I witness the late efforts made



through the liberality of certain of its members to place its concerns on a base worthy of its object.

I remain with sincere regard

Your friend

GEO. WASHINGTON SMITH.

JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE, Esq.,

President of The Historical

Society of Pennsylvania.

At a meeting of the Council held January 27, 1873, it was

*Resolved*, That all bequests or contributions made by any person hereafter to the Library Fund be placed in the hands of the same Trustees or their successors, with the same duties and powers on their part as given to the Trustees named in Mr. Smith's said letter.

The Trustees of the Library Fund of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania now consist of: Charles J. Stillé, Frederick D. Stone, and John Bach McMaster.

The capital of the Library Fund on December 31, 1894, amounted to . . . . . \$20,505 00

Which sum is derived from:

|                                                                  |                 |             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Donation of George W. Smith . . . .                              | \$1,000 00      |             |
| Legacy of Jesse George . . . . .                                 | 4,000 00        |             |
| Donation of John William Wallace . .                             | 1,000 00        |             |
| Donation of John Jordan, Jr. . . . .                             | 500 00          |             |
| Legacy of William Man . . . . .                                  | 8,000 00        |             |
| Legacy of Horatio Gates Jones of stock<br>appraised at . . . . . | 4,505 00        |             |
| Profits on investments, etc. . . . .                             | <u>1,500 00</u> | \$20,505 00 |

## VII. THE ENDOWMENT FUNDS.

At a meeting of the Council held January 22, 1877, John William Wallace, Esq., stated that three gentlemen had subscribed some time previously \$500 each, and afterwards a fourth gentleman \$100, to a paper in the words following:

"We the undersigned agree to pay to John William Wallace, John Jordan, Jr., and George de B. Keim, Trustees, the sums set opposite our respective names, said sums to be invested by the said Trustees, and the interest therefrom applied to providing a sufficient salary or salaries for such person or persons as have been longest and most usefully devoted to the service of said Society, a matter of which a majority of said Trustees or their successors in said Trust shall be the exclusive judges; and in case there shall be no occasion for such provision, then to pay

said interest as any subscriber may direct in writing as to the amount of principal subscribed and paid by him, and in default of such direction, as the Society or its Council may direct. The said Trustees to supply all vacancies in their body, and to have power to increase their numbers from the members of the Society."

Mr. Wallace then reported that the money had been invested in the name of the Trustees of the Endowment Fund of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and that the interest (\$100) would be appropriated to Mr. Townsend Ward for life, and, on behalf of the Trustees, asked that this trust and this fund be now recognized as one of the regular trusts and funds of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. On motion of Mr. Seidensticker, this was unanimously done.

Mr. Ward was the beneficiary of the fund, and on his death the following resolution was passed:

*Resolved*, That all interest from August 13, 1885, accrued from balance of fund,—viz., the sum of \$285,—shall be paid quarterly to the Treasurer of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and by him applied towards "providing sufficient salaries for such persons as have been longest and most usefully devoted to the service of the Society."

At various times subsequently legacies and donations to the Society were placed in the hands of the said Trustees, and at a meeting of the Council of the Society held February 15, 1883, it was resolved that the balance of cash on hand in the Life Membership Fund, as well as future receipts from the same source, be transferred to the Endowment Fund until otherwise ordered.

One of the contributions of \$500 inaugurating the Endowment Fund was made by Mr. John Jordan, Jr., upon the express stipulation, not mentioned, however, in the agreement above recited, that after the death of Mr. Townsend Ward the amount should be transferred to the Library Fund. This was carried out, and Mr. Jordan's donation appears in the list hereinbefore given of the contributions to that fund.

The Trustees of the said Endowment Fund now consist of: Charles J. Stillé, Charlemagne Tower, Jr., and Hampton L. Carson.

On May 7, 1894, the Society adopted a new system of By-Laws, wherein it was provided in Article IV., Section 3, as follows:

"All donations and bequests of money to the Society, unless otherwise directed by the donors or testators, and all moneys received in lieu of annual dues, as hereinbefore provided, shall be invested under the direction of the Council, the income only to be applied to the support of the Society and the carrying out of the purposes for which it has been established. Such investments shall be called 'The General Endowment Fund,' and shall not be converted into money, except for reinvestment."

## 558 *Funds and Trusts of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

The present Trustees of The General Endowment Fund of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, elected to serve until May, 1896, in accordance with the said By-Laws, are the same as the Trustees of the Endowment Fund,—viz., Charles J. Stillé, Charlemagne Tower, Jr., and Hampton L. Carson.

The capital of the Endowment Funds on December 31, 1894, amounted to . . . . . \$36,645 03

Which sum is derived from:

Subscriptions inaugurating the fund of

John William Wallace . \$500 00

George de B. Keim . . 500 00

Charles Hare Hutchinson . 100 00

(Subscription of John Jordan, Jr., now in Library Fund.) \$1,100 00

Legacy of Mrs. Susan Barton . 500 00

Donation of John F. Smith . 2,000 00

Legacy of William Bradford . 200 00

Legacy of Rebecca Darby Smith . 1,201 49

Legacy of William Man . . 5,000 00

Legacy of William C. Jeanes . 10,000 00

Life membership payments . 11,605 00

Additional subscriptions and other sources . . . . . 5,038 54

\$36,645 03

### VIII. THE DREER COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS.

By deed dated March 1, 1890, recorded in the Office for the Recording of Deeds, etc., for the City and County of Philadelphia, in Deed Book G. G. P., No. 622, page 332, etc., Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer transferred and vested in Hampton L. Carson, William Brooke Rawle, Frederick D. Stone, Gregory B. Keen, and Edwin G. Dreer, and their successors in the Trust, all his collection of autographs, autograph letters, documents, and manuscripts of historic interest, and illustrations belonging thereto, in trust to keep the same together in one collection in the fire-proof wing of the hall of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania or in such other fire-proof building which the Society may cause to be erected in connection with its said hall or any other hall in any part of the city of Philadelphia, the said collection to be designated and known as "The Dreer Collection of Manuscripts," and to be kept separate and apart from all other manuscript collections; and in trust further to care for, protect, and preserve the said manuscripts from loss by fire, theft, injury, or other destruction, and to permit such students of history and others interested in the subject to examine and have access to said collection within the buildings of the said Society at such times and under

such rules and conditions as the Trustees for the time being might establish, with a provision that the Trustees of the collection should at all times consist of five in number, and that the Trustees succeeding those named in the said deed should, as soon as the necessary number of vacancies occur, be composed at all times thereafter of the President and the Librarian for the time being of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and three active members thereof, all vacancies in the trust to be filled by the remaining Trustees by instrument of writing duly acknowledged and recorded in the proper record office at Philadelphia.

#### IX. THE ISAIAH V. WILLIAMSON FUND.

In addition to the income derived from the foregoing funds, the Society receives for its general purposes two per cent. of the net income of three hundred thousand dollars held in perpetuity by the Pennsylvania Company for the Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities, under the will of Isaiah V. Williamson. In the year 1894 this amounted to \$275.12.

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By the new By-Laws adopted by the Society May 7, 1894, the entire system of funds belonging to the Society or in which it is beneficially interested was placed upon a harmonious and, as nearly as possible, uniform basis. It was provided in Article IV. thereof, in addition to the third section above quoted with reference to The General Endowment Fund, as follows :

"4. The investments of each of the several funds subject to the control of the Society, shall be held in the name of "The Trustees of the [ ] Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," or if such a designation shall in any case be impracticable, then in the name of the Society, but designated as belonging to the particular fund. All moneys held in trust as aforesaid shall be invested and reinvested under the direction of the Council, and the income only applied to the carrying out of the purposes for which the funds respectively have been established. Such investments shall not be converted into money except for reinvestment, or for carrying into effect the purposes for which any particular fund may have been constituted. The trustees of such funds may in their discretion authorize and empower the Treasurer of the Society to collect and account for the income of such investments.

"5. The trustees of all funds whose appointments are not specifically provided for in the creation thereof shall be three in number for each fund, and shall be elected by the Council from among the members of the Society to serve for six years. Elections of trustees shall take place at the stated meeting of the Council held in the month of May in each even-numbered year. In the cases of funds now existing one trustee for each fund shall be elected at such time, and the trustees now in



office shall continue until the expiration of the terms for which they have been severally elected. In the cases of funds to be created in the future three trustees for each fund shall be elected at the time, or as soon as possible thereafter, to serve until the next stated meeting of the Council held in the month of May in an even-numbered year, when three trustees for each fund shall be elected, one to serve two years, one to serve four years, and one to serve six years, and thereafter one trustee for each fund shall be elected at each of such meetings to serve six years. If no election shall take place on the day appointed, the former trustees shall continue until their successors shall be elected, which may be at any subsequent stated meeting of the Council or any special meeting thereof called for the express purpose, upon notice that such election is intended to be held. Vacancies in the office of trustee may be filled for unexpired terms at like times and in like manner.

"6. In all cases of funds created or other property settled in trust for the benefit of the Society, and the trustees holding the same have the sole power to fill vacancies in their number, whenever such vacancies occur the Council may nominate to the surviving or continuing trustees such members of the Society as it may think most proper to fill such vacancies, with its recommendation that they shall be chosen accordingly."

The policy of the Society and of the Trustees of its funds is, whenever investments are made in securities purchased below par, to enter them in the list of assets at cost; and whenever premiums are paid for investments, to apply income to the payment of such premiums and to enter the securities in the list of assets at par, so that the principal is never impaired.

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